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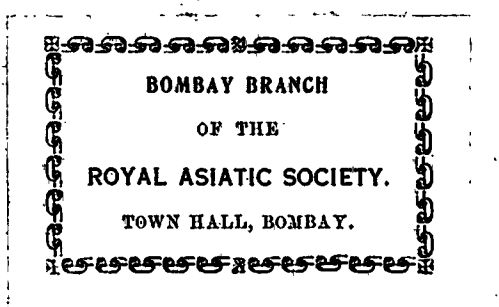

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A

HISTORY OF GREECE;

I. LEGENDARY GREECE.

II. GRECIAN HISTORY TO THE REIGN OF PEISISTRATUS AT ATHENS.

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BY

GEORGE GROTE, Esq.

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HISTORY OF GREECE.

PART I.

CONTINUATION OF LEGENDARY GREECE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CLOSING EVENTS OF LEGENDARY GREECE.—PERIOD OF INTERMEDIATE DARKNESS, BEFORE THE DAWN OF HISTORICAL GREECE.

SECTION I.—RETURN OF THE HERAKLEIDS INTO PELOPONNESUS.

IN one of the preceding chapters, we have traced the descending series of the two most distinguished mythical families in Peloponnêsus—the Perseids and the Pelopids: we have followed the former down to Hêraklês and his son Hyllus, and the latter down to Orestês son of Agamemnôn, who is left in possession of that ascendency in the peninsula which had procured for his father the chief command in the Trojan war. The Herakleids or sons of Hêraklês, on the other hand, are expelled fugitives, dependent upon foreign aid or protection: Hyllus had perished in single combat with Echemus

Exile and low condition of the Herakleids.

of Tegea, (connected with the Pelopids by marriage with Timandra sister of Clytæmnêstra[1],) and a solemn compact had been made, as the preliminary condition of this duel, that no similar attempt at an invasion of the peninsula should be undertaken by his family for the space of 100 years. At the end of the stipulated period the attempt was renewed, and with complete success; but its success was owing not so much to the valour of the invaders as to a powerful body of new allies. The Herakleids re-appear as leaders and companions of the Dorians,—a northerly section of the Greek name, who now first come into importance,—poor indeed in mythical renown, since they are never noticed in the Iliad, and only once casually mentioned in the Odyssey, as a fraction among the many-tongued inhabitants of Crête—but destined to form one of the grand and predominant elements throughout all the career of historical Hellas.

Their re-appearance as a powerful force along with the Dorians.

The son of Hyllus—Kleodæus—as well as his grandson Aristomachus, were now dead, and the lineage of Hêraklês was represented by the three sons of the latter—Têmenus, Kresphontês, and Aristodêmus, and under their conduct the Dorians penetrated into the peninsula. The mythical account traced back this intimate union between the Herakleids and the Dorians to a prior war, in which Hêraklês himself had rendered inestimable aid to the Dorian king Ægimius, when the latter was hard pressed in a contest with the Lapithæ. Hêraklès defeated the Lapithæ, and slew their king Korônus; in return for which, Ægimius assigned

Mythical account of this alliance, as well as of the three tribes of Dorians.

[1] Hesiod. Eœæ. Fragm. 58. p. 43, ed. Düntzer.

to his deliverer one third part of his whole territory, and adopted Hyllus as his son. Hêraklês desired that the territory thus made over might be held in reserve until a time should come when his descendants might stand in need of it; and that time did come, after the death of Hyllus (see Chap. V.). Some of the Herakleids then found shelter at Trikorythus in Attica, but the remainder, turning their steps towards Ægimius, solicited from him the allotment of land which had been promised to their valiant progenitor. Ægimius received them according to his engagement and assigned to them the stipulated third portion of his territory[1]: and from this moment the Herakleids and Dorians became intimately united together into one social communion. Pamphylus and Dymas, sons of Ægimius, accompanied Têmenus and his two brothers in their invasion of Peloponnêsus.

Such is the mythical incident which professes to explain the origin of those three tribes into which

[1] Diodôr. iv. 37-60; Apollodôr. ii. 7, 7; Ephorus ap. Steph. Byz. Δυμᾶν, Fragm. 10, ed. Marx.

The Doric institutions are called by Pindar τεθμοὶ Αἰγιμίου Δωρικοί (Pyth. i. 124).

There existed an ancient epic poem, now lost, but cited on some few occasions by authors still preserved, under the title Αἰγίμιος; the authorship being sometimes ascribed to Hesiod, sometimes to Kerkops (Athenæ. xi. p. 503). The few fragments which remain do not enable us to make out the scheme of it, inasmuch as they embrace different mythical incidents lying very wide of each other,—Iô, the Argonauts, Pêleus and Thetis, &c. But the name which it bears seems to imply that the war of Ægimius against the Lapithæ, and the aid given to him by Hêraklês, was one of its chief topics. Both O. Müller (History of the Dorians, vol. i. b. 1. c. 8) and Welcker (Der Epische Kyklus, p. 263) appear to me to go beyond the very scanty evidence which we possess in their determination of this lost poem; compare Marktscheffel, Præfat. Hesiod. Fragm. cap. 5. p. 159.

all the Dorian communities were usually divided—the Hyllêis, the Pamphyli, and the Dymanes—the first of the three including certain particular families, such as that of the kings of Sparta, who bore the special name of Herakleids. Hyllus, Pamphylus, and Dymas are the eponymous heroes of the three Dorian tribes.

Têmenus, Kresphontês, and Aristodêmus, invade Peloponnêsus across the Gulf of Corinth.

Têmenus and his two brothers resolved to attack Peloponnêsus, not by a land-march along the Isthmus, such as that in which Hyllus had been previously slain, but by sea across the narrow inlet between the promontories of Rhium and Antirrhium, with which the Gulf of Corinth commences. According to one story indeed—which however does not seem to have been known to Herodotus—they are said to have selected this line of march by the express direction of the Delphian god, who vouchsafed to expound to them an oracle which had been delivered to Hyllus in the ordinary equivocal phraseology. Both the Ozolian Locrians, and the Ætolians, inhabitants of the northern coast of the Gulf of Corinth, were favourable to the enterprise, and the former granted to them a port for building their ships, from which memorable circumstance the port ever afterwards bore the name of Naupactus. Aristodêmus was here struck with lightning and died, leaving twin sons, Eurysthenês and Proklês; but his remaining brothers continued to press the expedition with alacrity.

The prophet Karnus slain by Hippotês.

At this juncture, an Akarnanian prophet named Karnus presented himself in the camp[1] under the

[1] Respecting this prophet, compare Œnomaus ap. Eusebium, Præparat. Evangel. v. p. 211. According to that statement, both Kleodæus

inspiration of Apollo, and uttered various predictions: he was however suspected of treacherous collusion with the Peloponnesians, and Hippotês, great-grandson of Hêraklês through Phylas and Antiochus, slew him. His death drew upon the army the wrath of Apollo, who destroyed their vessels and punished them with famine. Têmenus in his distress applied again to the Delphian god for succour and counsel, and was made acquainted with the cause of so much suffering: he was directed to banish Hippotês for ten years, to offer expiatory sacrifice for the death of Karnus, and to seek as the guide of the army a man with three eyes[1]. On coming back to Naupactus, he met the Ætolian Oxylus son of Andræmôn returning to his country, after a temporary exile in Elis incurred for homicide: Oxylus had lost one eye, but as he was seated on a horse, the man and the horse together made up the three eyes required, and he was adopted as the guide prescribed by the oracle[2]. Conducted by him, they refitted their ships, landed on the opposite coast of Achaia, and marched to attack

Oxylus chosen as guide.

(here called *Aridæus*) son of Hyllus, and Aristomachus son of Kleodæus, had made separate and successive attempts at the head of the Herakleids to penetrate into Peloponnêsus through the Isthmus: both had failed and perished, having misunderstood the admonition of the Delphian oracle. Œnomaus could have known nothing of the pledge given by Hyllus, as the condition of the single combat between Hyllus and Echemus (according to Herodotus), that the Herakleids should make no fresh trial for 100 years: if it had been understood that they had given and then violated such a pledge, such violation would probably have been adduced to account for their failure.

[1] Apollodôr. ii. 8, 3; Pausan. iii. 13, 3.

[2] Apollodôr. ii. 8, 3. According to the account of Pausanias, the beast upon which Oxylus rode was a mule and had lost one eye (Paus. v. 3, 5).

Tisamenus son of Orestês, then the great potentate of the peninsula. A decisive battle was fought, in which the latter was vanquished and slain, and in which Pamphylus and Dymas also perished. This battle made the Dorians complete masters of the Peloponnêsus, and they proceeded to distribute the territory among themselves. The fertile land of Elis had been by previous stipulation reserved for Oxylus, as a recompense for his services as conductor: and it was agreed that the three Herakleids, Têmenus, Kresphontês, and the infant sons of Aristodêmus, should draw lots for Argos, Sparta, and Messênê. Argos fell to Têmenus, Sparta to the sons of Aristodêmus, and Messênê to Kresphontês; the latter having secured for himself this prize, by far the most fertile territory of the three, by the fraud of putting into the vessel out of which the lots were drawn, a lump of clay instead of a stone, whereby the lots of his brothers were drawn out while his own remained inside. Solemn sacrifices were offered by each upon this partition: but as they proceeded to the ceremony, a miraculous sign was seen upon the altar of each of the brothers —a toad corresponding to Argos, a serpent to Sparta, and a fox to Messênê. The prophets, on being consulted, delivered the import of these mysterious indications: the toad, as an animal slow and stationary, was an evidence that the possessor of Argos would not succeed in enterprises beyond the limits of his own city; the serpent denoted the aggressive and formidable future reserved to Sparta; the fox prognosticated a career of wile and deceit to the Messenian.

Division of the lands of Peloponnêsus among the invaders.

Such is the brief account given by Apollodôrus of the Return of the Herakleids, at which point we pass, as if touched by the wand of a magician, from mythical to historical Greece. The story bears on the face of it the stamp, not of history, but of legend—abridged from one or more of the genealogical poets[1], and presenting such an account as they thought satisfactory, of the first formation of the great Dorian establishments in Peloponnêsus, as well as of the semi-Ætolian Elis. Its incidents are so conceived as to have an explanatory bearing on Dorian institutions—upon the triple division of tribes, characteristic of the Dorians—upon the origin of the great festival of the Karneia at Sparta, alleged to be celebrated in expiation of the prophet Karnus—upon the different temper and character of the Dorian states among themselves—upon the early alliance of the Dorians with Elis, which contributed to give ascendency and vogue to the Olympic games—upon the reverential dependence of Dorians towards the Delphian oracle—and lastly upon the etymology of the name Naupactus. If we possessed the narrative more in detail, we should probably find many more examples of colouring of the legendary past suitable to the circumstances of the historical present.

Explanatory value of these legendary events.

Above all, this legend makes out in favour of the Dorians and their kings a mythical title to

[1] Herodotus observes, in reference to the Lacedæmonian account of their first two kings in Peloponnêsus (Eurysthenês and Proklês, the twin sons of Aristodêmus) that the Lacedæmonians gave a *story not in harmony with any of the poets*,—Λακεδαιμόνιοι γὰρ, ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῇ, λέγουσιν αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημον.....βασιλεύοντα ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς ταύτην τὴν χώρην τὴν νῦν ἐκτέαται, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδας (Herodot. vi. 52).

their Peloponnesian establishments; Argos, Sparta, and Messênê are presented as rightfully belonging, and restored by just retribution, to the children of Hêraklês. It was to them that Zeus had specially given the territory of Sparta; the Dorians came in as their subjects and auxiliaries[1]. Plato gives a very different version of the legend, but we find that he too turns the story in such a manner as to embody a claim of right on the part of the conquerors. According to him, the Achæans who returned from the capture of Troy found among their fellow-citizens at home—the race which had grown up during their absence—an aversion to re-admit them: after a fruitless endeavour to make good their rights, they were at last expelled, but not without much contest and bloodshed. A leader named Dorieus collected all these exiles into one body, and from him they received the name of Dorians instead of Achæans; then marching back under the conduct of the Herakleids into Peloponnêsus, they recovered by force the possessions from which they had been shut out, and constituted the three Dorian establishments under the separate Herakleid brothers, at Argos, Sparta, and Messênê. These three

Mythical title of the Dorians to Peloponnêsus.

Plato makes out a different title for the same purpose.

[1] Tyrtæus, Fragm.—

Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων, καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρας,
Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν·
Οἷσιν ἅμα, προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα,
Εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

In a similar manner Pindar says that Apollo had planted the sons of Hêraklês, jointly with those of Ægimius, at Sparta, Argos and Pylus (Pyth. v. 93).

Isocratês (Or. vi. *Archidamus*, p. 120) makes out a good title by a different line of mythical reasoning. There seem to have been also stories, containing mythical reasons why the Herakleids did *not* acquire possession of Arcadia (Polyæn. i. 7).

fraternal dynasties were founded upon a scheme of intimate union and sworn alliance one with the other, for the purpose of resisting any attack which might be made upon them from Asia[1], either by the remaining Trojans or by their allies. Such is the story as Plato believed it; materially different in the incidents related, yet analogous in mythical feeling, and embodying alike the idea of a rightful reconquest. Moreover the two accounts agree in representing both the entire conquest and the triple division of Dorian Peloponnêsus as begun and completed in one and the same enterprise,—so as to constitute one single event, which Plato would probably have called the Return of the Achæans, but which was commonly known as the Return of the Herakleids. Though this is both inadmissible and inconsistent with other statements which approach close to the historical times, yet it bears every mark of being the primitive view originally presented by the genealogical poets: the broad way in which the incidents are grouped together, was at once easy for the imagination to follow and impressive to the feelings.

The existence of one legendary account must never be understood as excluding the probability of other accounts, current at the same time, but inconsistent with it; and many such there were as to the first establishment of the Peloponnesian Dorians. In the narrative which I have given from Apollodôrus, conceived apparently under the influence of Dorian feelings, Tisamenus is stated to have been slain in the invasion. But according to an-

[1] Plato, Legg. iii. 6-7. pp. 682-686.

Other legends respecting the Achæans and Tisamenus.

other narrative, which seems to have found favour with the historical Achæans on the north coast of Peloponnêsus, Tisamenus, though expelled by the invaders from his kingdom of Sparta or Argos, was not slain; he was allowed to retire under agreement, together with a certain portion of his subjects, and he directed his steps towards the coast of Peloponnêsus south of the Corinthian Gulf, then occupied by the Ionians. As there were relations, not only of friendship but of kindred origin, between Ionians and Achæans (the eponymous heroes Iôn and Achæus pass for brothers, both sons of Xuthus), Tisamenus solicited from the Ionians admission for himself and his fellow-fugitives into their territory. The leading Ionians declining this request, under the apprehension that Tisamenus might be chosen as sovereign over the whole, the latter accomplished his object by force. After a vehement struggle, the Ionians were vanquished and put to flight, and Tisamenus thus acquired possession of Helikê, as well as of the northern coast of the peninsula westward from Sicyôn; which coast continued to be occupied by the Achæans, and received its name from them, throughout all the historical times. The Ionians retired to Attica, many of them taking part in what is called the Ionic emigration to the coast of Asia Minor, which followed shortly after. Pausanias indeed tells us that Tisamenus, having gained a decisive victory over the Ionians, fell in the engagement[1], and did not himself live to occupy the country of which his troops remained masters. But this story of the

[1] Pausan. vii. 1–3.

death of Tisamenus seems to arise from a desire on the part of Pausanias to blend together into one narrative two discrepant legends; at least the historical Achæans in later times continued to regard Tisamenus himself as having lived and reigned in their territory, and as having left a regal dynasty which lasted down to Ogygês[1], after whom it was exchanged for a popular government[2].

The conquest of Têmenus, the eldest of the three Herakleids, originally comprehended only Argos and its neighbourhood: it was from thence that Trœzen, Epidaurus, Ægina, Sicyôn, and Phlius were successively occupied by Dorians, the sons and son-in-law of Têmenus—Dêiphontês, Phalkês, and Keisus—being the leaders under whom this was accomplished[3]. At Sparta the success of the Dorians was furthered by the treason of a man named Philonomus, who received as recompense the neighbouring town and territory of Amyklæ[4]. Messênia is said to have submitted without resistance to the dominion of the Herakleid Kresphontês, who established his residence at Stenyklarus: the Pylian Melanthus, then ruler of the country and representative of the great mythical lineage of Nê-

Occupation of Argos, Sparta, and Messênia by the Dorians.

[1] Polyb. ii. 45; iv. 1. Strabo, viii. p. 383–384. This Tisamenus derives his name from the memorable act of revenge ascribed to his father Orestês. So in the legend of the Siege of Thêbes, Thersander, as one of the Epigoni, avenged his father Polyneicês: the son of Thersander was also called *Tisamenus* (Herodot. iv. 149).

[2] Diodôr. iv. 1. The historian Ephorus embodied in his work a narrative in considerable detail of this grand event of Grecian legend,—the Return of the Herakleids,—with which he professed to commence his consecutive history: from what sources he borrowed we do not know.

[3] Strabo, viii. p. 389. Pausan. ii. 6, 2; 12, 1.

[4] Conôn, Narr. 36; Strabo, viii. p. 365.

leus and Nestôr, withdrew with his household gods and with a portion of his subjects to Attica[1].

The only Dorian establishment in the peninsula not directly connected with the triple partition is Corinth, which is said to have been Dorised somewhat later and under another leader, though still a Herakleid. Hippotês—descendant of Hêraklês in the fourth generation, but not through Hyllus—had been guilty (as already mentioned) of the murder of Karnus the prophet at the camp of Naupactus, for which he had been banished and remained in exile for ten years; his son deriving the name of Alêtês from the long wanderings endured by the father. At the head of a body of Dorians, Alêtês attacked Corinth: he pitched his camp on the Solygeian eminence near the city, and harassed the inhabitants with constant warfare until he compelled them to surrender. Even in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians professed to identify the hill on which the camp of these assailants had been placed. The great mythical dynasty of the Sisyphids was expelled, and Alêtês became ruler and Œkist of the Dorian city; many of the inhabitants however, Æolic or Ionic, departed[2].

Dorians at Corinth—Alêtês.

The settlement of Oxylus and his Ætolians in Elis is said by some to have been accomplished with very little opposition; the leader professing himself to be descended from Ætôlus, who had been in a previous age banished from Elis into

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 359; Conôn, Narr. 39.

[2] Thucydid. iv. 42. Schol. Pindar. Olymp. xiii. 17; and Nem. vii. 155. Conôn, Narrat. 26. Ephor. ap. Strab. viii. p. 389.

Thucydidês calls the ante-Dorian inhabitants of Corinth Æolians; Conôn calls them Ionians.

Ætôlia, and the two people, Epeians and Ætolians, acknowledging a kindred origin one with the other[1]. At first indeed, according to Ephorus, the Epeians appeared in arms, determined to repel the intruders, but at length it was agreed on both sides to abide the issue of a single combat. Degmenus, the champion of the Epeians, confided in the long shot of his bow and arrow; but the Ætolian Pyræchmês came provided with his sling,—a weapon then unknown and recently invented by the Ætolians,—the range of which was yet longer than that of the bow of his enemy: he thus killed Degmenus, and secured the victory to Oxylus and his followers. According to one statement the Epeians were expelled; according to another they fraternised amicably with the new-comers: whatever may be the truth as to this matter, it is certain that their name is from this moment lost, and that they never reappear among the historical elements of Greece[2]: we hear from this time forward only of Eleians, said to be of Ætolian descent[3].

Oxylus and the Ætolians at Elis.

One most important privilege was connected with the possession of the Eleian territory by Oxylus, coupled with his claim on the gratitude of the Dorian kings. The Eleians acquired the administration of the temple at Olympia, which the Achæans are said to have possessed before them; and in

Rights of the Eleians to superintend the Olympic games.

[1] Ephorus ap. Strabo. x. p. 463.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 358; Pausan. v. 4, 1. One of the six towns in Triphylia mentioned by Herodotus is called Ἔπειον (Herodot. iv. 149).

[3] Herodot. viii. 73; Pausan. v. 1, 2. Hecatæus affirmed that the Epeians were completely alien to the Eleians; Strabo does not seem to have been able to satisfy himself either of the affirmative or negative (Hecatæus, Fr. 348, ed. Dindorf; Strabo, viii. p. 341).

consideration of this sacred function, which subsequently ripened into the celebration of the great Olympic games, their territory was solemnly pronounced to be inviolable. Such was the statement of Ephorus[1]: we find, in this case as in so many others, that the Return of the Herakleids is made to supply a legendary basis for the historical state of things in Peloponnêsus.

Family of Têmenus and Kresphontês lowest in the series of subjects for the Heroic drama.

It was the practice of the great Attic tragedians, with rare exceptions, to select the subjects of their composition from the heroic or legendary world, and Euripidês had composed three dramas, now lost, on the adventures of Têmenus with his daughter Hyrnethô and his son-in-law Dêiphontês —on the family misfortunes of Kresphontês and Meropê—and on the successful valour of Archelaus the son of Têmenus in Macedonia, where he was alleged to have first begun the dynasty of the Temenid kings. Of these subjects the first and second were eminently tragical, and the third, relating to Archelaus, appears to have been undertaken by Euripidês in compliment to his contemporary sovereign and patron, Archelaus king of Macedonia: we are even told that those exploits which the usual version of the legend ascribed to Têmenus, were reported in the drama of Euripidês to have been performed by Archelaus his son[2]. Of all the heroes, touched upon by the three Attic

[1] Ephorus ap. Strabo. viii. p. 358. The tale of the inhabitants of Pisa, the territory more immediately bordering upon Olympia, was very different from this.

[2] Agatharchides ap. Photium Sect. 250. p. 1332. Οὐδ' Εὐριπίδου κατηγορῶ, τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ περιτεθεικότος τὰς Τημένου πράξεις.

Compare the Fragments of the Τημένιδαι, Ἀρχέλαος, and Κρεσφόντης,

tragedians, these Dorian Herakleids stand lowest in the descending genealogical series—one mark amongst others that we are approaching the ground of genuine history.

Though the name Achæans, as denoting a people, is henceforward confined to the North-Peloponnesian territory specially called Achaia, and to the inhabitants of Achæa Phthiôtis, north of Mount Oeta—and though the great Peloponnesian states always seem to have prided themselves on the title of Dorians—yet we find the kings of Sparta, even in the historical age, taking pains to appropriate to themselves the mythical glories of the Achæans, and to set themselves forth as the representatives of Agamemnôn and Orestês. The Spartan king Kleomenês even went so far as to disavow formally any Dorian parentage; for when the priestess at Athens refused to permit him to sacrifice in the temple of Athênê, on the plea that it was peremptorily closed to all Dorians, he replied—"I am no Dorian, but an Achæan[1]." The Spartan envoy, before Gelôn of Syracuse, connected the indefeasible title of his country to the supreme command of the Grecian military force, with the ancient name and lofty prerogatives of Agamemnôn[2]: and in farther pursuance of the same feeling, the Spartans are said to have carried to Sparta both the bones of Orestês from Tegea, and those of Tisamenus from Helikê[3], at

Pretence of the historical Spartan kings to Achæan origin.

in Dindorf's edition of Euripidês, with the illustrative remarks of Welcker, Griechische Tragödien, pp. 697, 708, 828.

The Prologue of the Archelaus seems to have gone through the whole series of the Herakleidan lineage, from Ægyptus and Danaus downwards.

[1] Herodot. v. 72.

[2] Herodot. vii. 159.

[3] Herodot. i. 68; Pausan. vii. 1, 3.

the injunction of the Delphian oracle. There is also a story that Oxylus in Elis was directed by the same oracle to invite into his country an Achæan, as Œkist conjointly with himself; and that he called in Agorius, the great-grandson of Orestês, from Helikê, with a small number of Achæans who joined him[1]. The Dorians themselves were singularly poor in native legends, and they endeavoured, not unnaturally, to decorate themselves with those legendary ornaments which the Achæans possessed in abundance.

Emigrations from Peloponnêsus consequent on the Dorian occupation—Epeians, Pyleans, Achæans, Ionians.

As a consequence of the Dorian establishments in Peloponnêsus, several migrations of the pre-existing inhabitants are represented as taking place. 1. The Epeians of Elis are either expelled, or merged in the new-comers under Oxylus, and lose their separate name. 2. The Pylians, together with the great heroic family of Nêleus and his son Nestôr, who preside over them, give place to the Dorian establishment of Messênia, and retire to Athens, where their leader Melanthus becomes king: a large portion of them take part in the subsequent Ionic emigration. 3. A portion of the Achæans, under Penthilus and other descendants of Orestês, leave Peloponnêsus, and form what is called the Æolic emigration, to Lesbos, the Trôad, and the Gulf of Adramyttium: the name *Æolians*, unknown to Homer and seemingly never applied to any separate tribe at all, being introduced to designate a large section of the Hellenic name, partly in Greece Proper and partly in Asia. 4. Another portion of Achæans expel the Ionians

[1] Pausan. v. 4, 2.

from Achaia properly so called, in the north of Peloponnêsus; the Ionians retiring to Attica.

The Homeric poems describe Achæans, Pylians, and Epeians, in Peloponnêsus, but take no notice of Ionians in the northern district of Achaia: on the contrary, the Catalogue in the Iliad distinctly includes this territory under the dominions of Agamemnôn. Though the Catalogue of Homer is not to be regarded as an historical document, fit to be called as evidence for the actual state of Peloponnêsus at any prior time, it certainly seems a better authority than the statements advanced by Herodotus and others respecting the occupation of northern Peloponnêsus by the Ionians, and their expulsion from it by Tisamenus. In so far as the Catalogue is to be trusted, it negatives the idea of Ionians at Helikê, and countenances what seems in itself a more natural supposition—that the historical Achæans in the north part of Peloponnêsus are a small undisturbed remnant of the powerful Achæan population once distributed throughout the peninsula, until it was broken up and partially expelled by the Dorians.

Ionians in the north of Peloponnêsus—not recognised by Homer.

The Homeric legends, unquestionably the oldest which we possess, are adapted to a population of Achæans, Danaans, and Argeians, seemingly without any special and recognised names, either aggregate or divisional, other than the name of each separate tribe or kingdom. The Post-Homeric legends are adapted to a population classified quite differently—Hellens, distributed into Dorians, Ionians, and Æolians. If we knew more of the time and circumstances in which these different

legends grew up, we should probably be able to explain their discrepancy; but in our present ignorance we can only note the fact.

Whatever difficulty modern criticism may find in regard to the event called "The Return of the Herakleids," no doubt is expressed about it even by the best historians of antiquity. Thucydidês accepts it as a single and literal event, having its assignable date, and carrying at one blow the acquisition of Peloponnêsus. The date of it he fixes as eighty years after the capture of Troy. Whether he was the original determiner of this epoch, or copied it from some previous author, we do not know: it must have been fixed according to some computation of generations, for there were no other means accessible—probably by means of the lineage of the Herakleids, which, as belonging to the kings of Sparta, constituted the most public and conspicuous thread of connection between the Grecian real and mythical world, and measured the interval between the Siege of Troy itself and the first recorded Olympiad. Hêraklês himself represents the generation before the siege, and his son Tlepolemus fights in the besieging army. If we suppose the first generation after Hêraklês to commence with the beginning of the siege, the fourth generation after him will coincide with the ninetieth year after the same epoch; and therefore, deducting ten years for the duration of the struggle, it will coincide with the eightieth year after the capture of the city[1]: thirty years being reckoned for a generation. The date assigned by Thucydidês

Date assigned by Thucydidês to the return of the Herakleids.

[1] The date of Thucydidês is calculated, μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν (i. 13).

will thus agree with the distance in which Têmenus, Kresphontês, and Aristodêmus, stand removed from Hêraklês. The interval of eighty years, between the capture of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids, appears to have been admitted by Apollodôrus and Eratosthenês, and some other professed chronologists of antiquity: but there were different reckonings which also found more or less of support.

SECTION II.—MIGRATION OF THESSALIANS AND BŒOTIANS.

In the same passage in which Thucydidês speaks of the Return of the Herakleids, he also marks out the date of another event a little antecedent, which is alleged to have powerfully affected the condition of Northern Greece. "Sixty years after the capture of Troy (he tells us) the Bœotians were driven by the Thessalians from Arnê, and migrated into the land then called Kadmêïs, but now Bœotia, wherein there had previously dwelt a section of their race, who had contributed the contingent to the Trojan war."

The expulsion here mentioned, of the Bœotians from Arnê "by the Thessalians," has been construed, with probability, to allude to the immigration of the Thessalians, properly so called, from the Thesprôtid in Epirus into Thessaly. That the Thessalians had migrated into Thessaly from the Thesprôtid territory, is stated by Herodotus[1], though he says nothing about time or circumstances. Antiphus and Pheidippus appear in the

Thessalians move from Thesprôtis into Thessaly.

[1] Herod. vii. 176.

Homeric Catalogue as commanders of the Grecian contingent from the islands of Côs and Carpathus, on the south-east coast of Asia Minor: they are sons of Thessalus, who is himself the son of Hêraklês. A legend ran that these two chiefs, in the dispersion which ensued after the victory, had been driven by storms into the Ionian Gulf, and cast upon the coast of Epirus, where they landed and settled at Ephyrê in the Thesprôtid[1]. It was Thessalus, grandson of Pheidippus, who was reported to have conducted the Thesprotians across the passes of Pindus into Thessaly, to have conquered the fertile central plain of that country, and to have imposed upon it his own name instead of its previous denomination Æolis[2].

Non-Hellenic character of the Thessalians.

Whatever we may think of this legend as it stands, the state of Thessaly during the historical ages renders it highly probable that the Thessalians, properly so called, were a body of immigrant conquerors. They appear always as a rude, warlike, reckless, and uncivilized race, distinct from their neighbours the Achæans, the Magnetes, and the Perrhæbians, and holding all the three in tributary dependence: these three tribes stand to them in a re-

[1] See the Epigram ascribed to Aristotle (Antholog. Græc. t. i. p. 181, ed. Reisk; Velleius Patercul. i. 1).

The Scholia on Lycophrôn (912) give a story somewhat different. Ephyrê is given as the old legendary name of the city of Krannon in Thessaly (Kineas, ap. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. x. 85), which creates the confusion with the Thesprotian Ephyrê.

[2] Herodot. vii. 176; Velleius Patercul. i. 2-3; Charax. ap. Stephan. Byz. v. Δώριον; Polyæn. viii. 44.

There were several different statements, however, about the parentage of Thessalus as well as about the name of the country (Strabo, ix. p. 443; Stephan. Byz. v. Αἰμονία).

lation analogous to that of the Lacedæmonian Periœki towards Sparta, while the Penestæ, who cultivated their lands, are almost an exact parallel of the Helots. Moreover, the low level of taste and intelligence among the Thessalians, as well as certain points of their costume, assimilates them more to Macedonians or Epirots than to Hellens[1]. Their position in Thessaly is in many respects analogous to that of the Spartan Dorians in Peloponnêsus, and there seems good reason for concluding that the former, as well as the latter, were originally victorious invaders, though we cannot pretend to determine the time at which the invasion took place. The great family of the Aleuads[2], and probably other Thessalian families besides, were descendants of Hêraklês, like the kings of Sparta.

There are no similar historical grounds, in the case of the alleged migration of the Bœotians from Thessaly to Bœotia, to justify a belief in the main fact of the legend, nor were the different legendary stories in harmony one with the other. The Homeric Epic recognises the Bœotians in Bœotia, but not in Thessaly: Thucydidês records a statement which he had found of their migration from the latter into the former, but in order to escape the necessity of flatly contradicting Homer, he inserts the parenthesis that there were an outlying fraction of Bœotians in Bœotia at the time of the Trojan war[3], from whom the troops who served with Aga-

Bœotians—their migration from Thessaly into Bœotia.

[1] See K. O. Müller, History of the Dorians, Introduction, sect. 4.

[2] Pindar, Pyth. x. 2.

[3] Thucyd. i. 12. ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν.

memnôn were drawn. Nevertheless the discrepancy with the Iliad, though less strikingly obvious, is not removed, inasmuch as the Catalogue is unusually copious in enumerating the contingents from Thessaly, without once mentioning Bœotians. Homer distinguishes Orchomenus from Bœotia, and he does not specially notice Thêbes in the Catalogue: in other respects his enumeration of the towns coincides pretty well with the ground historically known afterwards under the name of Bœotia.

Pausanias gives us a short sketch of the events which he supposes to have intervened in this section of Greece between the Siege of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids. Peneleôs, the leader of the Bœotians at the siege, was slain by Eurypylus the son of Telephus; and after his death, Tisamenus, son of Thersander and grandson of Polyneikes, acted as their commander both during the remainder of the siege and after their return. Autesiôn, his son and successor, became subject to the wrath of the avenging Erinnyes of Laius and Œdipus: the oracle directed him to expatriate, and he joined the Dorians. In his place Damasichthôn, son of Opheltas and grandson of Peneleôs, became king of the Bœotians: he was succeeded by Ptolemæus, who was himself followed by Xanthus. A war having broken out at that time between the Athenians and Bœotians, Xanthus engaged in single combat with Melanthus son of Andropompus, the champion of Attica, and perished by the cunning of his opponent. After the death of Xanthus, the Bœotians passed from kingship to popular government[1]. As Melan-

[1] Pausan. ix. 5, 8.

thus was of the lineage of the Neleids, and had migrated from Pylus to Athens in consequence of the successful establishment of the Dorians in Messênia, the duel with Xanthus must have been of course subsequent to the Return of the Herakleids.

Here then we have a summary of alleged Bœotian history between the Siege of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids, in which no mention is made of the immigration of the mass of Bœotians from Thessaly, and seemingly no possibility left of fitting in so great and capital an incident. The legends followed by Pausanias are at variance with those adopted by Thucydidês, but they harmonise much better with Homer.

Discrepant legends about the Bœotians.

So deservedly high is the authority of Thucydidês, that the migration here distinctly announced by him is commonly set down as an ascertained datum, historically as well as chronologically. But on this occasion it can be shown that he only followed one amongst a variety of discrepant legends, none of which there were any means of verifying.

Pausanias recognised a migration of the Bœotians from Thessaly, in early times anterior to the Trojan war[1]; and the account of Ephorus, as given by Strabo, professed to record a series of changes in the occupants of the country:—first, the non-Hellenic Aones and Temmikes, Leleges and Hyantes; next, the Cadmeians, who, after the second siege of Thêbes by the Epigoni, were expelled by the Thracians and Pelasgians, and retired into Thessaly, where they joined in communion with the inhabitants of Arnê,—the whole aggregate being called

[1] Pausan. x. 8, 3.

Bœotians. After the Trojan war, and about the time of the Æolic emigration, these Bœotians returned from Thessaly and re-conquered Bœotia, driving out the Thracians and Pelasgians,—the former retiring to Parnassus, the latter to Attica. It was on this occasion (he says) that the Minyæ of Orchomenus were subdued, and forcibly incorporated with the Bœotians. Ephorus seems to have followed in the main the same narrative as Thucydidês, about the movement of the Bœotians out of Thessaly; coupling it however with several details current as explanatory of proverbs and customs[1].

Affinities between Bœotia and Thessaly.

The only fact which we make out, independent of these legends, is, that there existed certain homonymies and certain affinities of religious worship, between parts of Bœotia and parts of Thessaly, which appear to indicate a kindred race. A town named Arnê[2], similar in name to the Thessalian, was enumerated in the Bœotian Catalogue of Homer, and antiquaries identified it sometimes with the historical town Chæroneia[3], sometimes with

[1] Ephor. Fragm. 30. ed. Marx.; Strabo, ix. p. 401–402. The story of the Bœotians at Arnê in Polyænus (i. 12) probably comes from Ephorus.

Diodôrus (xix. 53) gives a summary of the legendary history of Thêbes from Deucalion downwards: he tells us that the Bœotians were expelled from their country, and obliged to retire into Thessaly during the Trojan war, in consequence of the absence of so many of their brave warriors at Troy; they did not find their way back into Bœotia until the fourth generation.

[2] Stephan. Byz. v. Ἀρνη, makes the Thessalian Arnê an ἄποικος of the Bœotian.

[3] Homer, Iliad, ii.; Strabo, ix. p. 413; Pausan. ix. 40, 3. Some of the families at Chæroneia, even during the time of the Roman dominion in Greece, traced their origin to Peripoltas the prophet, who was said to have accompanied Opheltas in his invading march out of Thessaly (Plutarch, Cimôn, c. 1).

Akræphium. Moreover there was near the Bœotian Korôneia a river named Kuarius or Koralius, and a venerable temple dedicated to the Itonian Athênê, in the sacred ground of which the Pambœotia, or public council of the Bœotian name, was held; and there was a temple and a river of similar denomination in Thessaly, near to a town called Iton or Itônus[1]. We may from these circumstances presume a certain ancient kindred between the population of these regions, and such a circumstance is sufficient to explain the generation of legends describing migrations backward and forward, whether true or not in point of fact.

Transition from mythical to historical Bœotia.

What is most important to remark is, that the stories of Thucydidês and Ephorus bring us out of the mythical into the historical Bœotia. Orchomenus is Bœotised, and we hear no more of the once-powerful Minyæ: there are no more Cadmeians at Thêbes, and no more Bœotians in Thessaly. The Minyæ and the Cadmeians disappear in the Ionic emigration, which will be presently ad-

[1] Strabo, ix. 411–435; Homer, Iliad, ii. 696; Hecatæus, Fr. 338, Didot. The fragment from Alcæus (cited by Strabo, but briefly and with a mutilated text) serves only to identify the river and the town.

Itônus was said to be son of Amphictyôn, and Bœôtus son of Itônus (Pausan. ix. 1, l. 34, 1; compare Steph. Byz. v. *Βοιωτία*) by Melanippê. By another legendary genealogy (probably arising after the name *Æolic* had obtained footing as the class-name for a large section of Greeks, but as old as the poet Asius, Olympiad 30) the eponymous hero Bœôtus was fastened on to the great lineage of Æolus, through the paternity of the god Poseidôn either with Melanippê or with Arnê, daughter of Æolus (Asius, Fr. 8, ed. Düntzer; Strabo, vi. p. 265; Diodôr. v. 67; Hellanicus ap. Schol. Iliad. ii. 494). Two lost plays of Euripidês were founded on the misfortunes of Melanippê, and her twin children by Poseidôn—Bœôtus and Æolus (Hygin. Fab. 186; see the Fragments of *Μελανίππη Σοφὴ* and *Μελανίππη Δέσμωτις* in Dindorf's edition, and the instructive comments of Welcker, Griech. Tragöd. vol. ii. p. 840–860).

verted to. Historical Bœotia is now constituted, apparently in its federative league under the presidency of Thêbes, just as we find it in the time of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.

SECTION III.—EMIGRATIONS FROM GREECE TO ASIA AND THE ISLANDS OF THE ÆGÆAN.

1. ÆOLIC.—2. IONIC.—3. DORIC.

Secession of the mythical races of Greece.

To complete the transition of Greece from its mythical to its historical condition, the secession of the races belonging to the former must follow upon the introduction of those belonging to the latter. This is accomplished by means of the Æolic and Ionic migrations.

The presiding chiefs of the Æolic emigration are the representatives of the heroic lineage of the Pelopids; those of the Ionic emigration belong to the Neleids; and even in what is called the Doric emigration to Thêra, the Œkist Thêras is not a Dorian but a Cadmeian, the legitimate descendant of Œdipus and Cadmus.

The Æolic, Ionic, and Doric colonies were planted along the western coast of Asia Minor, from the coasts of the Propontis southward down to Lycia (I shall in a future chapter speak more exactly of their boundaries); the Æolic occupying the northern portion together with the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos; the Doric occupying the southernmost, together with the neighbouring islands of Rhodes and Côs; and the Ionic being planted between them, comprehending Chios, Samos, and the Cycladês islands.

1. ÆOLIC EMIGRATION.

Æolic migration under the Pelopids.

The Æolic emigration was conducted by the Pelopids: the original story seems to have been that Orestês himself was at the head of the first batch of colonists, and this version of the event is still preserved by Pindar and by Hellanicus[1]. But the more current narratives represented the descendants of Orestês as chiefs of the expeditions to Æolis,—his illegitimate son Penthilus, by Erigonê daughter of Ægisthus[2], together with Echelatus and Gras, the son and grandson of Penthilus, and Kleuês and Malaus, descendants of Agamemnôn through another lineage. According to the account given by Strabo, Orestês began the emigration, but died on his route in Arcadia; his son Penthilus took the guidance of the emigrants, and conducted them by the long land-journey through Bœotia and Thessaly to Thrace[3]; from thence Archelaus, son of Penthilus, led them across the Hellespont, and settled at Daskylium on the Propontis. Gras, son of Archelaus, crossed over to Lesbos and possessed himself of the island. Kleuês and Malaus, conducting another body of Achæans, were longer on their journey, and lingered a considerable time near Mount Phrikium in the territory of Locris; ulti-

[1] Pindar, Nem. xi. 43; Hellanic. Fragm. 114, ed. Didot. Compare Stephan. Byz. v. Πέρινθος.

[2] Kinæthon ap. Pausan. ii. 18, 5. Penthilids existed in Lesbos during the historical times (Aristot. Polit. v. 10, 2).

[3] It has sometimes been supposed that the country called Thrace here means the residence of the Thracians near Parnassus; but the length of the journey, and the number of years which it took up, are so specially marked, that I think Thrace in its usual and obvious sense must be intended.

mately however they passed over by sea to Asia and took possession of Kymê, south of the Gulf of Adramyttium, the most considerable of all the Æolic cities on the continent[1]. From Lesbos and Kymê, the other less considerable Æolic towns, spreading over the region of Ida as well as the Trôad, and comprehending the island of Tenedos, are said to have derived their origin.

Though there are many differences in the details, the accounts agree in representing these Æolic settlements as formed by the Achæans expatriated from Lacônia under the guidance of the dispossessed Pelopids[2]. We are told that in their journey through Bœotia they received considerable reinforcements, and Strabo adds that the emigrants started from Aulis, the port from whence Agamemnôn departed in the expedition against Troy[3]. He also informs us that they missed their course and experienced many losses from nautical ignorance, but we do not know to what particular incidents he alludes[4].

2. IONIC EMIGRATION.

The Ionic emigration is described as emanating from and directed by the Athenians, and connects

[1] Strabo, xiii. p. 582. Hellanicus seems to have treated of this delay near Mount Phrikium (see Steph. Byz. v. Φρίκιον). In another account (xiii. p. 621), probably copied from the Kymæan Ephorus, Strabo connects the establishments of this colony with the sequel of the Trojan war: the Pelasgians, the occupants of the territory, who had been the allies of Priam, were weakened by the defeat which they had sustained and unable to resist the immigrants.

[2] Velleius Patercul. i. 4: compare Anticlides ap. Athenæ. xi. c. 3; Pausanias, iii. 2, 1.

[3] Strabo, ix. p. 401.

[4] Strabo, i. p. 10.

itself with the previous legendary history of Athens, which must therefore be here briefly recapitulated.

Ionic emigration—branches off from the legendary history of Athens.

The great mythical hero Thêseus, of whose military prowess and errant exploits we have spoken in a previous chapter, was still more memorable in the eyes of the Athenians as an internal political reformer. He was supposed to have performed for them the inestimable service of transforming Attica out of many states into one. Each dême, or at least a great many out of the whole number, had before his time enjoyed political independence under its own magistrates and assemblies, acknowledging only a federal union with the rest under the presidency of Athens: by a mixture of conciliation and force, Thêseus succeeded in putting down all these separate governments and bringing them to unite in one political system centralised at Athens. He is said to have established a constitutional government, retaining for himself a defined power as king or president, and distributing the people into three classes: Eupatridæ, a sort of sacerdotal noblesse; Geômori and Demiurgi, husbandmen and artisans[1]. Having brought these important changes into efficient working, he commemorated them for his posterity by introducing solemn and appropriate festivals. In confirmation of the dominion of Athens over the Megarid territory, he is said farther to have erected a pillar at the extremity of the latter towards the Isthmus, marking the boundary between Peloponnêsus and Iônia.

But a revolution so extensive was not consum-

[1] Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 24, 25, 26.

Thêseus and Menestheus.

mated without creating much discontent, and Menestheus, the rival of Thêseus,—the first specimen, as we are told, of an artful demagogue,—took advantage of this feeling to assail and undermine him. Thêseus had quitted Attica to accompany and assist his friend Peirithöus in his journey down to the under-world, in order to carry off the goddess Persephonê,—or (as those who were critical in legendary story preferred recounting) in a journey to the residence of Aidôneus, king of the Molossians in Epirus, to carry off his daughter: Peirithöus perished in the enterprise, and Thêseus was cast into prison, from whence he was only liberated by the intercession of Hêraklês. It was during this temporary absence that the Tyndarids Castôr and Pollux invaded Attica for the purpose of recovering their sister Helen, whom Thêseus had at a former period taken away from Sparta and deposited at Aphidnæ; and the partisans of Menestheus took advantage both of the absence of Thêseus and of the calamity which his licentiousness had brought upon the country, to ruin his popularity with the people. When he returned he found them no longer disposed to endure his dominion, or to continue to him the honours which their previous feelings of gratitude had conferred. He therefore placed his sons under the protection of Elephenôr in Eubœa, and sought an asylum with Lykomêdês prince of Scyros, from whom however he received an insidious welcome and a traitorous death[1].

Menestheus, succeeding to the honours of the expatriated hero, commanded the Athenian troops

[1] Plutarch, Thêseus, c. 34–35.

at the siege of Troy; but though he survived the capture, he never returned to Athens: different stories were related of the place where he and his companions settled. During this interval the feelings of the Athenians having changed, they restored the sons of Thêseus, who had served at Troy under Elephenôr and had returned unhurt, to the station and functions of their father. The Theseids Demophoôn, Oxyntas, Apheidas, and Thymœtês, had successively filled this post for the space of about sixty years[1], when the Dorian invaders of Peloponnêsus (as has been before related) compelled Melanthus and the Neleid family to abandon their kingdom of Pylus. The refugees found shelter at Athens, where a fortunate adventure soon raised Melanthus to the throne. A war breaking out between the Athenians and Bœotians respecting the boundary tract of Œnoê, the Bœotian king Xanthus challenged Thymœtês to single combat: the latter declining to accept it, Melanthus not only stood forward in his place, but practised a cunning stratagem with such success as to kill his adversary. He was forthwith chosen king, Thymœtês being constrained to resign[2].

Restoration of the sons of Thêseus to their father's kingdom.

[1] Eusebius, Chronic. Can. p. 228-229, ed. Scaliger; Pausan. ii. 18, 7.

[2] Ephorus ap. Harpocration. v. Ἀπατούρια:—Ἔφορος ἐν δευτέρῳ, ὡς διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁρίων ἀπάτην γενομένην, ὅτι πολεμούντων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Μελαινῶν χώρας, Μέλανθος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς Ξάνθον τὸν Θηβαῖον μονομαχῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. Compare Strabo, ix. p. 393.

Ephorus derives the term Ἀπατούρια from the words signifying a trick with reference to the boundaries, and assumes the name of this great Ionic festival to have been derived from the stratagem of Melanthus, described in Conôn (Narrat. 39) and Polyænus (i. 19). The

They are displaced by the Neleids—Melanthus and Codrus.

Melanthus and his son Codrus reigned for nearly sixty years, during which time large bodies of fugitives, escaping from the recent invaders throughout Greece, were harboured by the Athenians: so that Attica became populous enough to excite the alarm and jealousy of the Peloponnesian Dorians. A powerful Dorian force, under the command of Alêtês from Corinth and Althæmenês from Argos, were accordingly despatched to invade the Athenian territory, in which the Delphian oracle promised them success, provided they abstained from injuring the person of Codrus. Strict orders were given to the Dorian army that Codrus should be preserved unhurt; but the oracle had become known among the Athenians[1], and the generous prince determined to bring death upon himself as a means of salvation to his country. Assuming the disguise of a peasant, he intentionally provoked a quarrel with some of the Dorian troops, who slew him without suspecting his real character. No sooner was this event known, than the Dorian leaders, despairing of success, abandoned their enterprise and evacuated the country[2]. In retiring, however, they retained possession of Megara, where they established permanent settlers, and which became from this moment Dorian,—

whole derivation is fanciful and erroneous, and the story is a curious specimen of legend growing out of etymology.

[1] The orator Lycurgus, in his eulogium on Codrus, mentions a Delphian citizen named Kleomantis who secretly communicated the oracle to the Athenians, and was rewarded by them for doing so with σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ (Lycurg. cont. Leocrat. c. 20).

[2] Pherecydês, Fragm. 110, ed. Didot; Vell. Paterc. i. 2; Conôn, Narr. 26; Polyæn. i. c. 18.

Hellanicus traced the genealogy of Codrus, through ten generations, up to Deucaliôn (Fragment 10, ed. Didot).

seemingly at first a dependency of Corinth, though it afterwards acquired its freedom and became an autonomous community[1]. This memorable act of devoted patriotism, analogous to that of the daughters of Erechtheus at Athens, and of Menœkeus at Thêbes, entitled Codrus to be ranked among the most splendid characters in Grecian legend.

Devotion and death of Codrus —no more kings at Athens.

Codrus is numbered as the last king of Athens: his descendants were styled Archons, but they held that dignity for life—a practice which prevailed during a long course of years afterwards. Medon and Neileus, his two sons, having quarrelled about the succession, the Delphian oracle decided in favour of the former; and the latter, affronted at the preference, resolved upon seeking a new home[2]. There were at this moment many dispossessed sections of Greeks, and an adventitious population accumulated in Attica, who were anxious for settlements beyond sea. The expeditions which now set forth to cross the Ægean, chiefly under the conduct of members of the Codrid family, composed collectively the memorable Ionic Emigration, of which the Ionians, recently expelled from Peloponnêsus, formed a part, but, as it would seem, only a small part; for we hear of many quite distinct races, some renowned in legend, who withdraw from Greece amidst this assemblage of colonists. The Cadmeians, the Minyæ of Orchomenus, the Abantês of Eubœa, the Dryopes; the Molossi, the Phocians, the Bœotians, the Arcadian Pelasgians, and even the Dorians of Epidaurus—are represented as furnishing each a proportion of the

Quarrel of the sons of Codrus, and emigration of Neileus.

[1] Strabo, xiv. p. 653.

[2] Pausan. vii. 2, 1.

Different races who furnished the emigrants to Iônia.

crews of these emigrant vessels[1]. Nor were the results unworthy of so mighty a confluence of different races. Not only the Cyclades islands in the Ægean, but the great islands of Samos and Chios near the Asiatic coast, and ten different cities on the coast of Asia Minor, from Milêtus on the south to Phokæa in the north, were founded, and all adopted the Ionic name. Athens was the metropolis or mother city of all of them: Androclus and Neileus, the Œkists of Ephesus and Milêtus, and probably other Œkists also, started from the Prytaneium at Athens[2], with those solemnities, religious and political, which usually marked the departure of a swarm of Grecian colonists.

Other mythical families, besides the heroic lineage of Nêleus and Nestôr, as represented by the sons of Codrus, took a leading part in the expedition. Herodotus mentions Lycian chiefs, descendants from Glaucus son of Hippolochus, and Pausanias tells us of Philôtas descendant of Peneleôs, who went at the head of a body of Thebans: both Glaucus and Peneleôs are commemorated in the Iliad[3]. And it is a remarkable fact mentioned by Pausanias (though we do not know on what authority), that the inhabitants of Phokæa—which was the northernmost city of Iônia on the borders of Æolis, and one of the last founded—consisting

[1] Herodot. i. 146; Pausan. vii. 2, 3, 4. Isocratês extols his Athenian ancestors for having provided, by means of this emigration, settlements for so large a number of distressed and poor Greeks at the expense of Barbarians (Or. xii. Panathenaic, p. 241).

[2] Herodot. i. 146; vii. 95; viii. 46. Vellei. Paterc. i. 4. Pherecydês, Frag. 111, ed. Didot.

[3] Herodot. i. 147; Pausan. vii. 2. 7.

mostly of Phocian colonists under the conduct of the Athenians Philogenês and Dæmôn, were not admitted into the Pan-Ionic Amphictyony until they consented to choose for themselves chiefs of the Codrid family[1]. Proklês, the chief who conducted the Ionic emigrants from Epidaurus to Samos, was said to be of the lineage of Iôn son of Xuthus[2].

Of the twelve Ionic states constituting the Pan-Ionic Amphictyony — some of them among the greatest cities in Hellas—I shall say no more at present, as I have to treat of them again when I come upon historical ground.

3. DORIC EMIGRATIONS.

The Æolic and Ionic emigrations are thus both presented to us as direct consequences of the event called the Return of the Herakleids: and in like manner the formation of the Dorian Hexapolis in the south-western corner of Asia Minor: Côs, Cnidus, Halicarnassus and Rhodes, with its three separate cities, as well as the Dorian establishments in Crête, Melos, and Thêra, are all traced more or less directly to the same great revolution.

Dorian colonies in Asia.

Thêra, more especially, has its root in the legendary world. Its Œkist was Thêras, a descendant of the heroic lineage of Œdipus and Cadmus, and maternal uncle of the young kings of Sparta, Eurysthenês and Proklês, during whose minority he had exercised the regency. On their coming of

[1] Pausan. vii. 2, 2; vii. 3, 4.

[2] Pausan. vii. 4, 3.

Thêra.

age, his functions were at an end: but he was unable to endure a private station, and determined to put himself at the head of a body of emigrants: many came forward to join him, and the expedition was further reinforced by a body of interlopers, belonging to the Minyæ, of whom the Lacedæmonians were anxious to get rid. These Minyæ had arrived in Laconia, not long before, from the island of Lemnos, out of which they had been expelled by the Pelasgian fugitives from Attica. They landed without asking permission, took up their abode and began to "light their fires" on Mount Taygetus. When the Lacedæmonians sent to ask who they were and wherefore they had come, the Minyæ replied that they were sons of the Argonauts who had landed at Lemnos, and that being expelled from their own homes, they thought themselves entitled to solicit an asylum in the territory of their fathers: they asked, withal, to be admitted to share both the lands and the honours of the state. The Lacedæmonians granted the request, chiefly on the ground of a common ancestry—their own great heroes, the Tyndarids, having been enrolled in the crew of the Argô: the Minyæ were then introduced as citizens into the tribes, received lots of land, and began to intermarry with the pre-existing families.

Legend of the Minyæ from Lemnos.

It was not long, however, before they became insolent: they demanded a share in the kingdom (which was the venerated privilege of the Herakleids), and so grossly misconducted themselves in other ways, that the Lacedæmonians resolved to put them to death, and began by casting them into prison. While the Minyæ were thus confined, their

wives, Spartans by birth and many of them daughters of the principal men, solicited permission to go in and see them: leave being granted, they made use of the interview to change clothes with their husbands, who thus escaped and fled again to Mount Taygetus. The greater number of them quitted Laconia, and marched to Triphylia in the western regions of Peloponnêsus, from whence they expelled the Paroreatæ and the Kaukones, and founded six towns of their own, of which Lepreum was the chief. A certain proportion, however, by permission of the Lacedæmonians, joined Thêras and departed with him to the island of Callistê, then possessed by Phenician inhabitants who were descended from the kinsmen and companions of Cadmus, and who had been left there by that prince, when he came forth in search of Eurôpa, eight generations preceding. Arriving thus among men of kindred lineage with himself, Thêras met with a fraternal reception, and the island derived from him the name, under which it is historically known, of Thêra[1].

Such is the foundation-legend of Thêra, believed both by the Lacedæmonians and by the Theræans, and interesting as it brings before us, characteristically as well as vividly, the persons and feelings of the mythical world—the Argonauts, with the Tyndarids as their companions and Minyæ as their children. In Lepreum, as in the other towns of

Minyæ in Triphylia.

[1] Herodot. iv. 145–149; Valer. Maxim. iv. c. 6; Polyæn. vii. 49, who however gives the narrative differently by mentioning "Tyrrhenians from Lemnos aiding Sparta during the Helotic war": another narrative in his collection (viii. 71), though imperfectly preserved, seems to approach more closely to Herodotus.

Triphylia, the descent from the Minyæ of old seems to have been believed in the historical times, and the mention of the river Minyëius in those regions by Homer tended to confirm it[1]. But people were not unanimous as to the legend by which that descent should be made out; while some adopted the story just cited from Herodotus, others imagined that Chlôris, who had come from the Minyeian town of Orchomenus as the wife of Nêleus to Pylus, had brought with her a body of her countrymen[2].

These Minyæ from Lemnos and Imbros appear again as portions of another narrative respecting the settlement of the colony of Mêlos. It has already been mentioned, that when the Herakleids and the Dorians invaded Lacônia, Philonomus, an Achæan, treacherously betrayed to them the country, for which he received as his recompense the territory of Amyklæ. He is said to have peopled this territory by introducing detachments of Minyæ from Lemnos and Imbros, who in the third generation after the return of the Herakleids, became so discontented and revolted, that the Lacedæmonians resolved to send them out of the country as emigrants, under their chiefs Polis and Delphus. Taking the direction of Crête, they stopped

[1] Homer, Iliad, xi. 721.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 347. M. Raoul Rochette, who treats the legends for the most part as if they were so much authentic history, is much displeased with Strabo for admitting this diversity of stories (Histoire des Colonies Grecques, t. iii. ch. 7, p. 54)—"Après des détails si clairs et si positifs, comment est-il possible que ce même Strabon, bouleversant toute la chronologie, fasse arriver les Minyens dans la Triphylie sous la conduite de Chloris, mère de Nestor?"

The story which M. Raoul Rochette thus puts aside is quite equal in point of credibility to that which he accepts: in fact no measure of credibility can be applied.

in their way to land a portion of their colonists on the island of Mêlos, which remained throughout the historical times a faithful and attached colony of Lacedæmôn[1]. On arriving in Crête, they are said to have settled at the town of Gortyn. We find, moreover, that other Dorian establishments, either from Lacedæmôn or Argos, were formed in Crête, and Lyktos in particular is noticed, not only as a colony of Sparta, but as distinguished for the analogy of its laws and customs[2]. It is even said that Crête, immediately after the Trojan war, had been visited by the wrath of the gods, and depopulated by famine and pestilence, and that in the third generation afterwards, so great was the influx of immigrants, that the entire population of the island was renewed, with the exception of the Eteokrêtes at Polichnæ and Præsus[3]. Migrations of Dorians to Crête.

There were Dorians in Crête in the time of the Odyssey: Homer mentions different languages and different races of men, Eteokrêtes, Kydônes, Dorians, Achæans, and Pelasgians, as all coexisting in the island, which he describes to be populous, and to contain ninety cities. A legend given by Andrôn, based seemingly upon the statement of Herodotus, that Dôrus the son of Hellen had settled in Histiæôtis, ascribed the first introduction of the three

[1] Conôn, Narrat. 36. Compare Plutarch, Quæstion. Græc. c. 21, where Tyrrhenians from Lemnos are mentioned, as in the passage of Polyænus referred to in a preceding note.

[2] Strabo, x. p. 481; Aristot. Polit. ii. 10.

[3] Herodot. vii. 171 (see above, Ch. xii. vol. i. p. 309). Diodôrus (v. 80), as well as Herodotus, mentions generally large immigrations into Crête from Lacedæmôn and Argos; but even the laborious research of M. Raoul Rochette (Histoire des Colonies Grecques, t. iii. c. 9, p. 60–68) fails in collecting any distinct particulars of them.

Story of Andrôn.

last races to Tektaphus son of Dôrus,—who had led forth from that country a colony of Dorians, Achæans, and Pelasgians, and had landed in Crête during the reign of the indigenous king Krês[1]. This story of Andrôn so exactly fits on to the Homeric Catalogue of Cretan inhabitants, that we may reasonably presume it to have been designedly arranged with reference to that Catalogue, so as to afford some plausible account, consistently with the received legendary chronology, how there came to be Dorians in Crête before the Trojan war—the Dorian colonies after the return of the Herakleids being of course long posterior in supposed order of time. To find a leader sufficiently early for his hypothesis, Andrôn ascends to the primitive Eponymus Dôrus, to whose son Tektaphus he ascribes the introduction of a mixed colony of Dorians, Achæans, and Pelasgians into Crête: these are the exact three races enumerated in the Odyssey, and the king Krês, whom Andron affirms to have been then reigning in the island, represents the Eteokrêtes and Kydônes in the list of Homer. The story seems to have found favour among native Cretan histo-

[1] Steph. Byz. v. Δώριον.—Περὶ ὧν ἱστορεῖ Ἄνδρων, Κρητὸς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ βασιλεύοντος, Τέκταφον τὸν Δώρου τοῦ Ἕλληνος, ὁρμήσαντα ἐκ τῆς ἐν Θετταλίᾳ τότε μὲν Δωρίδος, νῦν δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιδος καλουμένης, ἀφικέσθαι εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ Δωριέων τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Πελασγῶν, τῶν οὐκ ἀπαράντων εἰς Τυρρηνίαν. Compare Strabo, x. p. 475–476, from which it is plain that the story was adduced by Andrôn with a special explanatory reference to the passage in the Odyssey (xv. 175).

The age of Andrôn, one of the authors of Atthidês, is not precisely ascertainable, but he can hardly be put earlier than 300 B C.; see the preliminary Dissertation of C. Müller to the Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, ed. Didot, p. lxxxii; and the Prolusio de Atthidum Scriptoribus, prefixed to Lenz's edition of the Fragments of Phanodêmus and Dêmôn, p. xxviii. Lips. 1812.

rians, as it doubtless serves to obviate what would otherwise be a contradiction in the legendary chronology[1].

Althæmenês, founder of Rhodes.

Another Dorian emigration from Peloponnêsus to Crête, which extended also to Rhodes and Côs, is farther said to have been conducted by Althæmenês, who had been one of the chiefs in the expedition against Attica in which Codrus perished. This prince, a Herakleid and third in descent from Têmenus, was induced to expatriate by a family quarrel, and conducted a body of Dorian colonists from Argos first to Crête, where some of them remained; but the greater number accompanied him to Rhodes, in which island, after expelling the Carian possessors, he founded the three cities of Lindus, Ialysus, and Kameirus[2].

It is proper here to add, that the legend of the Rhodian archæologists respecting their œkist Althæmenês, who was worshiped in the island with heroic honours, was something totally different from the preceding. Althæmenês was a Cretan, son of the king Katreus, and grandson of Minos. An oracle predicted to him that he would one day kill his father: eager to escape so terrible a destiny, he quitted Crête, and conducted a colony to Rhodes, where the famous temple of the Atabyrian Zeus, on the lofty summit of Mount Atabyrum, was ascribed

[1] See Diodôr. iv. 60; v. 80. From Strabo (*l. c.*) however we see that others rejected the story of Andrôn.

O. Müller (History of the Dorians, b. i. § 9) accepts the story as substantially true, putting aside the name Dôrus, and even regards it as certain that Minos of Knôssus was a Dorian; but the evidence with which he supports this conclusion appears to me loose and fanciful.

[2] Conôn, Narrat. 47; Ephorus, Fragm. 62, ed. Marx.

to his foundation, built so as to command a view of Crête. He had been settled on the island for some time, when his father Katreus, anxious again to embrace his only son, followed him from Crête: he landed in Rhodes during the night without being known, and a casual collision took place between his attendants and the islanders. Althæmenês hastened to the shore to assist in repelling the supposed enemies, and in the fray had the misfortune to kill his aged father[1].

Côs, Cnidus, and Carpathus.

Either the emigrants who accompanied Althæmenês, or some other Dorian colonists afterwards, are reported to have settled at Côs, Cnidus, Carpathus, and Halikarnassus. To the last-mentioned city, however, Anthês of Trœzên is assigned as the œkist: the emigrants who accompanied him were said to have belonged to the Dymanian tribe, one of the three tribes always found in a Doric state: and the city seems to have been characterised as a colony sometimes of Trœzên, sometimes of Argos[2].

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[1] Diodôr. v. 59; Apollodôr. iii. 2, 2. In the chapter next but one preceding this, Diodôrus had made express reference to native Rhodian mythologists,—to one in particular, named Zeno (c. 57).

Wesseling supposes two different settlers in Rhodes, both named Althæmenês: this is certainly necessary, if we are to treat the two narratives as historical.

[2] Strabo, xiv. p. 653; Pausan. ii. 39, 3; Callimachus apud Stephan. Byz. v. Ἁλικάρνασσος.

Herodotus (vii. 99) calls Halikarnassus a colony of Trœzên; Pomponius Mela (i. 16), of Argos. Vitruvius names both Argos and Trœzên (ii. 8, 12); but the two œkists whom he mentions, Melas and Arevanius, were not so well known as Anthês; the inhabitants of Halikarnassus being called *Antheadæ* (see Stephan. Byz. v. Ἄθῆναι; and a curious inscription in Boeckh's Corpus Inscriptionum, No. 2655).

We thus have the Æolic, the Ionic, and the Doric colonial establishments in Asia, all springing out of the legendary age, and all set forth as consequences, direct or indirect, of what is called the Return of the Herakleids, or the Dorian conquest of Peloponnêsus. According to the received chronology, they are succeeded by a period, supposed to comprise nearly three centuries, which is almost an entire blank, before we reach authentic chronology and the first recorded Olympiad—and they thus form the concluding events of the mythical world, out of which we now pass into historical Greece, such as it stands at the last-mentioned epoch. It is by these migrations that the parts of the Hellenic aggregate are distributed into the places which they occupy at the dawn of historical daylight—Dorians, Arcadians, Ætolo-Eleians, and Achæans, sharing Peloponnêsus unequally among them—Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians, settled both in the islands of the Ægean and the coast of Asia Minor. The Return of the Herakleids, as well as the three emigrations, Æolic, Ionic, and Doric, present the legendary explanation, suitable to the feelings and belief of the people, showing how Greece passed from the heroic races who besieged Troy and Thêbes, piloted the adventurous Argô, and slew the monstrous boar of Calydôn—to the historical races, differently named and classified, who furnished victors to the Olympic and Pythian games.

Intervening blank between legend and history.

A patient and learned French writer, M. Raoul Rochette,—who construes all the events of the heroic age, generally speaking, as so much real history, only making allowance for the mistakes and exag-

Difficulty of explaining that blank, on the hypothesis of continuous tradition.

gerations of poets,—is greatly perplexed by the blank and interruption which this supposed continuous series of history presents, from the Return of the Herakleids down to the beginning of the Olympiads. He cannot explain to himself so long a period of absolute quiescence, after the important incidents and striking adventures of the heroic age; and if there happened nothing worthy of record during this long period—as he presumes from the fact that nothing has been transmitted—he concludes that this must have arisen from the state of suffering and exhaustion in which previous wars and revolution had left the Greeks: a long interval of complete inaction being required to heal such wounds[1].

[1] "La période qui me semble la plus obscure et la plus remplie de difficultés, n'est pas celle que je viens de parcourir: c'est celle qui sépare l'époque des Héraclides de l'institution des Olympiades. La perte des ouvrages d'Ephore et de Théopompe est sans doute la cause en grande partie du vide immense que nous offre dans cet intervalle l'histoire de la Grèce. Mais si l'on en excepte l'établissement des colonies Éoliennes, Doriennes, et Ioniennes, de l'Asie Mineure, et quelques évènemens, très rapprochés de la première de ces époques, l'espace de plus de quatre siècles qui les sépare est couvert d'une obscurité presqu' impénétrable, et l'on aura toujours lieu de s'étonner que les ouvrages des anciens n'offrent aucun secours pour remplir une lacune aussi considérable. Une pareille absence doit aussi nous faire soupçonner qu'il se passa dans la Grèce peu de ces grands évènemens qui se gravent fortement dans la mémoire des hommes: puisque, si les traces ne s'en étaient point conservées dans les écrits des contemporains, au moins le souvenir s'en seroit il perpétué par des monumens: or les monumens et l'histoire se taisent également. Il faut donc croire que la Grèce, agitée depuis si long temps par des révolutions de toute espèce, épuisée par ses dernières émigrations, se tourna toute entière vers des occupations paisibles, et ne chercha, pendant ce long intervalle, qu'à guérir, au sein du repos et de l'abondance qui en est la suite, les plaies profondes que sa population avait souffertes." (Raoul Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, t. ii. c. 16. p. 455.)

To the same purpose Gillies (History of Greece, ch. iii. p. 67, quarto):

Such an interval essentially connected with the genesis of legend.

Assuming M. Rochette's view of the heroic ages to be correct, and reasoning upon the supposition that the adventures ascribed to the Grecian heroes are matters of historical reality, transmitted by tradition from a period of time four centuries before the recorded Olympiads, and only embellished by describing poets—the blank which he here dwells upon is, to say the least of it, embarrassing and unaccountable. It is strange that the stream of tradition, if it had once begun to flow, should (like several of the rivers in Greece) be submerged for two or three centuries and then re-appear. But when we make what appears to me the proper distinction between legend and history, it will be seen that a period of blank time between the two is perfectly conformable to the conditions under which the former is generated. It is not the immediate past, but a supposed remote past, which forms the suitable atmosphere of mythical narrative, —a past originally quite undetermined in respect to distance from the present, as we see in the Iliad and Odyssey. And even when we come down to the genealogical poets, who affect to give a certain measure of bygone time, and a succession of persons as well as of events, still the names whom they most delight to honour and upon whose exploits they chiefly expatiate, are those of the ancestral gods and heroes of the tribe and their supposed contemporaries; ancestors separated by a long lineage from the present hearer. The gods and

"The obscure transactions of Greece, during the four following centuries, ill correspond with the splendour of the Trojan, or even of the Argonautic expedition," &c.

heroes were conceived as removed from him by several generations, and the legendary matter which was grouped around them appeared only the more imposing when exhibited at a respectful distance, beyond the days of father and grandfather and of all known predecessors. The Odes of Pindar strikingly illustrate this tendency. We thus see how it happened that between the times assigned to heroic adventure and those of historical record, there existed an intermediate blank, filled with inglorious names; and how amongst the same society, which cared not to remember proceedings of fathers and grandfathers, there circulated much popular and accredited narrative respecting real or supposed ancestors long past and gone. The obscure and barren centuries which immediately precede the first recorded Olympiad, form the natural separation between the legendary return of the Herakleids and the historical wars of Sparta against Messênê,—between the province of legend, wherein matter of fact (if any there be) is so intimately combined with its accompaniments of fiction, as to be undistinguishable without the aid of extrinsic evidence—and that of history, where some matters of fact can be ascertained, and where a sagacious criticism may be usefully employed in trying to add to their number.

CHAPTER XIX.

APPLICATION OF CHRONOLOGY TO GRECIAN LEGEND.

I NEED not repeat, what has already been sufficiently set forth in the preceding pages, that the mass of Grecian incident anterior to 776 B.C. appears to me not reducible either to history or to chronology, and that any chronological system which may be applied to it must be essentially uncertified and illusory. It was however chronologised in ancient times, and has continued to be so in modern; and the various schemes employed for this purpose may be found stated and compared in the first volume (the last published) of Mr. Fynes Clinton's Fasti Hellenici. There were among the Greeks, and there still are among modern scholars, important differences as to the dates of the principal events: Eratosthenês dissented both from Herodotus and from Phanias and Callimachus, while Larcher and Raoul Rochette (who follow Herodotus) stand opposed to O. Müller and to Mr. Clinton[1]. That the reader may have a general

Different schemes of chronology proposed for the mythical events.

[1] Larcher and Raoul Rochette, adopting the chronological date of Herodotus, fix the taking of Troy at 1270 B.C., and the Return of the Herakleids at 1190 B.C. According to the scheme of Eratosthenês, these two events stand at 1184 and 1104 B.C.

O. Müller, in his Chronological Tables (Appendix vi. to History of Dorians, vol. ii. p. 441, Eng. transl.), gives no dates or computation of years anterior to the Capture of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids, which he places with Eratosthenês in 1184 and 1104 B.C.

C. Müller thinks (in his Annotatio ad Marmor Parium, appended to the

conception of the order in which these legendary events were disposed, I transcribe from the Fasti Hellenici a double chronological table, contained in p. 139, in which the dates are placed in series, from Phorôneus to the Olympiad of Corœbus in B.C. 776—in the first column according to the system of Eratosthenês, in the second according to that of Callimachus.

"The following table (says Mr. Clinton) offers a summary view of the leading periods from Phorôneus to the Olympiad of Corœbus, and exhibits a double series of dates; the one proceeding from the date of Eratosthenês, the other from a date founded on the reduced calculations of Phanias and Callimachus, which strike out fifty-six years from the amount of Eratosthenês. Phanias, as we have seen, omitted fifty-five years between the Return and the registered Olympiads; for so we may understand the account: Callimachus, fifty-six years between the Olympiad

Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, ed. Didot, pp. 556, 568, 572; compare his Prefatory notice of the Fragments of Hellanicus, p. xxviii of the same volume) that the ancient chronologists, in their arrangement of the mythical events as antecedent and consequent, were guided by certain numerical attachments, especially by a reverence for the cycle of 63 years, product of the sacred numbers $7 \times 9 = 63$. I cannot think that he makes out his hypothesis satisfactorily, as to the particular cycle followed, though it is not improbable that some preconceived numerical theories *did* guide these early calculators. He calls attention to the fact that the Alexandrine computation of dates was only one among a number of others discrepant, and that modern inquirers are too apt to treat it as if it stood alone, or carried some superior authority (p. 568–572; compare Clemen. Alex. Stromat. i. p. 145, Sylb.). For example, O. Müller observes (Appendix to Hist. of Dorians, p. 442) that "Larcher's criticism and rejection of the Alexandrine chronologists may perhaps be found as groundless as they are presumptuous,"—an observation which, to say the least of it, ascribes to Eratosthenês a far higher authority than he is entitled to.

of Iphitus and the Olympiad in which Corœbus won[1]. The first column of this table exhibits the *current* years before and after the fall of Troy: in the second column of dates the *complete* intervals are expressed.

Years before the Fall of Troy.		Years intervening between the different events.	B.C. Eratosth.	B.C. Callimach.
(570)[2]	*Phoroneus*, p. 19	287	(1753)	(1697)
(283)	*Danaus*, p. 73; *Pelasgus V.* p. 13, 88	33	(1466)	(1410)
(250)	*Deucalion*, p. 42	50	(1433)	(1377)
(200)	*Erechtheus*; *Dardanus*, p. 88	50	(1383)	(1327)
(150)	*Azan, Aphidas, Elatus*	20	(1333)	(1277)
130	*Cadmus*, p. 85	30	1313	1257
(100)	*Pelops*	22	(1283)	(1227)
78	Birth of *Hercules*	36	1261	1205
(42)	Argonauts	12	(1225)	(1169)
30	First Theban war, p. 51, h.	4	1213	1157
26	Death of *Hercules*	2	1209	1153
24	Death of *Eurystheus*, p. 106, x.	4	1207	1151
20	Death of *Hyllus*	$2^y\ 9^m$	1203	1147
18	Accession of *Agamemnon*	2	1200	1144
16	Second Theban war, p. 87, l.	6	1198	1142
10	Trojan expedition ($9^y\ 1^m$)	9	1192	1136
Years after the Fall of Troy.				
	Troy taken	7	1183	1127
8	*Orestes* reigns at Argos in the 8th year	52	1176	1120
60	The *Thessali* occupy Thessaly; The *Bœoti* return to Bœotia in the 60th year; Æolic migration under *Penthilus*	20	1124	1068
80	Return of the *Heraclidæ* in the 80th year	29	1104	1048
109	*Aletes* reigns at Corinth, p. 130, m.	1	1075	1019
110	Migration of *Theras*	21	1074	1018
131	Lesbos occupied 130 years after the æra	8	1053	997
139	Death of *Codrus*	1	1045	989
140	Ionic migration 60 years after the Return.	11	1044	988
151	Cymê founded 150 years after the æra	18	1033	977
169	Smyrna, 168 years after the æra, p. 105, t.	131	1015	959
		299		
300	Olympiad of *Iphitus*	108; 52	884	828
408; 352	Olympiad of *Corœbus*	...	776	776

[1] The date of Callimachus for *Iphitus* is approved by Clavier (Prem. Temps, tom. ii. p. 203), who considers it as not far from the truth.

[2] These dates, distinguished from the rest by brackets, are proposed as mere conjectures, founded upon the probable length of generations.

Wherever chronology is possible, researches such as those of Mr. Clinton, which have conduced so much to the better understanding of the later times of Greece, deserve respectful attention. But the ablest chronologist can accomplish nothing, unless he is supplied with a certain basis of matters of fact, pure and distinguishable from fiction, and authenticated by witnesses both knowing the truth and willing to declare it. Possessing this preliminary stock, he may reason from it to refute distinct falsehoods and to correct partial mistakes: but if all the original statements submitted to him contain truth (at least wherever there *is* truth) in a sort of chemical combination with fiction, which he has no means of decomposing, he is in the condition of one who tries to solve a problem without data: he is first obliged to construct his own data, and from them to extract his conclusions. The statements of the epic poets, our only original witnesses in this case, correspond to the description here given: whether the proportion of truth contained in them be smaller or greater, it is at all events unassignable, and the constant and intimate admixture of fiction is both indisputable in itself, and indeed essential to the purpose and profession of those from whom the tales proceed. Of such a character are all the deposing witnesses, even where their tales agree; and it is out of a heap of such tales, not agreeing, but discrepant in a thousand ways, and without a morsel of pure authenticated truth, that the critic is called upon to draw out a methodical series of historical events adorned with chronological dates.

The data, essential to chronological determination, are here wanting.

If we could imagine a modern critical scholar

transported into Greece at the time of the Persian war—endued with his present habits of appreciating historical evidence, without sharing in the religious or patriotic feelings of the country—and invited to prepare, out of the great body of Grecian epic which then existed, a History and Chronology of Greece anterior to 776 B.C., assigning reasons as well for what he admitted as for what he rejected—I feel persuaded that he would have judged the undertaking to be little better than a process of guess-work. But the modern critic finds that not only Pherecydês and Hellanicus, but also Herodotus and Thucydidês, have either attempted the task or sanctioned the belief that it was practicable,—a matter not at all surprising, when we consider both their narrow experience of historical evidence and the powerful ascendency of religion and patriotism in predisposing them to antiquarian belief,—and he therefore accepts the problem as they have bequeathed it, adding his own efforts to bring it to a satisfactory solution. Nevertheless he follows them with some degree of reserve and uneasiness, and even admits important distinctions quite foreign to their habits of thought. Thucydidês talks of the deeds of Hellên and his sons with as much confidence as we now speak of William the Conqueror: Mr. Clinton recognises Hellên and his sons Dôrus, Æolus and Xuthus as fictitious persons. Herodotus recites the great heroic genealogies down from Cadmus and Danaus with a belief not less complete in the higher members of the series than in the lower: but Mr. Clinton admits a radical distinction in the evidence of events before and after the first

Modern chronologists take up the same problem as ancient, but with a different canon of belief.

recorded Olympiad, or 776 B.C.—"the first date in Grecian chronology (he remarks, p. 123) which can be fixed upon *authentic evidence*"—the highest point to which Grecian chronology, *reckoning upward*, can be carried. Of this important epoch in Grecian development,—the commencement of authentic chronological life,—Herodotus and Thucydidês had no knowledge or took no account: the later chronologists, from Timæus downwards, noted it, and made it serve as the basis of their chronological comparisons, so far as it went: but neither Eratosthenês nor Apollodôrus seem to have recognised (though Varro and Africanus did recognise) a marked difference in respect of certainty or authenticity between the period before and the period after.

Mr. Clinton's opinion on the computations of the date of the Trojan war.

In further illustration of Mr. Clinton's opinion that the first recorded Olympiad is the earliest date which can be fixed upon authentic evidence, we have in p. 138 the following just remarks in reference to the dissentient views of Eratosthenês, Phanias and Callimachus, about the date of the Trojan war:—"The chronology of Eratosthenês (he says), founded on a careful comparison of circumstances, and approved by those to whom the same stores of information were open, is entitled to our respect. But we must remember that a conjectural date can never rise to the authority of evidence; that what is accepted as a substitute for testimony is not an equivalent: witnesses only can prove a date, and in the want of these, the knowledge of it is plainly beyond our reach. If in the absence of a better light we seek for what is probable, we are not to forget the distinction between conjecture and proof;

between what is probable and what is certain. The computation then of Eratosthenês for the war of Troy is open to inquiry; and if we find it adverse to the opinions of many preceding writers, who fixed a lower date, and adverse to the acknowledged length of generation in the most authentic dynasties, we are allowed to follow other guides, who give us a lower epoch."

Here Mr. Clinton again plainly acknowledges the want of evidence and the irremediable uncertainty of Grecian chronology before the Olympiads; and the reasonable conclusion from his argument is, not simply that "the computation of Eratosthenês was open to inquiry," (which few would be found to deny,) but that both Eratosthenês and Phanias had delivered positive opinions upon a point on which no sufficient evidence was accessible, and therefore that neither the one nor the other was a guide to be followed[1]. Mr. Clinton does indeed speak of authentic dynasties prior to the first recorded Olympiad, but if there be any such reaching up from that period to a supposed point coeval with or anterior to the war of Troy, I see no good reason for the marked distinction which he draws between chronology before and chronology after the Olympiad of Corœbus, or for the necessity which he feels of suspending his upward reckoning at the last-mentioned epoch, and beginning a different

[1] Karl Müller observes (in the Dissertation above referred to, appended to the Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, p. 568)—"Quod attinet æram Trojanam, tot obruimur et tam diversis veterum scriptorum computationibus, ut singulas enumerare negotium sit tædii plenum, eas vel probare vel improbare res vana nec vacua ab arrogantiâ. Nam nemo hodie nescit quænam fides his habenda sit omnibus."

process, called "a downward reckoning," from the higher epoch (supposed to be somehow ascertained without any upward reckoning) of the first patriarch from whom such authentic dynasty emanates[1]. Herodotus and Thucydidês might well, upon this supposition, ask of Mr. Clinton, why he called upon them to alter their method of proceeding at the year 776 B.C., and why they might not be allowed to pursue their "upward chronological reckoning" without interruption from Leonidas up to Danaus, or from Peisistratus up to Hellên and Deucalion, without any alteration in the point of view. Authentic dynasties from the Olympiads, up to an epoch above the Trojan war, would enable us to obtain chronological proof for the latter date, instead of being reduced (as Mr. Clinton affirms that we are) to "conjecture" instead of proof.

[1] The distinction which Mr. Clinton draws between an upward and a downward chronology is one that I am unable to comprehend. His doctrine is, that upward chronology is trustworthy and practicable up to the first recorded Olympiad; downward chronology is trustworthy and practicable from Phorôneus down to the Ionic migration: what is uncertain is the length of the intermediate line which joins the Ionic migration to the first recorded Olympiad,—the downward and the upward terminus. (See Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. Introduct. p. ix. second edit. and vol. iii. p. 123. ch. vi.)

All chronology must begin by reckoning upwards: when by this process we have arrived at a certain determined æra in earlier time, we may from that date reckon downwards, if we please. We must be able to reckon upwards from the present time to the Christian æra, before we can employ that event as a fixed point for chronological determinations generally. But if Eratosthenês could perform correctly the upward reckoning from his own time to the fall of Troy, so he could also perform the upward reckoning up to the nearer point of the Ionic migration. It is true that Eratosthenês gives all his statements of time from an older point to a newer (so far at least as we can judge from Clemens Alex. Strom. 1. p. 336); he says, "From the capture of Troy to the return of the Herakleids is 80 years; from thence to the Ionic migration, 60 years:

The whole question, as to the value of the reckoning from the Olympiads up to Phorôneus, does in truth turn upon this one point:—Are those genealogies, which profess to cover the space between the two, authentic and trustworthy or not? Mr. Clinton appears to feel that they are not so, when he admits the essential difference in the character of the evidence and the necessity of altering the method of computation, before and after the first recorded Olympiad: yet in his Preface he labours to prove that they possess historical worth and are in the main correctly set forth: moreover, that the fictitious persons, wherever any such are intermingled, may be detected and eliminated. The evidences upon which he relies, are—1. Inscriptions; 2. The early poets.

Value of the chronological computations depends on the trustworthiness of the genealogies.

1. An inscription, being nothing but a piece of

then further on, to the guardianship of Lycurgus, 159 years; then to the first year of the first Olympiad, 108 years; from which Olympiad to the invasion of Xerxês, 297 years; from whence to the beginning of the Peloponnêsian war, 48 years," &c. But here is no difference between upward reckoning as high as the first Olympiad, and then downward reckoning for the intervals of time above it. Eratosthenês first found or made some upward reckoning to the Trojan capture, either from his own time or from some time at a known distance from his own: he then assumes the capture of Troy as an æra, and gives statements of intervals going downwards to the Peloponnêsian war: amongst other statements, he assigns clearly that interval which Mr. Clinton pronounces to be undiscoverable, viz. the space of time between the Ionic emigration and the first Olympiad, interposing one epoch between them. I reject the computation of Eratosthenês, or any other computation, to determine the supposed date of the Trojan war: but if I admitted it, I could have no hesitation in admitting also the space which he defines between the Ionic migration and the first Olympiad. Eusebius (Præp. Ev. x. 9. p. 485) reckons upwards from the birth of Christ, making various halts but never breaking off, to the initial phænomena of Grecian antiquity—the deluge of Deucalion and the conflagration of Phaëtôn.

Mr. Clinton's vindication of the genealogies—his proofs.

writing on marble, carries evidentiary value under the same conditions as a published writing on paper. If the inscriber reports a contemporary fact which he had the means of knowing, and if there be no reason to suspect misrepresentation, we believe his assertion: if on the other hand he records facts belonging to a long period before his own time, his authority counts for little, except in so far as we can verify and appreciate his means of knowledge.

In estimating therefore the probative force of any inscription, the first and most indispensable point is to assure ourselves of its date. Amongst all the public registers and inscriptions alluded to by Mr. Clinton, there is not one which can be positively referred to a date anterior to 776 B.C. The quoit of Iphitus—the public registers at Sparta, Corinth, and Elis—the list of the priestesses of Juno at Argos—are all of a date completely uncertified. O. Müller does indeed agree with Mr. Clinton (though in my opinion without any sufficient proof) in assigning the quoit of Iphitus to the age ascribed to that prince: and if we even grant thus much, we shall have an inscription as old (adopting Mr. Clinton's determination of the age of Iphitus) as 828 B.C. But when Mr. Clinton quotes O. Müller as admitting the registers of Sparta, Corinth, and Elis, it is right to add that the latter does not profess to guarantee the authenticity of these documents, or the age at which such registers began to be kept. It is not to be doubted that there were registers of the kings of Sparta carrying them up to Hêraklês, and of the kings of Elis from Oxylus

1. Inscriptions—none of proved antiquity.

to Iphitus; but the question is, at what time did these lists begin to be kept continuously? This is a point which we have no means of deciding, nor can we accept Mr. Clinton's unsupported conjecture when he tells us—"*Perhaps* these were begun to be written as early as B.C. 1048, the probable time of the Dorian conquest." Again he tells us—"At Argos a register was preserved of the priestesses of Juno which *might be* more ancient than the catalogues of the kings of Sparta or Corinth. That register, from which Hellanicus composed his work, contained the priestesses from the earliest times down to the age of Hellanicus himself..... But this catalogue *might have* been commenced as early as the Trojan war itself, and even at a still earlier date." (pp. x, xi.) Again respecting the inscriptions quoted by Herodotus from the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thêbes, in which Amphitryo and Laodamas are named, Mr. Clinton says—"They were ancient in the time of Herodotus, which *may* perhaps carry them back 400 years before his time: and in that case they *might* approach within 300 years of Laodamas and within 400 years of the probable time of Cadmus himself."—"It is granted (he adds in a note) that these inscriptions were *not genuine*, that is, not of the date to which they were assigned by Herodotus himself. But that they were ancient cannot be doubted," &c.

The time when Herodotus saw the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thêbes can hardly have been earlier than 450 B.C.: reckoning upwards from hence to 776 B.C., we have an interval of 326 years: the inscriptions which Herodotus saw may well there-

fore have been *ancient*, without being earlier than the first recorded Olympiad. Mr. Clinton does indeed tell us that *ancient* "may perhaps" be construed as 400 years earlier than Herodotus. But no careful reader can permit himself to convert this bare possibility into a ground of inference, and to make it available, in conjunction with other similar possibilities before enumerated, for the purpose of showing that there really existed inscriptions in Greece of a date anterior to 776 B.C. Unless Mr. Clinton can make out this, he can derive no benefit from inscriptions, in his attempt to substantiate the reality of the mythical persons or of the mythical events.

Genealogies —numerous, and of unascertainable date.

The truth is, that the Herakleid pedigree of the Spartan kings (as has been observed in a former chapter) is only one out of the numerous divine and heroic genealogies with which the Hellenic world abounded[1],—a class of documents which

[1] See the string of fabulous names placed at the head of the Halicarnassian Inscription, professing to enumerate the series of priests of Poseidôn from the foundation of the city (Inscript. No. 2655, Boeckh), with the commentary of the learned editor: compare also what he pronounces to be an inscription of a genealogy partially fabulous at Hierapytna in Crête (No. 2563).

The memorable Parian marble is itself an inscription, in which legend and history,—gods, heroes, and men—are blended together in the various successive epochs without any consciousness of transition in the mind of the inscriber.

That the Catalogue of priestesses of Hêrê at Argos went back to the extreme of fabulous times, we may discern by the Fragments of Hellanicus (Frag. 45–53). So also did the registers at Sicyôn: they professed to record Amphion, son of Zeus and Antiopê, as the inventor of harp-music (Plutarch, De Musicâ, c. 3. p. 1132).

I remarked in the preceding page that Mr. Clinton erroneously cites K. O. Müller as a believer in the chronological *authenticity* of the lists of the early Spartan kings: he says (vol. iii. App. vi. p. 330), "Mr. Müller is of opinion that an *authentic* account of the years of each

become historical evidence only so high in the ascending series as the names composing them are authenticated by contemporary, or nearly contemporary, enrolment. At what period this practice of enrolment began, we have no information. Two remarks however may be made, in reference to any approximative guess as to the time when actual registration commenced:—First, that the number of names in the pedigree, or the length of past time which it professes to embrace, affords no presumption of any superior antiquity in the time of registration:—Secondly, that looking to the acknowledged paucity and rudeness of Grecian writing even down to the 60th Olympiad (540 B.C.), and to the absence of the habit of writing, as well as the low estimate of its value, which such a state of things argues, the presumption is that written enrolment of family genealogies did not commence until a long time after 776 B.C., and the obligation of proof falls upon him who maintains that it commenced earlier. And this second remark is further borne out when we observe, that there is no registered list, except that of the Olympic victors, which goes up even so high as 776 B.C. The next list which O. Müller and Mr. Clinton produce, is

Lacedæmonian reign from the return of the Heraclidæ to the Olympiad of Corœbus had been preserved to the time of Eratosthenês and Apollodôrus." But this is a mistake; for Müller expressly disavows any belief in the *authenticity* of the lists (Dorians, i. p. 146): he says, "I do not contend that the chronological accounts in the Spartan lists form *an authentic document*, more than those in the catalogue of the priestesses of Hêrê and in the list of Halicarnassian priests. The chronological statements in the Spartan lists may have been formed from imperfect memorials; but the Alexandrine chronologists must have found such tables in existence," &c.

that of the Karneonicæ or victors at the Karneian festival, which reaches only up to 676 B.C.

2. Early poets.

If Mr. Clinton then makes little out of inscriptions to sustain his view of Grecian history and chronology anterior to the recorded Olympiads, let us examine the inferences which he draws from his other source of evidence—the early poets. And here it will be found, First, that in order to maintain the credibility of these witnesses, he lays down positions respecting historical evidence both indefensible in themselves, and especially inapplicable to the early times of Greece: Secondly, that his reasoning is at the same time inconsistent, inasmuch as it includes admissions, which, if properly understood and followed out, exhibit these very witnesses as habitually, indiscriminately, and unconsciously mingling truth and fiction, and therefore little fit to be believed upon their solitary and unsupported testimony.

To take the second point first, he says, Introduction, p. ii–iii—"The authority even of the genealogies has been called in question by many able and learned persons, who reject Danaus, Cadmus, Hercules, Thêseus, and many others, as fictitious persons. It is evident that any fact would come from the hands of the poets embellished with many fabulous additions: and fictitious genealogies were undoubtedly composed. Because, however, some genealogies were fictitious, we are not justified in concluding that all were fabulous..... In estimating then the historical value of the genealogies transmitted by the early poets, we may take a middle course; not rejecting them as wholly false, nor

yet implicitly receiving all as true. The genealogies *contain many real persons*, but these are *incorporated with many fictitious names.* The fictions however will have a basis of truth: the genealogical expression may be false, but the connexion which it describes is real. Even to those who reject the whole as fabulous, the exhibition of the early times which is presented in this volume may still be not unacceptable: because it is necessary to the right understanding of antiquity that the opinions of the Greeks concerning their own origin should be set before us, even if these are erroneous opinions, and that their story should be told as they have told it themselves. The names preserved by the ancient genealogies may be considered of three kinds; either they were the name of a race or clan converted into the name of an individual, or they were altogether fictitious, or lastly, they were real historical names. An attempt is made in the four genealogical tables inserted below to distinguish these three classes of names. . . . . Of those who are left in the third class (*i. e.* the real) all are not entitled to remain there. But I have only placed in the third class those names concerning which there seemed to be little doubt. The rest are left to the judgement of the reader."

Mr. Clinton's separation of the genealogical persons into real and fabulous: principles on which it is founded.

Pursuant to this principle of division, Mr. Clinton furnishes four genealogical tables[1], in which the names of persons representing races are printed in capital letters, and those of purely fictitious persons in italics. And these tables exhibit a curious sample of the intimate commixture of fiction with

[1] See Mr. Clinton's work, pp. 32, 40, 100.

that which he calls truth: real son and mythical father, real husband and mythical wife, or *vice versâ*.

Upon Mr. Clinton's tables we may remark—

Remarks on his opinion.

1. The names singled out as fictitious are distinguished by no common character, and no mark either assignable or defensible, from those which are left as real. To take an example (p. 40), why is Itônus the 1st printed out as a fiction, while Itônus the 2nd, together with Physcus, Cynus, Salmôneus, Ormenus, &c. in the same page are preserved as real, all of them being eponyms of towns just as much as Itônus?

2. If we are to discard Hellên, Dôrus, Æolus, Iôn, &c. as not being real individual persons, but expressions for personified races, why are we to retain Cadmus, Danaus, Hyllus, and several others, who are just as much eponyms of races and tribes as the four above mentioned? Hyllus, Pamphylus and Dymas are the eponyms of the three Dorian tribes[1], just as Hoplês and the other three sons of Iôn were of the four Attic tribes: Cadmus and Danaus stand in the same relation to the Cadmeians and Danæans, as Argus and Achæus to the Argeians and Achæans. Besides, there are many other names really eponymous, which we cannot now recognise to be so, in consequence of our imperfect acquaintance with the subdivisions of the Hellenic population, each of which, speaking generally, had its god or hero, to whom the original of the name was re-

[1] "From these three" (Hyllus, Pamphylus and Dymas), says Mr. Clinton, vol. iii. ch. 5. p. 109, "the three Dorian tribes derived their names."

ferred. If then eponymous names are to be excluded from the category of reality, we shall find that the ranks of the real men will be thinned to a far greater extent than is indicated by Mr. Clinton's tables.

3. Though Mr. Clinton does not carry out consistently either of his disfranchising qualifications among the names and persons of the old mythes, he nevertheless presses them far enough to strike out a sensible proportion of the whole. By conceding thus much to modern scepticism, he has departed from the point of view of Hellanicus and Herodotus and the ancient historians generally; and it is singular that the names, which he has been the most forward to sacrifice, are exactly those to which they were most attached and which it would have been most painful to their faith to part with—I mean the eponymous heroes. Neither Herodotus, nor Hellanicus, nor Eratosthenês, nor any one of the chronological reckoners of antiquity, would have admitted the distinction which Mr. Clinton draws between persons real and persons fictitious in the old mythical world, though they might perhaps occasionally, on special grounds, call in question the existence of some individual characters amongst the mythical ancestry of Greece; but they never dreamt of that general severance into real and fictitious persons which forms the principle of Mr. Clinton's "middle course." Their chronological computations for Grecian antiquity assumed that the mythical characters in their full and entire sequence were all real persons: setting up the entire list as real, they calculated so many generations to

His concessions are partial and inconsistent, yet sufficient to render the genealogies inapplicable for chronology.

a century, and thus determined the number of centuries which separated themselves from the gods, the heroes, or the autochthonous men, who formed in their view the historical starting-point. But as soon as it is admitted that the personages in the mythical world are divisible into two classes, partly real and partly fictitious, the integrity of the series is broken up, and it can be no longer employed as a basis for chronological calculation. In the estimate of the ancient chronologers, three succeeding persons of the same lineage—grandfather, father and son—counted for a century: and this may pass, in a rough way, so long as you are thoroughly satisfied that they are all real persons: but if in the succession of persons A, B, C, you strike out B as a fiction, the continuity of data necessary for chronological computation disappears. Now Mr. Clinton is inconsistent with himself in this—that while he abandons the unsuspecting historical faith of the Grecian chronologers, he nevertheless continues his chronological computations upon the data of that ancient faith,—upon the assumed reality of all the persons constituting his ante-historical generations. What becomes, for example, of the Herakleid genealogy of the Spartan kings, when it is admitted that eponymous persons are to be cancelled as fictions; seeing that Hyllus, through whom those kings traced their origin to Hêraklês, comes in the most distinct manner under that category, as much so as Hoplês the son of Iôn? It will be found that when we once cease to believe in the mythical world as an uninterrupted and unalloyed succession of real individuals, it becomes unfit to serve as a basis for chronological compu-

tations, and that Mr. Clinton, when he mutilated the data of the ancient chronologists, ought at the same time to have abandoned their problems as insoluble. Genealogies of real persons, such as Herodotus and Eratosthenês believed in, afford a tolerable basis for calculations of time, within certain limits of error: "genealogies containing many real persons, but incorporated with many fictitious names," (to use the language just cited from Mr. Clinton,) are essentially unavailable for such a purpose.

It is right here to add, that I agree in Mr. Clinton's view of these eponymous persons: I admit with him that "the genealogical expression may often be false, when the connexion which it describes is real." Thus, for example, the adoption of Hyllus by Ægimius, the father of Pamphylus and Dymas, to the privileges of a son and to a third fraction of his territories, may reasonably be construed as a mythical expression of the fraternal union of the three Dorian tribes, Hyllêis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes: so about the relationship of Iôn and Achæus, of Dôrus and Æolus. But if we put this construction on the name of Hyllus, or Iôn, or Achæus, we cannot at the same time employ either of these persons as units in chronological reckoning: nor is it consistent to recognise them in the lump as members of a distinct class, and yet to enlist them as real individuals in measuring the duration of past time.

4. Mr. Clinton, while professing a wish to tell the story of the Greeks as they have told it themselves, seems unconscious how capitally his point

of view differs from theirs. The distinction which he draws between real and fictitious persons would have appeared unreasonable, not to say offensive, to Herodotus or Eratosthenês. It is undoubtedly right that the early history (if so it is to be called) of the Greeks should be told as they have told it themselves, and with that view I have endeavoured in the previous narrative, as far as I could, to present the primitive legends in their original colour and character, pointing out at the same time the manner in which they were transformed and distilled into history by passing through the retort of later annalists. It is the legend as thus transformed which Mr. Clinton seems to understand as the story told by the Greeks themselves —which cannot be admitted to be true, unless the meaning of the expression be specially explained. In his general distinction however, between the real and fictitious persons of the mythical world, he departs essentially from the point of view even of the later Greeks: and if he had consistently followed out that distinction in his particular criticisms, he would have found the ground slipping under his feet in his upward march even to Troy, not to mention the series of eighteen generations farther up to Phorôneus; but he does *not* consistently follow it out, and therefore in practice he deviates little from the footsteps of the ancients.

Mr. Clinton's positions respecting historical evidence.

Enough has been said to show that the witnesses upon whom Mr. Clinton relies blend truth and fiction habitually, indiscriminately, and unconsciously, even upon his own admission. Let us now consider the positions which he lays down re-

specting historical evidence. He says (Introduct. p. vi–vii):—

"We may acknowledge as real persons all those whom there is no reason for rejecting. The presumption is in favour of the early tradition, if no argument can be brought to overthrow it. The persons may be considered real, when the description of them is consonant with the state of the country at that time: when no national prejudice or vanity could be concerned in inventing them: when the tradition is consistent and general: when rival or hostile tribes concur in the leading facts: when the acts ascribed to the person (divested of their poetical ornament) enter into the political system of the age, or form the basis of other transactions which fall within known historical times. Cadmus and Danaus appear to be real persons: for it is conformable to the state of mankind, and perfectly credible, that Phenician and Egyptian adventurers, in the ages to which these persons are ascribed, should have found their way to the coasts of Greece: and the Greeks (as already observed) had no motive from any national vanity to feign these settlements. Hercules was a real person. His acts were recorded by those who were not friendly to the Dorians: by Achæans and Æolians and Ionians, who had no vanity to gratify in celebrating the hero of a hostile and rival people. His descendants in many branches remained in many states down to the historical times. His son Tlepolemus and his grandson and great-grandson Cleodæus and Aristomachus are acknowledged (*i. e.* by O. Müller) to be real persons: and there is no

reason that can be assigned for receiving these, which will not be equally valid for establishing the reality both of Hercules and Hyllus. Above all, Hercules is authenticated by the testimonies both of the Iliad and Odyssey."

These positions appear to me inconsistent with any sound views of the conditions of historical testimony. According to what is here laid down, we are bound to accept as real all the persons mentioned by Homer, Arctinus, Leschês, the Hesiodic poets, Eumêlus, Asius, &c., unless we can adduce some positive ground in each particular case to prove the contrary. If this position be a true one, the greater part of the history of England, from Brute the Trojan down to Julius Cæsar, ought at once to be admitted as valid and worthy of credence. What Mr. Clinton here calls the *early tradition*, is in point of fact the narratives of these early poets. The word *tradition* is an equivocal word, and begs the whole question; for while in its obvious and literal meaning it implies only something handed down, whether truth or fiction, it is tacitly understood to imply a tale descriptive of some real matter of fact, taking its rise at the time when that fact happened, and originally accurate, but corrupted by subsequent oral transmission. Understanding therefore by Mr. Clinton's words *early tradition*, the tales of the old poets, we shall find his position totally inadmissible—that we are bound to admit the persons or statements of Homer and Hesiod as real, unless where we can produce reasons to the contrary. To allow this, would be to put them upon a par with good contemporary

witnesses; for no greater privilege can be claimed in favour even of Thucydidês, than the title of his testimony to be believed unless where it can be contradicted on special grounds. The presumption in favour of an asserting witness is either strong, or weak, or positively nothing, according to the compound ratio of his means of knowledge, his moral and intellectual habits, and his motive to speak the truth. Thus for instance when Hesiod tells us that his father quitted the Æolic Kymê and came to Askra in Bœôtia, we may fully believe him; but when he describes to us the battles between the Olympic gods and the Titans, or between Hêraklês and Cycnus—or when Homer depicts the efforts of Hectôr, aided by Apollo, for the defence of Troy, and the struggles of Achilles and Odysseus, with the assistance of Hêrê and Poseidôn, for the destruction of that city, events professedly long past and gone—we cannot presume either of them to be in any way worthy of belief. It cannot be shown that they possessed any means of knowledge, while it is certain that they could have no motive to consider historical truth: their object was to satisfy an uncritical appetite for narrative, and to interest the emotions of their hearers. Mr. Clinton says, that "the persons may be considered real when the description of them is consistent with the state of the country at that time:" but he has forgotten, first, that we know nothing of the state of the country except what these very poets tell us next, that fictitious persons may be just as consonant to the state of the country as real persons: —while therefore on the one hand we have no in-

To what extent presumption may stand in favour of the early poets.

dependent evidence either to affirm or to deny that Achilles or Agamemnôn are consistent with the state of Greece or Asia Minor at a certain supposed date 1183 B.C., so on the other hand, even assuming such consistency to be made out, this of itself would not prove them to be real persons.

Plausible fiction satisfies the conditions laid down by Mr. Clinton—not distinguishable from truth without the aid of evidence.

Mr. Clinton's reasoning altogether overlooks the existence of *plausible fiction*—fictitious stories which harmonise perfectly well with the well-attested course of facts, and which are distinguished from matters of fact not by any internal character, but by the circumstance that matter of fact has some competent and well-informed witness to authenticate it, either directly or through legitimate inference. Fiction may be, and often is, extravagant and incredible; but it may also be plausible and specious, and in that case there is nothing but the want of an attesting certificate to distinguish it from truth. Now all the tests, which Mr. Clinton proposes as guarantees of the reality of the Homeric persons, will be just as well satisfied by plausible fiction as by actual matter of fact: the plausibility of the fiction consists in its satisfying those and other similar conditions. In most cases, the tales of the poets *did* fall in with the existing current of feelings in their audience: "prejudice and vanity" are not the only feelings, but doubtless prejudice and vanity were often appealed to, and it was from such harmony of sentiment that they acquired their hold on men's belief. Without any doubt the Iliad appealed most powerfully to the reverence for ancestral gods and heroes among the Asiatic colonists who first heard it: the temptation of putting forth

an interesting tale is quite a sufficient stimulus to the invention of the poet, and the plausibility of the tale a sufficient passport to the belief of the hearers. Mr. Clinton talks of "consistent and general tradition:" that the tale of a poet, when once told with effect and beauty, acquired general belief, is no proof that it was founded on fact: otherwise, what are we to say to the divine legends, and to the large portion of the Homeric narrative which Mr. Clinton himself sets aside as untrue under the designation of "poetical ornament"? When a mythical incident is recorded as "forming the basis" of some known historical fact or institution,—as for instance the successful stratagem by which Melanthus killed Xanthus in the battle on the boundary, as recounted in my last chapter,—we may adopt one of two views: we may either treat the incident as real, and as having actually given occasion to what is described as its effect, or we may treat the incident as a legend imagined in order to assign some plausible origin of the reality,—"Aut ex re nomen, aut ex vocabulo fabula[1]." In cases where the legendary incident is referred to a time long anterior to any records —as it commonly is—the second mode of proceeding appears to me far more consonant to reason and probability than the first. It is to be recollected that all the persons and facts, here defended as matter of real history by Mr. Clinton, are referred to an age long preceding the first beginning of records.

I have already remarked that Mr. Clinton shrinks

[1] Pomponius Mela, iii. 7.

Cadmus, Danaus, Hyllus, &c. all eponyms, and falling under Mr. Clinton's definition of fictitious persons.

from his own rule in treating Cadmus and Danaus as real persons, since they are as much eponyms of tribes or races as Dôrus and Hellên. And if he can admit Hêraklês to be a real man, I cannot see upon what reason he can consistently disallow any one of the mythical personages, for there is not one whose exploits are more strikingly at variance with the standard of historical probability than those of Herculês. Mr. Clinton reasons upon the supposition that "Hercules was a *Dorian* hero": but he was Achæan and Cadmeian as well as Dorian, though the legends respecting him are different in all the three characters. Whether his son Tlepolemus and his grandson Cleodæus belong to the category of historical men, I will not take upon me to say, though O. Müller (in my opinion without any warranty) appears to admit it; but Hyllus certainly is not a real man, if the canon of Mr. Clinton himself respecting the eponyms is to be trusted. "The descendants of Herculês (observes Mr. Clinton) remained in many states down to the historical times." So did those of Zeus and Apollo, and of that god whom the historian Hecatæus recognised as his progenitor in the sixteenth generation: the titular kings of Ephesus, in the historical times, as well as Peisistratus the despot of Athens, traced their origin up to Æolus and Hellên, yet Mr. Clinton does not hesitate to reject Æolus and Hellên as fictitious persons. I dispute the propriety of quoting the Iliad and Odyssey (as Mr. Clinton does) in evidence of the historic personality of Herculês; for even with regard to the ordinary men who figure in those poems, we have no means of discrimina-

ting the real from the fictitious, and the Homeric Hêraklês is unquestionably more than an ordinary man,—he is the favourite son of Zeus, from his birth predestined to a life of labour and servitude, as preparation for a glorious immortality. Without doubt the poet himself believed in the reality of Herculês, but it was a reality clothed with superhuman attributes.

Mr. Clinton observes (Introd. p. ii.), that "because some genealogies were fictitious, we are not justified in concluding that all were fabulous." It is no-way necessary that we should maintain so extensive a position: it is sufficient that all are fabulous so far as concerns gods and heroes,—*some* fabulous throughout—and none ascertainably true, for the period anterior to the recorded Olympiads. How much, or what particular portions, may be true, no one can pronounce. The gods and heroes are, from our point of view, essentially fictitious; but from the Grecian point of view they were the most real (if the expression may be permitted, *i. e.* clung to with the strongest faith) of all the members of the series, and not only formed parts of the genealogy as originally conceived, but were in themselves the grand reason why it was conceived,—as a golden chain to connect the living man with a divine ancestor. The genealogy therefore taken as a whole (and its value consists in its being taken as a whole) was from the beginning a fiction; but the names of the father and grandfather of the living man, in whose day it first came forth, were doubtless those of real men. Wherever therefore we can verify the date of a genealogy, as applied to some living

What is real in the genealogies cannot be distinguished from what is fictitious.

person, we may reasonably presume the two lowest members of it to be also those of real persons: but this has no application to the time anterior to the Olympiads—still less to the pretended times of the Trojan war, the Kalydonian boar-hunt, or the deluge of Deucalion. To reason (as Mr. Clinton does, Introd. p. vi.),—"Because Aristomachus was a real man, therefore his father Cleodæus, his grandfather Hyllus, and so farther upwards, &c. must have been real men,"—is an inadmissible conclusion. The historian Hekatæus was a real man, and doubtless his father Hegesander also, but it would be unsafe to march up his genealogical ladder fifteen steps to the presence of the ancestorial god of whom he boasted: the upper steps of the ladder will be found broken and unreal. Not to mention that the inference, from real son to real father, is inconsistent with the admissions in Mr. Clinton's own genealogical tables; for he there inserts the names of several mythical fathers as having begotten real historical sons.

The general authority of Mr. Clinton's book, and the sincere respect which I entertain for his elucidations of the later chronology, have imposed upon me the duty of assigning those grounds on which I dissent from his conclusions prior to the first recorded Olympiad. The reader who desires to see the numerous and contradictory guesses (they deserve no better name) of the Greeks themselves in the attempt to chronologise their mythical narratives, will find them in the copious notes annexed to the first half of his third volume. As I consider all such researches not merely as fruitless in regard

to any trustworthy result, but as serving to divert attention from the genuine form and really illustrative character of Grecian legend, I have not thought it right to go over the same ground in the present work. Differing as I do, however, from Mr. Clinton's views on this subject, I concur with him in deprecating the application of etymology (Introd. p. xi.–xii.) as a general scheme of explanation to the characters and events of Greek legend. Amongst the many causes which operated as suggestives and stimulants to Greek fancy in the creation of these interesting tales, doubtless etymology has had its share; but it cannot be applied (as Hermann, above all others, has sought to apply it) for the purpose of imparting supposed sense and system to the general body of mythical narrative. I have already remarked on this topic in a former chapter.

At what time did the poets begin to produce continuous genealogies, from the mythical to the real world?

It would be curious to ascertain at what time, or by whom, the earliest continuous genealogies, connecting existing persons with the supposed antecedent age of legend, were formed and preserved. Neither Homer nor Hesiod mentioned any verifiable *present* persons or circumstances: had they done so, the age of one or other of them could have been determined upon good evidence, which we may fairly presume to have been impossible, from the endless controversies upon this topic among ancient writers. In the Hesiodic Works and Days, the heroes of Troy and Thêbes are even presented as an extinct race, radically different from the poet's own contemporaries, who are a new race, far too depraved to be conceived as sprung from the loins of the heroes; so that we can hardly suppose

Hesiod (though his father was a native of the Æolic Kymê) to have admitted the pedigree of the Æolic chiefs, as reputed descendants of Agamemnôn. Certain it is that the earliest poets did not attempt to measure or bridge over the supposed interval, between their own age and the war of Troy, by any definite series of fathers and sons: whether Eumêlus or Asius made any such attempt, we cannot tell, but the earliest continuous backward genealogies which we find mentioned are those of Pherecydês, Hellanicus, and Herodotus. It is well known that Herodotus, in his manner of computing the upward genealogy of the Spartan kings, assigns the date of the Trojan war to a period 800 years earlier than himself, equivalent about to B.C. 1270–1250: while the subsequent Alexandrine chronologists, Eratosthenês and Apollodôrus, place that event in 1184 and 1183 B.C.; and the Parian marble refers it to an intermediate date, different from either, 1209 B.C. Ephorus, Phanias, Timæus, Kleitarchus, and Duris, had each his own conjectural date; but the computation of the Alexandrine chronologists was the most generally followed by those who succeeded them, and seems to have passed to modern times as the received date of this great legendary event—though some distinguished inquirers have adopted the epoch of Herodotus, which Larcher has attempted to vindicate in an elaborate, but feeble dissertation[1]. It is unnecessary to state that in my

[1] Larcher, Chronologie d'Hérodote, chap. xiv. p. 352–401. O. Müller (History of the Dorians, vol. ii. App. 6. p. 442, Eng. Transl.) taxes Larcher with presumption in attacking the Alexandrine chronologists, which appears to me preposterous.

From the capture of Troy down to the passage of Alexander with his

view the inquiry has no other value except to illustrate the ideas which guided the Greek mind, and to exhibit its progress from the days of Homer to those of Herodotus. For it argues a considerable mental progress when men begin to methodise the past, even though they do so on fictitious principles, being as yet unprovided with those records which alone could put them on a better course. The Homeric man was satisfied with feeling, imagining and believing particular incidents of a supposed past, without any attempt to graduate the

Evidence of mental progress when men methodise the past, even on fictitious principles.

invading army into Asia, the latter a known date of 334 B.C., the following different reckonings were made:—

Phanias.....	gave	715 years.
Ephorus.....	„	735 „
Eratosthenês	„	774 „
Timæus ... Kleitarchus	„	820
Duris.....	„	1000 „

(Clemens Alexand. Strom. i. p. 337.)

Democritus estimated a space of 730 years between his composition of the Μικρὸς Διάκοσμος and the capture of Troy (Diogen. Laërt. ix. 41). Isocratês believed the Lacedæmonians to have been established in Peloponnêsus 700 years, and he repeats this in three different passages (Archidam. p. 118; Panathen. p. 275; De Pace, p. 178). The dates of these three orations themselves differ by twenty-four years, the Archidamus being older than the Panathenäic by that interval; yet he employs the same number of years for each in calculating backwards to the Trojan war (see Clinton, vol. i. Introd. p. v.). In round numbers, his calculation coincides pretty nearly with the 800 years given by Herodotus in the preceding century.

Karl Müller, in an ingenious Dissertation on the Parian marble (comprehended in the Fragment. Historicor. Græcor. ed. Didot, p. 568), supposes that the Grecian chronologers, in assigning back-dates to their supposed series of mythical events, separated them from each other by predetermined cycles of sixty-three years, or combinations of the peculiar numbers 7×9. In his examination of the Parian marble, he has in truth pointed out many instances in which this interval of sixty-three years, or exact multiples of it, reappears, though the same rule cannot be traced throughout. It seems to me very probable that the chrono-

line of connexion between them and himself: to introduce fictitious hypotheses and media of connexion is the business of a succeeding age, when the stimulus of rational curiosity is first felt, without any authentic materials to supply it. We have then the form of history operating upon the matter of legend—the transition-state between legend and history; less interesting indeed than either separately, yet necessary as a step between the two.

logers were influenced by some such numerical fancies, in determining a series of dates without any evidence or facts to restrain them.

The remarks of Boeckh on the Parian marble generally, in his Corpus Inscriptionum Græc. t. ii. p. 322–336, are extremely valuable, but especially his criticism on the epoch of the Trojan war, which stands the twenty-fourth in the Marble. The ancient chronologists, from Damastês and Hellanicus downwards, professed to fix not only the exact year, but the exact month, day and hour in which this celebrated capture took place. [Mr. Clinton pretends to no more than the possibility of determining the event within fifty years, Introduct. p. vi.] Boeckh illustrates the manner of their argumentation.

O. Müller observes (History of the Dorians, t. ii. p. 442, Eng. Tr.), "In reckoning from the migration of the Heraklidæ downward, we follow the Alexandrine chronology, of which it should be observed, that our materials only enable us to restore it to its original state, *not to examine its correctness.*"

But I do not see upon what evidence even so much as this can be done. Mr. Clinton, admitting that Eratosthenês fixed his date by conjecture, supposes him to have chosen "a middle point between the longer and shorter computations of his predecessors." Boeckh thinks this explanation unsatisfactory (*l. c.* p. 328).

CHAPTER XX.

STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS AS EXHIBITED IN GRECIAN LEGEND.

THOUGH the particular persons and events, chronicled in the legendary poems of Greece, are not to be regarded as belonging to the province of real history, those poems are nevertheless full of instruction as pictures of life and manners. And the very same circumstances, which divest their composers of all credibility as historians, render them so much the more valuable as unconscious expositors of their own contemporary society. While professedly describing an uncertified past, their combinations are involuntarily borrowed from the surrounding present: for among communities, such as those of the primitive Greeks, without books, without means of extended travel, without acquaintance with foreign languages and habits, the imagination even of highly gifted men was naturally enslaved by the circumstances around them to a far greater degree than in the later days of Solôn or Herodotus; insomuch that the characters which they conceived and the scenes which they described would for that reason bear a stronger generic resemblance to the realities of their own time and locality. Nor was the poetry of that age addressed to lettered and critical auditors, watchful to detect plagiarism, sated with simple imagery,

Legendary poems of Greece valuable pictures of real manners, though giving no historical facts.

and requiring something of novelty or peculiarity in every fresh production. To captivate their emotions, it was sufficient to depict with genius and fervour the more obvious manifestations of human adventure or suffering, and to idealise that type of society, both private and public, with which the hearers around were familiar. Even in describing the gods, where a great degree of latitude and deviation might have been expected[1], we see that Homer introduces into Olympus the passions, the caprices, the love of power and patronage, the alternation of dignity and weakness, which animated the bosom of an ordinary Grecian chief; and this tendency, to reproduce in substance the social relations to which he had been accustomed, would operate still more powerfully when he had to describe simply human characters—the chief and his people, the warrior and his comrades, the husband, wife, father, and son—or the imperfect rudiments of judicial and administrative proceeding. That his narrative on all these points, even with fictitious characters and events, presents a close approximation to general reality, there can be no reason to doubt. The necessity under which he lay of drawing from a store, then happily unexhausted, of personal experience and observation, is one of the causes of that freshness and vivacity of description for which he stands unrivalled, and which constituted the imperishable charm of the

[1] Καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασι βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ, οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐβασιλεύοντο. Ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἴδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν (Aristot. Politic. i. 1, 7).

Iliad and Odyssey from the beginning to the end of Grecian literature.

They are memorials of the first state of Grecian society—the starting-point of Grecian history.

While therefore we renounce the idea of chronologising or historicising the events of Grecian legend, we may turn them to profit as valuable memorials of that state of society, feeling, and intelligence, which must be to us the starting-point of the history of the people. Of course the legendary age, like all those which succeeded it, had its antecedent causes and determining conditions; but of these we know nothing, and we are compelled to assume it as a primary fact for the purpose of following out its subsequent changes. To conceive absolute beginning or origin (as Niebuhr has justly remarked) is beyond the reach of our faculties: we can neither apprehend nor verify anything beyond progress, or development, or decay[1]—change from

[1] Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte, vol. i. p. 55, 2nd edit. "Erkennt man aber dass aller Ursprung jenseits unserer nur Entwickelung und Fortgang fassenden Begriffe liegt; und beschränkt sich von Stufe auf Stufe im Umfang der Geschichte zurückzugehen, so wird man Völker eines Stammes (das heisst, durch eigenthümliche Art und Sprache identisch) vielfach eben an sich entgegenliegenden Küstenländern antreffen.....ohne dass irgend etwas die Voraussetzung erheischte, eine von diesen getrennten Landschaften sei die ursprüngliche Heimath gewesen von wo ein Theil nach der andern gewandert wäre.....Dies ist der Geographie der Thiergeschlechter und der Vegetation analog: deren grosse Bezirke durch Gebürge geschieden werden, und beschränkte Meere einschliessen."

"When we once recognise, however, that *all absolute beginning lies out of the reach of our mental conceptions, which comprehend nothing beyond development and progress*, and when we attempt nothing more than to go back from the later to the earlier stages in the compass of history, we shall often find, on opposite coasts of the same sea, people of one stock (that is, of the same peculiar customs and language), without being warranted in supposing that either of these separate coasts was the primitive home from whence emigrants crossed over to the other. This is analogous to the geography of animals and plants,

one set of circumstances to another, operated by some definite combination of physical or moral laws. In the case of the Greeks, the legendary age, as the earliest in any way known to us, must be taken as the initial state from which this series of changes commences. We must depict its prominent characteristics as well as we can, and show—partly how it serves to prepare, partly how it forms a contrast to set off—the subsequent ages of Solôn, of Periklês, and of Demosthenês.

1. The political condition, which Grecian legend everywhere presents to us, is in its principal features strikingly different from that which had become universally prevalent among the Greeks in the time of the Peloponnêsian war. Historical oligarchy, as well as democracy, agreed in requiring a certain established system of government, comprising the three elements of specialised functions, temporary functionaries, and ultimate responsibility (under some forms or other) to the mass of qualified citizens—either a Senate or an Ecclesia, or both. There were of course many and capital distinctions between one government and another, in respect to the qualification of the citizen, the attributes and efficiency of the general assembly, the admissibility to power, &c.; and men might often be dissatisfied with the way in which these questions were determined in their own city. But in the mind of every man, some determining rule or system—something like what in modern times is called a *constitution*—was indispensable to any

Comparison of legendary with historical Greece—government of the latter—

whose wide districts are severed by mountains and enclose internal seas."

government entitled to be called legitimate, or capable of creating in the mind of a Greek a feeling of moral obligation to obey it. The functionaries who exercised authority under it might be more or less competent or popular; but his personal feelings towards them were commonly lost in his attachment or aversion to the general system. If any energetic man could by audacity or craft break down the constitution, and render himself permanent ruler according to his own will and pleasure, even though he might govern well, he could never inspire the people with any sentiment of duty towards him: his sceptre was illegitimate from the beginning, and even the taking of his life, far from being interdicted by that moral feeling which condemned the shedding of blood in other cases, was considered meritorious: he could not even be mentioned in the language except by a name[1] (τύραννος, *despot*) which branded him as an object of mingled fear and dislike.

Of the former.

If we carry our eyes back from historical to legendary Greece, we find a picture the reverse of what has been here sketched. We discern a government in which there is little or no scheme or system,—still less any idea of responsibility to the governed,—but in which the main-spring of obe-

[1] The Greek name τύραννος cannot be properly rendered *tyrant*; for many of the τύραννοι by no means deserved to be so called, nor is it consistent with the use of language to speak of a mild and well-intentioned tyrant. The word *despot* is the nearest approach which we can make to it, since it is understood to imply that a man has got more power than he ought to have, while it does not exclude a beneficent use of such power by some individuals. It is however very inadequate to express the full strength of Grecian feeling which the original word called forth.

dience on the part of the people consists in their personal feeling and reverence towards the chief. We remark, first and foremost, the King; next, a limited number of subordinate kings or chiefs; afterwards, the mass of armed freemen, husbandmen, artisans, freebooters, &c.; lowest of all, the free labourers for hire and the bought slaves. The King is not distinguished by any broad or impassable boundary from the other chiefs, to each of whom the title *Basileus* is applicable as well as to himself: his supremacy has been inherited from his ancestors, and passes by inheritance, as a general rule, to his eldest son, having been conferred upon the family as a privilege by the favour of Zeus[1]. In war, he is the leader, foremost in personal prowess, and directing all military movements; in peace, he is the general protector of the injured and oppressed; he offers up moreover those public prayers and sacrifices which are intended to

The King—in legendary Greece.

[1] The Phæacian king Alcinous (Odyss. vii. 55–65): there are twelve other Phæacian Βασιλῆες, he is himself the thirteenth (viii. 391).

The chief men in the Iliad, and the suitors of Penelopê in the Odyssey, are called usually and indiscriminately both Βασιλῆες and Ἄνακτες; the latter word however designates them as men of property and masters of slaves (analogous to the subsequent word δεσπότης, which word does not occur in Homer, though δέσποινα is found in the Odyssey), while the former word marks them as persons of conspicuous station in the tribe (see Odyss. i. 393–401; xiv. 63). A chief could only be Βασιλεὺς of freemen; but he might be Ἄναξ either of freemen or of slaves.

Agamemnôn and Menelaus belong to the *most kingly* race (γένος βασιλεύτερον) of the Pelopids, to whom the sceptre originally made for Zeus has been given by Hermês (Iliad, ii. 101; ix. 160; x. 239); compare Odyss. xv. 539. The race of Dardanus are the favourite offspring of Zeus, βασιλεύτατον among the Trojans (Iliad, xx. 304). These races are the parallels of the kingly *prosapiæ* called Amali, Asdingi, Gungingi and Lithingi, among the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards (Jornandes, De Rebus Geticis, c. 14–22; Paul Warnefrid, Gest. Langob. c. 14–21).

obtain for the whole people the favour of the gods. An ample domain is assigned to him as an appurtenance of his lofty position, and the produce of his fields and his cattle is consecrated in part to an abundant, though rude, hospitality. Moreover he receives frequent presents, to avert his enmity, to conciliate his favour[1], or to buy off his exactions; and when plunder is taken from the enemy, a large previous share, comprising probably the most al-

[1] Odyss. i. 392; xi. 184; xiii. 14; xix. 109.—

> Οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακὸν βασιλεύεμεν· αἶψά τε οἱ δῶ
> Ἄφρειον πέλεται, καὶ τιμήεστερος αὐτός.

Iliad, ix. 154-297 (when Agamemnôn is promising seven townships to Achilles, as a means of appeasing his wrath):—

> Ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολυρρήνες, πολυβοῦται,
> Οἵ κέ σε δωτίνῃσι, θεὸν ὡς, τιμήσουσι,
> Καί σοι ὑπὸ σκήπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.

See Iliad, xii. 312; and the reproaches of Thersitês (ii. 226)—*βασιλῆας δωροφάγους* (Hesiod, Opp. Di. 38-264).

The Roman kings had a large *τεμενος* assigned to them,—"agri, arvi et arbusta et pascui læti atque uberes" (Cicero, De Republ. v. 2): the German kings received presents: "Mos est civitatibus (observes Tacitus respecting the Germans whom he describes, M. G. 15) ultro ac viritim conferre principibus, vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit."

The revenue of the Persian kings before Darius consisted only of what were called *δῶρα* or presents (Herod. iii. 89): Darius first introduced both the name of tribute and the determinate assessment. King Polydektês in Seriphos invites his friends to a festival, the condition of which is that each guest shall contribute to an *ἔρανος* for his benefit (Pherecydês, Frag. 26, ed. Didot); a case to which the Thracian banquet prepared by Seuthês affords an exact parallel (Xenophôn, Anab. vii. 3, 16-32: compare Thucyd. ii. 97, and Welcker, Æschyl. Trilogie, p. 381). These Aids or Benevolences, even if originally voluntary, became in the end compulsory. In the European monarchies of the middle ages, what were called free gifts were more ancient than public taxes: "The feudal Aids (observes Mr. Hallam) are the beginning of taxation, of which they for a long time answered the purpose" (Middle Ages, ch. ii. part i. p. 189).

luring female captive, is reserved for him apart from the general distribution[1].

Such is the position of the King in the heroic times of Greece,—the only person (if we except the heralds and priests, each both special and subordinate) who is then presented to us as clothed with any individual authority,—the person by whom all the executive functions, then few in number, which the society requires, are either performed or directed. His personal ascendency—derived from divine countenance bestowed both upon himself individually and upon his race, and probably from accredited divine descent—is the salient feature in the picture: the people hearken to his voice, embrace his propositions, and obey his orders: not merely resistance, but even criticism upon his acts, is generally exhibited in an odious point of view, and is indeed never heard of except from some one or more of the subordinate princes. To keep alive and justify such feelings in the public mind, however, the king must himself possess various accomplishments, bodily and mental, and that too in a

His overruling personal ascendency.

[1] Ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι, is the description which Thucydidês gives of these heroic governments (i. 13).

The language of Aristotle (Polit. iii. 10, 1) is much the same: Ἡ Βασίλεια—ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἡρωικοὺς χρόνους—αὐτὴ δ' ἦν ἑκόντων μὲν, ἐπί τισι δ' ὡρισμένοις· στρατηγὸς δ' ἦν καὶ δικαστὴς ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κύριος.

It can hardly be said correctly, however, that the king's authority was *defined*: nothing can well be more indefinite.

Agamemnôn enjoyed or assumed the power of putting to death a disobedient soldier (Aristot. Polit. iii. 9, 2). The words which Aristotle read in the speech of Agamemnôn in the Iliad—Πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος—are not in our present copies: the Alexandrine critics effaced many traces of the old manners.

superior degree[1]. He must be brave in the field, wise in the council, and eloquent in the agora; he must be endued with bodily strength and activity above other men, and must be an adept, not only in the use of his arms, but also in those athletic exercises which the crowd delight to witness. Even the more homely varieties of manual acquirements are an addition to his character,—such as the craft of the carpenter or shipwright, the straight furrowing of the ploughman, or the indefatigable persistence of the mower without repose or refreshment throughout the longest day[2]. The conditions of voluntary obedience, during the Grecian heroic times, are family descent with personal force and superiority, mental as well as bodily, in the chief, coupled with the favour of the gods: an old chief, such as Pêleus and Laërtes, cannot retain his position[3]. But, on the other hand, where these elements of force are present, a good deal of violence, caprice and rapacity is tolerated: the ethical judgment is not exact in scrutinising the conduct of individuals so pre-eminently endowed. As in the case of the gods, the general epithets of *good*, *just*, &c. are applied to them as euphemisms arising

[1] Striking phrases on this head are put into the mouth of Sarpêdôn (Iliad, xii. 310–322).

Kings are named and commissioned by Zeus,—Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες (Hesiod, Theogon. 96; Callimach. Hymn. ad Jov. 79): κρατέρῳ θεράποντε Διὸς is a sort of paraphrase for the kingly dignity in the case of Pelias and Nêleus (Odyss. xi. 255; compare Iliad, ii. 204).

[2] Odysseus builds his own bed and bedchamber and his own raft (Odyss. xxiii. 188; v. 246–255): he boasts of being an excellent mower and ploughman (xviii. 365–375): for his astonishing proficiency in the athletic contests, see viii. 180–230. Paris took a share in building his own house (Iliad, vi. 314).

[3] Odyss. xi. 496; xxiv. 136–248.

from submission and fear, and are not only not suggested, but often pointedly belied, by their particular acts—they signify[1] the man of birth, wealth, influence and daring, whose arm is strong to destroy or to protect, whatever may be the turn of his moral sentiments; while the opposite epithet, *bad*, designates the poor, lowly and weak, from whose dispositions, be they ever so virtuous, society has little either to hope or to fear.

Difficulty which Aristotle found in explaining to himself the voluntary obedience paid to the early kings.

Aristotle, in his general theory of government, lays down the position[2], that the earliest sources of obedience and authority among mankind are personal, exhibiting themselves most perfectly in the type of paternal supremacy; and that therefore the

[1] See this prominent meaning of the words *ἀγαθὸς*, *ἐσθλὸς*, *κακὸς*, &c., copiously illustrated in Welcker's excellent Prolegomena to Theognis, sect. 9–16. Camerarius, in his notes on that poet (v. 19), had already conceived clearly the sense in which these words are used. Iliad, xv. 323. *Οἷα τε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι παραδρώωσι χέρηες.* Compare Hesiod, Opp. Di. 216, and the line in Athenæus, v. p. 178, *Αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἴασιν.*

"*Moralis* illarum vocum vis, et *civilis*—quarum hæc a lexicographis et commentatoribus plurimis fere neglecta est—probe discernendæ erunt. Quod quo facilius fieret, nescio an ubi posterior intellectus valet, majusculâ scribendum fuisset *Ἀγαθοὶ* et *Κακοί*."

If this advice of Welcker could have been followed, much misconception would have been obviated. The reference of these words to power and not to worth, is their primitive import in the Greek language, descending from the Iliad downward, and determining the habitual designation of parties during the period of active political dispute. The ethical meaning of the word hardly appears until the discussions raised by Socrates, and prosecuted by his disciples; but the primitive import still continued to maintain concurrent footing.

I shall have occasion to touch more largely on this subject, when I come to expound the Grecian political parties. At present it is enough to remark that the epithets of *good men, best men,* habitually applied afterwards to the aristocratical parties, descend from the rudest period of Grecian society.

[2] Aristot. Polit. i. 1, 7.

kingly government, as most conformable to this stage of social sentiment, became probably the first established everywhere. And in fact it still continued in his time to be generally prevalent among the non-Hellenic nations, though the Phenician cities and Carthage, the most civilised of all non-Hellenic states, were republics. Nevertheless, so completely were the feelings about kingship reversed among his contemporary Greeks, that he finds it difficult to enter into the voluntary obedience paid by his ancestors to their early heroic chiefs: he cannot explain to his own satisfaction how any one man should have been so much superior to the companions around him as to maintain such immense personal ascendency: he suspects that in such small communities great merit was very rare, so that the chief had few competitors[1]. Such remarks illustrate strongly the revolution which the Greek mind had undergone during the preceding centuries, in regard to the internal grounds of political submission. But the connecting link, between the Homeric and the republican schemes of government, is to be found in two adjuncts of the Homeric royalty, which are now to be mentioned—the Boulê, or council of

[1] Καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἐβασιλεύοντο πρότερον, ὅτι σπάνιον ἦν εὑρεῖν ἄνδρας διαφέροντας κατ' ἀρετήν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τότε μικρὰς οἰκούντας πόλεις (Polit. iii. 10, 7); also the same treatise, v. 8, 5, and v. 8, 22. Οὐ γίνονται δ' ἔτι βασιλεῖαι νῦν, &c.

Aristotle handles monarchy far less copiously than either oligarchy or democracy: the tenth and eleventh chapters of his third book, in which he discusses it, are nevertheless very interesting to peruse.

In the conception of Plato also, the kingly government, if it is to work well, implies a breed superior to humanity to hold the sceptre (Legg. iv. 6. p. 713).

chiefs, and the Agorâ, or general assembly of freemen.

The Boulê —the Agora: their limited intervention and subordination to the King.

These two meetings, more or less frequently convoked, and interwoven with the earliest habits of the primitive Grecian communities, are exhibited in the monuments of the legendary age as opportunities for advising the king, and media for promulgating his intentions to the people, rather than as restraints upon his authority. Unquestionably they must have conduced in practice to the latter result as well as to the former; but this is not the light in which the Homeric poems describe them. The chiefs, kings, princes, or Gerontes—for the same word in Greek designates both an old man and a man of conspicuous rank and position—compose the Council[1], in which, according to the representations in the Iliad, the resolutions of Agamemnôn on the one side and of Hectôr on the other appear uniformly to prevail. The harshness and even contempt with which Hectôr treats respectful opposition from his ancient companion Polydamas —the desponding tone and conscious inferiority of the latter, and the unanimous assent which the former obtains, even when quite in the wrong—all this is clearly set forth in the poem[2]: and in the

[1] Βουλὴν δὲ πρῶτον μεγαθύμων ἶζε γερόντων (Iliad, ii. 53): compare x. 195–415. Ἴλου, παλαιοῦ δημογέροντος (xi. 371).

[2] Iliad, xviii. 313.—

Ἕκτορι μὲν γὰρ ἐπῄνησαν κακὰ μητιόωντι,
Πουλυδάμαντι δ' ἄρ' οὔτις, ὃς ἐσθλὴν φράζετο βουλήν.

Also xii. 213, where Polydamas says to Hectôr,—

.....ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ ἔοικε
Δῆμον ἐόντα παρὲξ ἀγορεύεμεν, οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ,
Οὐτέ ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ, σὸν δὲ κράτος αἰὲν ἀέξειν.

Grecian camp we see Nestôr tendering his advice in the most submissive and delicate manner to Agamemnôn, to be adopted or rejected as "the king of men" might determine[1]. The Council is a purely consultative body, assembled not with any power of peremptorily arresting mischievous resolves of the king, but solely for his information and guidance. He himself is the presiding (Boulephôrus or) member[2] of council; the rest, collectively as well as individually, are his subordinates.

We proceed from the Council to the Agora: according to what seems the received custom, the king, after having talked over his intentions with the former, proceeds to announce them to the people. The heralds make the crowd sit down in order[3], and enforce silence: any one of the chiefs or councillors—but as it seems, no one else[4]—is allowed to address them: the king first promulgates his intentions, which are then open to be commented upon by others. But in the Homeric agora no di-

[1] Iliad, ix. 95–101.

[2] Iliad, vii. 126, Πήλευς—Ἐσθλὸς Μυρμιδόνων βουλήφορος ἠδ' ἀγορήτης.

[3] Considerable stress seems to be laid on the necessity that the people in the agora should *sit down* (Iliad, ii. 96): a *standing* agora is a symptom of tumult or terror (Iliad, xviii. 246); an evening agora, to which men come elevated by wine, is also the forerunner of mischief (Odyss. iii. 138).

These evidences of regular formalities observed in the agora are not without interest.

[4] Iliad, ii. 100.—

..... εἶποτ' ἀϋτῆς
Σχοίατ', ἀκούσειαν δὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλήων.

Nitzsch (ad Odyss. ii. 14) controverts this restriction of individual manifestation to the chiefs: the view of O. Müller (Hist. Dorians, b. iii. c. 3) appears to me more correct: such was also the opinion of Aristotle—φησὶ τοίνυν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι ὁ μὲν δῆμος μόνου τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι κύριος ἦν, οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες καὶ τοῦ πρᾶξαι (Schol. Iliad. ix. 17).

vision of affirmative or negative voices ever takes place, nor is any formal resolution ever adopted. The nullity of positive function strikes us even more in the Agora than in the Council. It is an assembly for talk, communication and discussion to a certain extent by the chiefs, in presence of the people as listeners and sympathisers—often for eloquence, and sometimes for quarrel—but here its ostensible purposes end.

The Agora —a medium for promulgation of the intentions of the King.

The Agora in Ithaka, in the second book of the Odyssey, is convened by the youthful Telemachus, at the instigation of Athênê, not for the purpose of submitting any proposition, but in order to give formal and public notice to the suitors to desist from their iniquitous intrusion and pillage of his substance, and to absolve himself further, before gods and men, from all obligations towards them, if they refuse to comply. For the slaughter of the suitors, in all the security of the festive hall and banquet (which forms the catastrophe of the Odyssey), was a proceeding involving much that was shocking to Grecian feeling[1], and therefore required to be preceded by such ample formalities, as would leave both the delinquents themselves without the shadow of excuse, and their surviving relatives without any claim to the customary satisfaction. For this special purpose Telemachus directs the heralds to summon an agora: but what seems most of all surprising is, that none had ever been summoned or held since the departure of Odysseus himself—an interval of twenty years. "No agora or session has taken place amongst us (says the grey-headed

Agora summoned by Telemachus in Ithaka.

[1] See Iliad, ix. 635; Odyss. xi. 419.

Ægyptius who opens the proceedings) since Odysseus went on shipboard: and now, who is he that has called us together? what man, young or old, has felt such a strong necessity? Has he received intelligence from our absent warriors, or has he other public news to communicate? He is our good friend for doing this: whatever his projects may be, I pray Zeus to grant him success[1]." Telemachus, answering the appeal forthwith, proceeds to tell the assembled Ithakans that he has no public news to communicate, but that he has convoked them upon his own private necessities: next he sets forth pathetically the wickedness of the suitors, calls upon them personally to desist and upon the people to restrain them, and concludes by solemnly warning them, that, being henceforward free from all obligation towards them, he will invoke the avenging aid of Zeus, so "that they may be slain in the interior of his own house, without bringing upon him any subsequent penalty[2]."

We are not of course to construe the Homeric description as anything more than an *idéal*, approximating to actual reality: but allowing all that can be required for such a limitation, it exhibits the Agora more as a special medium of publicity and intercommunication[3], from the king to the body of

[1] Odyss. ii. 25–40.

[2] Odyss. ii. 43, 77, 145.—

Νήποινοί κεν ἔπειτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ὄλοισθε.

[3] A similar character is given of the public assemblies of the early Franks and Lombards (Pfeffel, Histoire du Droit Public en Allemagne, t. i. p. 18; Sismondi, Histoire des Républiques Italiennes, t. i. c. 2. p. 71).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (ii. 12) pays rather too high a compliment to the moderation of the Grecian heroic kings.

The kings at Rome, like the Grecian heroic kings, began with an

the people, than as including any idea of responsibility on the part of the former or restraining force on the part of the latter, however such consequences may indirectly grow out of it. The primitive Grecian government is essentially monarchical, reposing on personal feeling and divine right: the memorable dictum in the Iliad is borne out by all that we hear of the actual practice,—"The rule of many is not a good thing: let us have one ruler only, one king,—him to whom Zeus has given the sceptre and the tutelary sanctions[1]."

Agora in the second book of the Iliad—picture of submission which it presents.

The second book of the Iliad, full as it is of beauty and vivacity, not only confirms our idea of the passive, recipient, and listening character of the Agora, but even presents a repulsive picture of the degradation of the mass of the people before

ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος: the words of Pomponius (De Origine Juris, i. 2) would be perhaps more exactly applicable to the latter than to the former: "Initio civitatis nostræ Populus sine certâ lege, sine jure certo, primum agere instituit: omniaque manu a Regibus gubernabantur." Tacitus says (Ann. iii. 26), "Nobis Romulus, ut libitum, imperitaverat: dein Numa religionibus et divino jure populum devinxit, repertaque quædam a Tullo et Anco: sed præcipuus Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit, quis etiam Reges obtemperarent." The appointment of a Dictator under the Republic was a reproduction, for a short and definite interval, of this old unbounded authority (Cicero, De Repub. ii. 32; Zonaras, Ann. vii. 13; Dionys. Hal. v. 75).

See Rubino, Untersuchungen über Romische Verfassung und Geschichte, Cassel, 1839, buch i. abschnitt 2. p. 112-132; and Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, i. sect. 18. p. 81-91.

[1] Iliad, ii. 204. Agamemnôn promises to make over to Achilles seven well-peopled cities, with a body of wealthy inhabitants (Iliad, ix. 153); and Menelaus, if he could have induced Odysseus to quit Ithaka and settle near him in Argos, would have depopulated one of his neighbouring towns in order to make room for him (Odyss. iv. 176).

Manso (Sparta, i. 1. p. 34) and Nitzsch (ad Odyss. iv. 171) are inclined to exclude these passages as spurious,—a proceeding, in my opinion, inadmissible, without more direct grounds than they are able to produce.

the chiefs. Agamemnôn convokes the agora for the purpose of immediately arming the Grecian host, under a full impression that the gods have at last determined forthwith to crown his arms with complete victory: such impression has been created by a special visit of Oneirus (the Dream-god), sent by Zeus during his sleep: it is indeed an intentional fraud on the part of Zeus, but Agamemnôn does not suspect its deceitful character. At this precise moment, when he may be conceived to be more than usually anxious to get his army into the field and snatch the prize, an unaccountable fancy seizes him that instead of inviting the troops to do what he really wishes, and encouraging their spirits for this one last effort, he will adopt a course directly contrary; he will try their courage by professing to believe that the siege had become desperate, and that there was no choice except to go on shipboard and flee. He announces, to Nestôr and Odysseus in preliminary council, his intention to hold this strange language, and especially tells them that he relies upon them to oppose it and counterwork its effect upon the multitude[1]. The agora is presently assembled, and the king of men pours forth a speech full of dismay and despair, concluding by a distinct exhortation to all present to go aboard and return home at once. Immediately the whole army, chiefs as well as people, break up and proceed to execute his orders: every one rushes off to get his ship afloat, except Odysseus, who looks on in mournful silence and astonishment. The army would have been quickly on its voyage

[1] Iliad. ii. 74. Πρῶτα δ' ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, &c.

home, had not the goddesses Hêrê and Athênê stimulated Odysseus to an instantaneous interference. He hastens among the dispersing crowd and diverts them from their purpose of retreat: to the chiefs he addresses flattering words, and tries to shame them by gentle expostulation; but the people he visits with harsh reprimand and blows from his sceptre[1], thus driving them back to their seats in the agora.

Amidst the dissatisfied crowd thus unwillingly brought back, the voice of Thersitês is heard the longest and the loudest,—a man ugly, deformed, and unwarlike, but fluent in speech, and especially severe and unsparing in his censure of the chiefs, Agamemnôn, Achilles, and Odysseus. Upon this occasion, he addresses to the people a speech denouncing Agamemnôn for selfish and greedy exaction generally, but particularly for his recent ill-treatment of Achilles—and he endeavours moreover to induce them to persist in their scheme of departure. Upon this Odysseus not only rebukes Thersitês sharply for his impudence in abusing the commander-in-chief, but threatens that if ever such behaviour is repeated, he will strip him naked, and thrash him out of the assembly with disgraceful blows; as an earnest of which he administers to him at once a smart stroke with the studded sceptre, imprinting its painful mark in a bloody weal across his back. Thersitês, terrified and subdued, sits down

[1] Iliad, ii. 188–196.—

Ὁντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη,
Τόνδ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε παραστάς.....
Ὃν δ' αὖ δήμου τ' ἄνδρα ἴδοι, βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι,
Τὸν σκήπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν, ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μύθῳ, &c.

weeping; while the surrounding crowd deride him, and express the warmest approbation of Odysseus for having thus by force put the reviler to silence[1].

Both Odysseus and Nestôr then address the agora, sympathising with Agamemnôn for the shame which the retreat of the Greeks is about to inflict upon him, and urging emphatically upon every one present the obligation of persevering until the siege shall be successfully consummated. Neither of them animadverts at all upon Agamemnôn, either for his conduct towards Achilles, or for his childish freak of trying the temper of the army[2].

There cannot be a clearer indication than this description—so graphic in the original poem—of the true character of the Homeric agora. The multitude who compose it are listening and acquiescent, not often hesitating, and never refractory to the chief. The fate which awaits a presumptuous critic, even where his virulent reproaches are substantially well-founded, is plainly set forth in the treatment of Thersitês, and the unpopularity of such a character is attested even more by the excessive pains which Homer takes to heap upon him repulsive personal deformities, than by the chastisement of Odysseus—he is lame, bald, crook-backed, of mis-shapen head and squinting vision.

But we cease to wonder at the submissive character of the Agora, when we read the proceedings

Conduct of Odysseus to the people and the chiefs.

[1] Iliad, ii. 213-277.

[2] Iliad, ii. 284-340. Nor does Thersitês, in his criminatory speech against Agamemnôn, touch in any way upon this anomalous point, though in the circumstances under which his speech is made, it would seem to be of all others the most natural—and the sharpest thrust against the commander-in-chief.

of Odysseus towards the people themselves,—his fine words and flattery addressed to the chiefs, and his contemptuous reproof and manual violence towards the common men, at a moment when both were doing exactly the same thing,—fulfilling the express bidding of Agamemnôn, upon whom Odysseus does not offer a single comment. This scene, which excited a sentiment of strong displeasure among the democrats of historical Athens[1], affords a proof that the feeling of personal dignity, of which philosophic observers in Greece—Herodotus, Xenophôn, Hippocratês, and Aristotle—boasted, as distinguishing the free Greek citizen from the slavish Asiatic, was yet undeveloped in the time of Homer[2]. The ancient epic is commonly so filled with the personal adventures of the chiefs, and the people are so constantly depicted as simple appendages attached to them, that we rarely obtain a glimpse of the treatment of the one apart from the other, such as this memorable Homeric agora affords.

There remains one other point of view in which we are to regard the Agora of primitive Greece—as the scene in which justice was administered. The king is spoken of as constituted by Zeus the great judge of society: he has received from Zeus the sceptre and along with it the powers of command and sanction: the people obey these commands and enforce these sanctions, under him, enriching him at the same time with lucrative

[1] Xenophôn, Memorab. i. 2, 9.

[2] Aristot. Polit. vii. 6, 1; Hippocrat. De Aëre, Loc. et Aq. v. 85-86; Herodot. vii. 134.

presents and payments[1]. Sometimes the king separately, sometimes the kings or chiefs or Gerontes in the plural number, are named as deciding disputes and awarding satisfaction to complainants; always however in public, in the midst of the assembled agora[2]. In one of the compartments of the shield of Achilles, the details of a judicial scene are described. While the agora is full of an eager and excited crowd, two men are disputing about the fine of satisfaction for the death of a murdered man—one averring, the other denying, that the fine had already been paid, and both demanding an inquest. The Gerontes are ranged on stone seats[3],

Justice administered in the Agora by the king or chiefs.

[1] The *σκῆπτρον*, *θέμιστες* or *θέμις*, and *ἀγορὴ* go together, under the presiding superintendence of the gods. The goddess Themis both convokes and dismisses the agora (see Iliad, xi. 806; Odyss. ii. 67; Iliad, xx. 4).

The *θέμιστες*, commandments and sanctions, belong properly to Zeus (Odyss. xvi. 403); from him they are given in charge to earthly kings along with the sceptre (Iliad, i. 238; ii. 206).

The commentators on Homer recognised *θέμις*, rather too strictly, as *ἀγορᾶς καὶ βουλῆς λέξιν* (see Eustath. ad Odyss. xvi. 403).

The presents and the *λιπαραὶ θέμιστες* (Iliad, ix. 156).

[2] Hesiod, Theogon. 85; the single person judging seems to be mentioned (Odyss. xii. 439).

It deserves to be noticed that in Sparta the senate decided accusations of homicide (Aristot. Polit. iii. 1, 7): in historical Athens the senate of Areiopagus originally did the same, and retained, even when its powers were much abridged, the trial of accusations of intentional homicide and wounding.

Respecting the judicial functions of the early Roman kings, Dionys. Hal. A. R. x. 1. *Τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐφ' αὑτῶν ἔταττον τοῖς δεομένοις τὰς δίκας, καὶ τὸ δικαιωθὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων, τοῦτο νόμος ἦν* (compare iv. 25; and Cicero, Republic. v. 2; Rubino, Untersuchungen, i. 2. p. 122).

[3] Iliad, xviii. 504.— Οἱ δὲ γέροντες
Εἵατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις, ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ.

Several of the old northern Sagas represent the old men assembled for the purpose of judging as sitting on great stones in a circle, called the Urtheilsring or Gerichtsring (Leitfaden der Nördischen Alterthümer, p. 31, Copenhag. 1837).

in the holy circle, with two talents of gold lying before them, to be awarded to such of the litigants as shall make out his case to their satisfaction. The heralds with their sceptres, repressing the warm sympathies of the crowd in favour of one or other of the parties, secure an alternate hearing to both[1]. This interesting picture completely harmonises with the brief allusion of Hesiod to the judicial trial—doubtless a real trial—between himself and his brother Persês. The two brothers disputed about their paternal inheritance, and the cause was carried to be tried by the chiefs in agora; but Persês bribed them, and obtained an unjust verdict for the whole[2]. So at least Hesiod affirms, in the bitterness of his heart; earnestly exhorting his brother not to waste a precious time, required for necessary labours, in the unprofitable occupation of witnessing and abetting the litigants in the agora—for which (he adds) no man has proper leisure, unless his subsistence for the year beforehand be safely treasured up in his garners[3]. He repeats more than once his complaints of the crooked and corrupt judgments of which the kings were habitually guilty; dwelling upon abuse of justice as the crying evil of his day, and predicting as well as invoking the vengeance of Zeus to repress it. And Homer ascribes the tremendous violence of the autumnal storms to the wrath of Zeus against those judges who disgrace the agora with their wicked verdicts[4].

Complaints made by Hesiod of unjust judgment in his own case.

[1] Homer, Iliad, xviii. 497–510.
[2] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 37.
[3] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 27–33.
[4] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 250–263; Homer, Iliad, xvi. 387.

Though it is certain that in every state of society, the feelings of men when assembled in multitude will command a certain measure of attention, yet we thus find the Agora, in judicial matters still more than in political, serving merely the purpose of publicity. It is the King who is the grand personal mover of Grecian heroic society[1]. He is on earth the equivalent of Zeus in the agora of the gods: the supreme god of Olympus is in the habit of carrying on his government with frequent publicity, of hearing some dissentient opinions, and of allowing himself occasionally to be wheedled by Aphroditê or worried into compliance by Hêrê; but his determination is at last conclusive, subject only to the overruling interference of the Mœræ or Fates[2]. Both the society of gods, and the various societies of men, are, according to the conceptions of Grecian legend, carried on by the personal rule of a legitimate sovereign, who does not derive his title from the special appointment of his subjects, though he governs with their full consent. In fact, Grecian legend presents to us hardly anything else, except these great individual personalities: the race, or nation, is as it were absorbed into the prince: eponymous persons, especially, are not merely princes, but fathers and representative unities, each the equivalent of that greater or less aggregate to which he gives name.

The King among men is analogous to Zeus among gods.

But though in the primitive Grecian govern-

[1] Tittmann (Darstellung der Griechischen Staatsverfassungen, book ii. p. 63) gives too lofty an idea, in my judgment, of the condition and functions of the Homeric agora.

[2] Iliad, i. 520-527; iv. 14-56; especially the agora of the gods (xx. 16).

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ment, the king is the legitimate as well as the real sovereign, he is always conceived as acting through the council and agora: both the one and the other are established and essential media through which his ascendency is brought to bear upon the society: the absence of these assemblies is the test and mark of savage men, as in the case of the Cyclôpes[1]. Accordingly he must possess qualities fit to act with effect upon these two assemblies: wise reason for the council, unctuous eloquence for the agora[2]. Such is the *idéal* of the heroic government: a king not merely full of valour and resource as a soldier, but also sufficiently superior to those around him to ensure both the deliberate concurrence of the chiefs, and the hearty adhesion of the masses[3]. That this picture is not, in all individual cases, realised, is unquestionable; but the endowments so often predicated of good kings show it to have been the type present to the mind of the describer[4]. Xenophôn, in his Cyropædia, depicts

[1] Odyss. ix. 114.—

Τοῖσιν δ' (the Cyclôpes) οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλήφοροι, οὔτε θέμιστες.
Ἀλλ' οἵγ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα
Ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι· θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
Παιδῶν ἠδ' ἀλόχων· οὔδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσι.

These lines illustrate the meaning of *θέμις*.

[2] See this point set forth in the prolix discourse of Aristeides Περὶ Ῥητορικῆς (Or. xlv. vol. ii. p. 99): Ἡσίοδος.....ταὐτὰ ἀντικρὺς Ὁμήρῳ λέγων.....ὅτι τε ἡ ῥητορικὴ σύνεδρος τῆς βασιλικῆς, &c.

[3] *Péleus*, king of the Myrmidons, is called (Iliad, vii. 126) Ἐσθλὸς Μυρμιδόνων βουλήφορος ἠδ' ἀγορητὴς—*Diomedes*, ἀγορῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνω (iv. 400)—*Nestôr*, λιγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητής—*Sarpêdôn*, Λυκίων βουληφόρε (v. 633); and *Idomeneus*, Κρητῶν βουληφόρε (xiii. 219).

Hesiod (Theogon. 80-96) illustrates still more amply the *idéal* of the king governing by persuasion and inspired by the Muses.

[4] See the striking picture in Thucydidês (ii. 65). Xenophôn, in the Cyropædia, puts into the mouth of his hero the Homeric comparison between the good king and the good shepherd, implying as it does im-

Cyrus as an improved edition of the Homeric Agamemnôn,—"a good king and a powerful soldier," thus idealising the perfection of personal government.

It is important to point out these fundamental conceptions of government, discernible even before the dawn of Grecian history, and identified with the social life of the people. It shows us that the Greeks, in their subsequent revolutions and in the political experiments which their countless autonomous communities presented, worked upon pre-existing materials—developing and exalting elements which had been at first subordinate, and suppressing, or remodelling on a totally new principle, that which had been originally predominant. When we approach historical Greece, we find that (with the exception of Sparta) the primitive, hereditary, unresponsible monarch, uniting in himself all the functions of government, has ceased to reign, and the feeling of legitimacy, which originally induced his people to obey him willingly, has been exchanged for one of aversion towards the character and title generally; while the multifarious functions which he once exercised have been parcelled out among temporary nominees. On the other hand, the Council or Senate, and the Agora, originally simple media through which the king acted, are elevated into standing and inde-

The Council and Assembly, originally media through

mense superiority of organisation, morality, and intelligence (Cyropæd. viii. p. 450, Hutchinson).

Volney observes respecting the emirs of the Druses in Syria,—"Everything depends on circumstances: if the governor be a man of ability, he is absolute;—if weak, he is a cipher. This proceeds from the want of fixed laws; a want common to all Asia." (Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. ii. p. 66.) Such was pretty much the condition of the king in primitive Greece.

which the King acted, become in historical Greece the paramount depositaries of power.

pendent sources of authority, controlling and holding in responsibility the various special officers to whom executive duties of one kind or another are confided. The general principle here indicated is common both to the oligarchies and the democracies which grew up in historical Greece: much as these two governments differed from each other, and many as were the varieties even between one oligarchy or democracy and another, they all stood in equal contrast with the principle of the heroic government. Even in Sparta, where the hereditary kingship lasted, it was preserved with lustre and influence exceedingly diminished[1], and this timely diminution of its power seems to have been one of the essential conditions of its preservation. Though the Spartan kings had the hereditary command of the military forces, yet even in all foreign expeditions they habitually acted in obedience to orders from home: and in affairs of the interior, the superior power of the Ephors sensibly overshadowed them; so that unless possessed of more than ordinary force of character, they seem to have exercised their chief influence as presiding members of the senate.

Spartan kings, an exception to the general rule —their limited powers.

There is yet another point of view in which it behoves us to take notice of the Council and the Agora as integral portions of the legendary government of the Grecian communities. We are thus enabled to trace the employment of public speaking,

[1] Nevertheless the question put by Leotychides to the deposed Spartan king Demaratus—*ὁκοιόν τι εἴη τὸ ἄρχειν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν* (Herodot. vi. 65), and the poignant insult which those words conveyed, afford one among many other evidences of the lofty estimate current in Sparta respecting the regal dignity, of which Aristotle in the Politica seems hardly to take sufficient account.

as the standing engine of government and the proximate cause of obedience, to the social infancy of the nation. The power of speech in the direction of public affairs becomes more and more obvious, developed and irresistible, as we advance towards the culminating period of Grecian history, the century preceding the battle of Chæroneia. That its development was greatest among the most enlightened sections of the Grecian name, and smallest among the more obtuse and stationary, is matter of notorious fact; and it is not less true, that the prevalence of this habit was one of the chief causes of the intellectual eminence of the nation generally. At a time when all the countries around were plunged comparatively in mental torpor, there was no motive sufficiently present and powerful to multiply so wonderfully the productive minds of Greece, except such as arose from the rewards of public speaking. The susceptibility of the multitude to this sort of guidance, their habit of requiring and enjoying the stimulus which it supplied, and the open discussion, combining regular forms with free opposition, of practical matters political as well as judicial, are the creative causes which formed such conspicuous adepts in the art of persuasion. Nor was it only professed orators who were thus produced: didactic aptitude was formed in the background, and the speculative tendencies were supplied with interesting phænomena for observation and combination, at a time when the truths of physical science were almost inaccessible. If the primary effect was to quicken the powers of expression, the secondary, but not less certain result,

Employment of public speaking as an engine of government —coæval with the earliest times.

was to develope the habits of scientific thought. Not only the oratory of Demosthenês and Periklês, and the colloquial magic of Socratês, but also the philosophical speculations of Plato, and the systematic politics, rhetoric and logic of Aristotle, are traceable to the same general tendencies in the minds of the Grecian people: and we find the germ of these expansive forces in the senate and agora of their legendary government. The poets, first epic and then lyric, were the precursors of the orators in their power of moving the feelings of an assembled crowd: whilst the Homeric poems—the general training-book of educated Greeks—constituted a treasury of direct and animated expression, full of concrete forms and rare in the use of abstractions, and thence better suited to the workings of oratory. The subsequent critics had no difficulty in selecting from the Iliad and Odyssey, samples of eloquence in all its phases and varieties.

Its effects in stimulating intellectual development.

On the whole, then, the society depicted in the old Greek poems is loose and unsettled, presenting very little of legal restraint, and still less of legal protection, but concentrating such political power as does exist in the hands of a legitimate hereditary king, whose ascendency over the other chiefs is more or less complete according to his personal force and character: whether that ascendency be greater or less however, the mass of the people is in either case politically passive and of little account. Though the Grecian freeman of the heroic age is above the degraded level of the Gallic *plebs* as described by Cæsar[1], he is far from rival-

[1] Cæsar, Bell. Gallic. vi. 12.

ling the fierce independence and sense of dignity combined with individual force, which characterise the Germanic tribes before their establishment in the Roman Empire; still less does his condition, or the society in which he moves, correspond to those pleasing dreams of spontaneous rectitude and innocence in which Tacitus and Seneca indulge with regard to primitive man[1].

Moral and social feeling in legendary Greece.

2. The state of moral and social feeling, prevalent in legendary Greece, exhibits a scene in harmony with the rudimentary political fabric just described. Throughout the long stream of legendary narrative on which the Greeks looked back as their past history, the larger social motives hardly ever come into play: either individual valour and cruelty, or the personal attachments and quarrels of relatives and war-companions, or the feuds of private enemies, are ever before us. There is no sense of obligation then existing, between man and man as such, and very little between each man and the entire community of which he is a member; such sentiments are neither operative in the real world, nor present to the imaginations of the poets. Personal feelings, either towards the gods, the king,

[1] Seneca, Epist. xc.; Tacitus, Annal. iii. 26. "Vetustissimi mortalium (says the latter), nullâ adhuc malâ libidine, sine probro, scelere, eoque sine pœnâ aut coërcitione, agebant: neque præmiis opus erat, cum honesta suopte ingenio peterentur; et ubi nihil contra morem cuperent, nihil per metum vetabantur. At postquam exui æqualitas, et pro modestiâ et pudore ambitio et vis incedebat, provenêre dominationes, multosque apud populos æternum mansere," &c. Compare Strabo, vii. p. 301.

These are the same fancies so eloquently set forth by Rousseau in the last century. A far more sagacious criticism pervades the preface of Thucydidês.

Omnipotence of personal feeling towards the gods, the king, or individuals.

or some near and known individual, fill the whole of a man's bosom: out of them arise all the motives to beneficence, and all the internal restraints upon violence, antipathy, or rapacity; and special communion, as well as special solemnities, are essential to their existence. The ceremony of an oath, so imposing, so paramount, and so indispensable in those days, illustrates strikingly this principle: and even in the case of the stranger suppliant—in which an apparently spontaneous sympathy manifests itself—the succour and kindness shown to him arise mainly from his having gone through the consecrated formalities of supplication, such as that of sitting down in the ashes by the sacred hearth, thus obtaining a sort of privilege of sanctuary[1]: that

[1] Seuthês, in the Anabasis of Xenophôn (vii. 2, 33), describes how, when an orphan youth, he formally supplicated Mêdokos the Thracian king to grant him a troop of followers, in order that he might recover his lost dominions—*ἐκαθεζόμην ἐνδίφριος αὐτῷ ἱκέτης δοῦναί μοι ἄνδρας.*

Thucydidês gives an interesting description of the arrival of the exile Themistoclês, then warmly pursued by the Greeks on suspicion of treason, at the house of Admêtus, king of the Epirotic Molossians. The wife of Admêtus herself instructed the fugitive how to supplicate her husband in form: the child of Admêtus was placed in his arms, and he was directed to sit down in this guise close by the consecrated hearth, which was of the nature of an altar. While so seated, he addressed his urgent entreaties to Admêtus for protection; the latter raised him up from the ground and promised what was asked. "That (says the historian) was the most powerful form of supplication." Admêtus—*ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ νίέος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἱκέτευμα ἦν τοῦτο* (Thuc. i. 136). So Têlephus, in the lost drama of Æschylus called Μυσοί, takes up the child Orestês. See Bothe's Fragm. 44; Schol. Aristoph. Ach. 305.

In the Odyssey, both Nausikaa and the goddess Athênê instruct Odysseus in the proper form of supplicating Alcinous: he first throws himself down at the feet of queen Arêtê, embracing her knees and addressing to her his prayer, and then without waiting for a reply, sits down among the ashes on the hearth—*ὣς εἰπὼν, κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ ἐν κονίῃσι.* Alcinous is dining with a large company: for some time both he

ceremony exalts him into something more than a mere suffering man—it places him in express fellowship with the master of the house, under the tutelary sanctions of Zeus Hiketêsios. There is great difference between one form of supplication and another; the suppliant however in any form becomes more or less the object of a particular sympathy.

Effect of special ceremonies.

The sense of obligation towards the gods manifests itself separately in habitual acts of worship, sacrifice, and libations, or by votive presents, such

and the guests are silent: at length the ancient Echenêus remonstrates with him on his tardiness in raising the stranger up from the ashes. At his exhortation, the Phæakian king takes Odysseus by the hand, and raising him up, places him on a chair beside him: he then directs the heralds to mix a bowl of wine, and to serve it to every one round, in order that all may make libations to Zeus Hiketêsios. This ceremony clothes the stranger with the full rights and character of a suppliant (Odyss. vi. 310; vii. 75, 141, 166): *κατὰ νόμους ἀφικτόρων*, Æschyl. Supplic. 242.

That the form counted for a great deal, we see evidently marked: but of course supplication is often addressed, and successfully addressed, in circumstances where this form cannot be gone through.

It is difficult to accept the doctrine of Eustathius (ad Odyss. xvi. 424), that *ἱκέτης* is a *vox media* (like *ξεῖνος*), applied as well to the *ἱκετάδοχος* as to the *ἱκέτης* properly so called: but the word *ἀλλήλοισιν*, in the passage just cited, does seem to justify his observation: yet there is no direct authority for such use of the word in Homer.

The address of Theoclymenos on first preferring his supplication to Telemachus is characteristic of the practice (Odyss. xv. 260); compare also Iliad, xvi. 574, and Hesiod. Scut. Hercul. 12–85.

The idea of the *ξεῖνος* and the *ἱκέτης* run very much together. I can hardly persuade myself that the reading *ἱκέτευσε* (Odyss. xi. 520) is truly Homeric: implying as it does the idea of a pitiable sufferer, it is altogether out of place when predicated of the proud and impetuous Neoptolemus: we should rather have expected *ἐκέλευσε*. (See Odyss. x. 15.)

The constraining efficacy of special formalities of supplication, among the Scythians, is powerfully set forth in the Toxaris of Lucian: the suppliant sits upon an ox-hide, with his hands confined behind him (Lucian, Toxaris, c. 48. vol. iii. p. 69, Tauchn.)—the *μεγίστη ἱκετηρία* among that people.

as that of the hair of Achilles, which he has pledged to the river-god Spercheius[1], and such as the constant dedicated offerings which men who stand in urgent need of the divine aid first promise and afterwards fulfil. But the feeling towards the gods also appears, and that not less frequently, as mingling itself with and enforcing obligations towards some particular human person: the tie which binds a man to his father, his kinsman, his guest, or any special promisee towards whom he has taken the engagement of an oath, is conceived in conjunction with the idea of Zeus, as witness and guarantee; and the intimacy of the association is attested by some surname or special appellation of the god[2]. Such personal feelings composed all the moral influences of which a Greek of that day was susceptible,—a state of mind which we can best appreciate by contrasting it with that of the subsequent citizen of historical Athens. In the view of the latter, the great impersonal authority called "The Laws" stood out separately, both as guide and sanction, distinct from religious duty or private sympathies: but of this discriminated conception of positive law and positive morality[3], the germ

Contrast with the feelings in historical Athens.

[1] Iliad, xxiii. 142.

[2] Odyss. xiv. 389.—

Οὐ γὰρ τοὔνεκ' ἐγώ σ' αἰδέσσομαι, οὐδὲ φιλήσω,
Ἀλλὰ Διὰ ξένιον δείσας, αὐτὸν δ' ἐλεαίρων.

[3] Nägelsbach (Homerische Theologie, Abschn. v. s. 23) gives a just and well-sustained view of the Homeric ethics: "Es ist der charakteristische Standpunkt der Homerischen Ethik, dass die Sphären des Rechts, der Sittlichkeit, und Religiosität, bey dem Dichter, durchaus noch nicht auseinander fallen, so dass der Mensch z. B. δίκαιος seyn konnte ohne θεουδὴς zu seyn—sondern in unentwickelter Einheit beysammen sind."

only can be detected in the Homeric poems. The appropriate Greek word for human laws never occurs: amidst a very wavering phraseology[1], we can detect a gradual transition from the primitive idea of a personal goddess Themis, attached to Zeus, first to his sentences or orders called Themistes, and next by a still farther remove to various established customs, which those sentences were believed to sanctify—the authority of religion and

[1] Νόμοι, *laws*, is not an Homeric word; *νόμος*, *law*, in the singular, occurs twice in the Hesiodic Works and Days (276, 388).

The employment of the words *δίκη*, *δίκαι*, *θέμις*, *θέμιστες*, in Homer, is curious as illustrating the early moral associations, but would require far more space than can be given to it in a note; we see that the sense of each of these words was essentially fluctuating. *Themis*, in Homer, is sometimes decidedly a *person*, who exercises the important function of opening and closing the agora, both of gods and men (Iliad, xx. 4: Odyss. ii. 68), who besides that, acts and speaks (Iliad, xiv. 87-93); always the associate and companion of Zeus the highest god: in Hesiod (Theog. 901) she is the wife of Zeus: even in Plato (Legg. xi. p. 936) witnesses swear (to want of knowledge of matters under inquest) by Zeus, Apollo, and Themis. Themis *as a person* is probably the oldest sense of the word: then we have the plural *θέμιστες*, which are (not persons, but) special appurtenances or emanations of the Supreme God, or of a king acting under him, analogous to and joined with the sceptre. The sceptre, and the *θέμιστες* or the *δίκαι*, constantly go together (Iliad, ii. 209; ix. 99): Zeus or the king is a judge, not a law-maker; he issues decrees or special orders to settle particular disputes, or to restrain particular men; and agreeable to the concrete forms of ancient language, the decrees are treated as if they were a collection of ready-made substantive things, actually in his possession, like the sceptre, and prepared for being delivered out when the proper occasion arose:—*δικάσπολοι, οἵτε θέμιστας Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται* (Il. i. 138), compared with the two passages last cited:—*Ἄφρονα τοῦτον ἀνέντας, ὃς οὔτινα οἶδε θέμιστα* (Il. v. 761),—*Ἄγριον, οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἰδότα οὔτε θέμιστας* (Odyss. ix. 215). The plural number *δίκαι* is more commonly used in Homer than the singular: *δίκη* is rarely used to denote Justice as an abstract conception; it more often denotes a special claim of right on the part of some given man (Il. xviii. 508). It sometimes also denotes, simply, established custom or the known lot,—*δμώων δίκη, γερόντων, θείων βασιλήων, θεῶν* (see Damm's Lexicon *ad voc.*): *θέμις* is used in the same manner.

that of custom coalescing into one indivisible obligation.

Force of the family tie.

The family relations, as we might expect, are set forth in our pictures of the legendary world as the grand sources of lasting union and devoted attachment. The paternal authority is highly reverenced: the son who lives to years of maturity, repays by affection to his parents the charge of his maintenance in infancy, which the language notes by a special word: whilst, on the other hand, the Erinnys, whose avenging hand is put in motion by the curse of a father or mother, is an object of deep dread[1].

Marriage—respect paid to the wife.

In regard to marriage, we find the wife occupying a station of great dignity and influence, though it was the practice for the husband to purchase her by valuable presents to her parents,—a practice extensively prevalent among early communities, and treated by Aristotle as an evidence of barbarism. She even seems to live less secluded and to enjoy a wider sphere of action than was allotted to her in historical Greece[2]. Concubines are frequent with

[1] Οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε (Il. iv. 477): θρέπτρα or θρεπτήρια (compare Il. ix. 454; Odyss. ii. 134; Hesiod, Opp. Di. 186).

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 5, 11. The ἔδνα, or present given by the suitor to the father as an inducement to grant his daughter in marriage, are spoken of as very valuable,—ἀπερείσια ἔδνα (Il. xvi. 178; xxii. 472): to grant a daughter without ἔδνα was a high compliment to the intended son-in-law (Il. ix. 141). Among the ancient Germans of Tacitus, the husband gave presents, not to his wife's father, but to herself (Tacit. Germ. c. 18): the customs of the early Jews were in this respect completely Homeric; see the case of Shechem and Dinah (Genesis, xxxiv. 12) and others, &c.

The Greek ἔδνα correspond exactly to the *mundium* of the Lombard and Alemannic laws, which is thus explained by Mr. Price (Notes on

the chiefs, and occasionally the jealousy of the wife breaks out in reckless excess against her husband, as may be seen in the tragical history of Phœnix: the continence of Laërtês, from fear of displeasing his wife Antikleia, is especially noticed[1]. A large portion of the romantic interest which Grecian legend inspires is derived from the women: Penelopê, Andromachê, Helen, Clytæmnêstra, Eriphylê, Iokasta, Hekabê, &c. all stand in the foreground of the picture, either from their virtues, their beauty, their crimes, or their sufferings.

Not only brothers, but also cousins, and the more distant blood-relations and clansmen, appear connected together by a strong feeling of attachment, and share among them universally the obligation of mutual self-defence and revenge, in the event of injury to any individual of the race. The legitimate brothers divide between them by lot the paternal inheritance,—a bastard brother receiving

the Laws of King Ethelbert, in the Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, translated and published by Mr. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 20): "The Longobardic law is the most copious of all the barbaric codes in its provisions respecting marriage, and particularly so on the subject of the Mund. From that law it appears that the Mundium was a sum paid over to the family of the bride, for transferring the tutelage which they possessed over her to the family of the husband,—'Si quis pro muliere liberâ aut puellâ mundium dederit et ei tradita fuerit ad uxorem,' &c. (ed. Rotharis, c. 183.) In the same sense in which the term occurs in these dooms, it is also to be met with in the Alemannic law: it was also common in Denmark and in Sweden, where the bride was called a mund-bought or a mund-given woman."

According to the 77th Law of King Ethelbert (p. 23), this *mund* was often paid in cattle: the Saxon daughters were *πάρθενοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι* (Iliad, xviii. 593).

[1] Odyss. i. 430; Iliaix. 450; see also Terpstra, Antiquitas Homerica, capp. 17 and 18.

Polygamy appears to be ascribed Priam, but to no one else (Iliad, xxi. 88).

only a small share; he is however commonly very well treated[1], though the murder of Phocus by Telamon and Pêleus constitutes a flagrant exception. The furtive pregnancy of young women, often by a god, is one of the most frequently recurring incidents in the legendary narratives; and the severity with which such a fact, when discovered, is visited by the father, is generally extreme. As an extension of the family connection, we read of larger unions called the phratry and the tribe, which are respectfully, but not frequently, mentioned[2].

Brothers and kinsmen.

Hospitality.

The generous readiness with which hospitality is afforded to the stranger who asks for it[3], the facility with which he is allowed to contract the peculiar connection of guest with his host, and the permanence with which that connection, when created by partaking of the same food and exchanging presents,

[1] Odyss. xiv. 202–215. The primitive German law of succession divided the paternal inheritance among the sons of a deceased father, under the implied obligation to maintain and portion out their sisters (Eichhorn, *Deutsches Privat-Recht.* sect. 330).

[2] Iliad, ii. 362.—

Ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἔκεινος,
Ὃς πολέμου ἔραται, &c. (Il. ix. 63.)

These three epithets include the three different classes of personal sympathy and obligation:—1. The Phratry, in which a man is connected with father, mother, brothers, cousins, brothers-in-law, clansmen, &c.; 2. the *θέμιστες*, whereby he is connected with his fellow-men who visit the same agora; 3. his Hestia or Hearth, whereby he becomes accessible to the *ξεῖνος* and the *ἱκέτης*:—

Τῷ δ' Ὀδυσεὺς ξίφος ὀξὺ καὶ ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἔδωκεν,
Ἀρχὴν ξεινοσύνης προσκηδέος· οὐδὲ τραπέζῃ
Γνώτην ἀλλήλοιν. (Odyss. xxi. 34.)

[3] It must be mentioned, however, that when a chief received a stranger and made presents to him, he reimbursed to himself the value of the presents by collections among the people (Odyss. xiii. 14; xix. 197): *ἀργαλέον γὰρ ἕνα προικὸς χαρίσασθαι*, says Alcinous.

is maintained even through a long period of separation, and even transmitted from father to son—these are among the most captivating features of the heroic society. The Homeric chief welcomes the stranger who comes to ask shelter in his house, first gives him refreshment, and then inquires his name and the purpose of his voyage[1]. Though not inclined to invite strangers to his house, he cannot repel them when they spontaneously enter it craving a lodging[2]. The suppliant is also commonly a stranger, but a stranger under peculiar circumstances; who proclaims his own calamitous and abject condition, and seeks to place himself in a relation to the chief whom he solicits, something like that in which men stand to the gods. Onerous as this special tie may become to him, the chief cannot decline it, if solicited in the proper form: the ceremony of supplication has a binding effect, and the Erinnyes punish the hardhearted person who disallows it. A conquered enemy may sometimes throw himself at the feet of his conqueror, and solicit mercy, but he cannot by doing so acquire the character and claims of a suppliant properly so called: the conqueror has free discretion either to kill him, or to spare him and accept a ransom[3].

Reception of the stranger and the suppliant.

[1] Odyss. i. 123; iii. 70, &c.

[2] Odyss. xvii. 383.—

Τίς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν
Ἄλλον γ' εἰ μὴ τῶνδ', οἳ δημιόεργοι ἔασιν, &c.;

which breathes the plain-spoken shrewdness of the Hesiodic Works and Days, v. 355.

[3] See the illustrative case of Lykaon in vain craving mercy from Achilles (Iliad, xxi. 64–97. Ἀντί τοι εἶμ' ἱκέταο, &c.).

Menelaus is about to spare the life of the Trojan Adrastus, who

There are in the legendary narratives abundant examples of individuals who transgress in particular acts even the holiest of these personal ties, but the savage Cyclops is the only person described as professedly indifferent to them, and careless of that sanction of the gods which in Grecian belief accompanied them all[1]. In fact, the tragical horror which pervades the lineage of Athamas or Cadmus, and which attaches to many of the acts of Hêraklês, of Pêleus and Telamon, of Jasôn and Mêdeia, of Atreus and Thyestês, &c., is founded upon a deep feeling and sympathy with those special obligations, which conspicuous individuals, under the temporary stimulus of the maddening Atê, are driven to violate. In such conflict of sentiments, between the obligation generally reverenced and the exceptional deviation in an individual otherwise admired, consists the pathos of the story.

Personal sympathies the earliest form of sociality.

These feelings—of mutual devotion between kinsmen and companions in arms—of generous hospitality to the stranger, and of helping protection to the suppliant—constitute the bright spots in a dark age: we find them very generally prevalent amongst communities essentially rude and barbarous—amongst the ancient Germans as described by

clasps his knees and craves mercy, offering a large ransom—when Agamemnôn repels the idea of quarter, and kills Adrastus with his own hand: his speech to Menelaus displays the extreme of violent enmity, yet the poet says,—

Ὡς εἰπὼν, παρέπεισεν ἀδελφείου φρένας ἥρως,
Αἴσιμα παρειπών, &c.

Adrastus is not called an ἱκέτης, nor is the expression used in respect to Dolon (Il. x. 456), nor in the equally striking case of Odysseus (Odyss. xiv. 279) when begging for his life.

[1] Odyss. ix. 112–275.

Tacitus, the Druses in Lebanon[1], the Arabian tribes in the desert, and even the North American Indians.

[1] Tacit. German. c. 21. "Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto, nefas habetur: pro fortunâ quisque apparatis epulis excipit: cum defecêre qui modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt: nec interest—pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum ignotumque, quantum ad jus hospitii, nemo discernit." Compare Cæsar, B. G. vi. 22.

See about the Druses and Arabians, Volney, Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. ii. p. 76, Engl. Transl.; Niebuhr, Beschreibung von Arabien, Copenh. 1772, p. 46-49.

Pomponius Mela describes the ancient Germans in language not inapplicable to the Homeric Greeks: "Jus in viribus habent, adeo ut ne latrocinii quidem pudeat: *tantum* hospitibus boni, mitesque supplicibus" (iii. 3).

"The hospitality of the Indians is well-known. It extends even to strangers who take refuge among them. They count it a most sacred duty, from which no one is exempted. Whoever refuses relief to any one commits a grievous offence, and not only makes himself detested and abhorred by all, but liable to revenge from the offended person. In their conduct towards their enemies they are cruel and inexorable, and when enraged, bent upon nothing but murder and bloodshed. They are however remarkable for concealing their passions, and waiting for a convenient opportunity of gratifying them. But then their fury knows no bounds. If they cannot satisfy their resentment, they will even call upon their friends and posterity to do it. The longest space of time cannot cool their wrath, nor the most distant place of refuge afford security to their enemy." (Loskiel, History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians, Part I. ch. 2. p. 15.)

"Charlevoix observes (says Dr. Ferguson, Essay on Civil Society, Part II. § 2. p. 145) that the nations among whom he travelled in North America never mentioned acts of generosity or kindness under the notion of duty. They acted from affection, as they acted from appetite, without regard to its consequences. When they had done a kindness, they had gratified a desire: the business was finished and it passed from the memory. The spirit with which they give or receive presents is the same as that which Tacitus remarks among the ancient Germans: —'Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur.' Such gifts are of little consequence, except when employed as the seal of a bargain or a treaty."

Respecting the Morlacchi (Illyrian Sclavonians) the Abbé Fortis says (Travels in Dalmatia, p. 55-58):—

They are the instinctive manifestations of human sociality, standing at first alone, and for that reason appearing to possess a greater tutelary force

"The hospitality of the Morlachs is equally conspicuous among the poor as among the opulent. The rich prepares a roasted lamb or sheep, and the poor, with equal cordiality, gives his turkey, milk, honey—whatever he has. Nor is their generosity confined to strangers, but generally extends to all who are in want.....Friendship is lasting among the Morlacchi. They have even made it a kind of religious point, and tie the sacred bond at the foot of the altar. The Sclavonian ritual contains a particular benediction, for the solemn union of two male or two female friends, in presence of the whole congregation. The male friends thus united are called Pobratimi, and the females Posestreme, which means half-brothers and half-sisters. The duties of the Pobratimi are, to assist each other in every case of need and danger, to revenge mutual wrongs, &c.: their enthusiasm is often carried so far as to risk, and even lose their life.....But as the friendships of the Morlacchi are strong and sacred, so their quarrels are commonly unextinguishable. They pass from father to son, and the mothers fail not to put their children in mind of their duty to revenge their father, if he has had the misfortune to be killed, and to show them often the bloody shirt of the deceased.....A Morlach is implacable if injured or insulted. With him revenge and justice have exactly the same meaning, and truly it is the primitive idea, and I have been told that in Albania the effects of revenge are still more atrocious and more lasting. There, a man of the mildest character is capable of the most barbarous revenge, believing it to be his positive duty.....A Morlach who has killed another of a powerful family is commonly obliged to save himself by flight, and keep out of the way for several years. If during that time he has been fortunate enough to escape the search of his pursuers, and has got a small sum of money, he endeavours to obtain pardon and peace.....It is the custom in some places for the offended party to threaten the criminal, holding all sorts of arms to his throat, and at last to consent to accept his ransom."

Concerning the influence of these two distinct tendencies—devoted personal friendship and implacable animosities—among the Illyrico-Sclavonian population, see Cyprien Robert, Les Slaves de la Turquie, ch. vii. p. 42–46, and Dr. Joseph Müller, Albanien, Rumelien, und die Osterreichisch-Montenegrenische Gräuze, Prag. 1844, p. 24–25.

"It is for the virtue of hospitality (observes Goguet, Origin of Laws, &c., vol. i. book vi. ch. iv.) that the primitive times are chiefly famed. But, in my opinion, hospitality was then exercised not so much from generosity and greatness of soul, as from necessity. Common interest probably gave rise to that custom. In remote antiquity, there were

than really belongs to them—beneficent, indeed, in a high degree, with reference to their own appropriate period, but serving as a very imperfect compensation for the impotence of the magistrate, and for the absence of any all-pervading sympathy or sense of obligation between man and man. We best appreciate their importance when we compare the Homeric society with that of barbarians like the Thracians, who tattooed their bodies, as the mark of a generous lineage—sold their children for export as slaves—considered robbery, not only as one admissible occupation among others, but as the only honourable mode of life; agriculture being held contemptible—and above all, delighted in the shedding of blood as a luxury. Such were the Thracians in the days of Herodotus and Thucydidês: and the Homeric society forms a mean term between that which these two historians yet saw in Thrace, and that which they witnessed among their own civilised countrymen[1].

When however among the Homeric men we pass

few or no public inns: they entertained strangers, in order that they might render them the same service, if they happened to travel into their country. Hospitality was reciprocal. When they received strangers into their houses, they acquired a right of being received into theirs again. This right was regarded by the ancients as sacred and inviolable, and extended not only to those who had acquired it, but to their children and posterity. Besides, hospitality in these times could not be attended with much expense: men travelled but little. In a word, the modern Arabians prove that hospitality may consist with the greatest vices, and that this species of generosity is no decisive evidence of goodness of heart, or rectitude of manners."

The book of Genesis, amidst many other features of resemblance to the Homeric manners, presents that of ready and exuberant hospitality to the stranger.

[1] Respecting the Thracians, compare Herodot. v. 11; Thucydid. vii. 29-30. The expression of the latter historian is remarkable,—τὸ δὲ

beyond the influence of the private ties above enumerated, we find scarcely any other moralising forces in operation. The acts and adventures commemorated imply a community wherein neither the protection nor the restraints of law are practically felt, and wherein ferocity, rapine, and the aggressive propensities generally, seem restrained by no internal counterbalancing scruples. Homicide, especially, is of frequent occurrence, sometimes by open violence, sometimes by fraud: expatriation for homicide is among the most constantly recurring acts of the Homeric poems: and savage brutalities are often ascribed, even to admired heroes, with apparent indifference. Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojan prisoners on the tomb of Patroklus, while his son Neoptolemus not only slaughters the aged Priam, but also seizes by the leg the child Astyanax (son of the slain Hector) and hurls him from one of the lofty towers of Troy[1]. Moreover, the celebrity

Ferocious and aggressive passions unrestrained.

γένος τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, ὅμοια τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσήσῃ, φονικώτατόν ἐστι.

Compare Herodot. viii. 116; the cruelty of the Thracian king of the Bisaltæ towards his own sons.

The story of Odysseus to Eumæus in the Odyssey (xiv. 210–226) furnishes a valuable comparison for this predatory disposition among the Thracians. Odysseus there treats the love of living by war and plunder as his own peculiar taste: he did not happen to like regular labour, but the latter is not treated as in any way mean or unbecoming a freeman:—

ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἦεν
Οὐδ' οἰκωφελίη, ἥ τε τρέφει ἄγλαα τέκνα, &c.

[1] Ilias Minor, Fragm. 7. p. 18, ed. Düntzer; Iliad, xxiii. 175. Odysseus is mentioned once as obtaining poison for his arrows (Odyss. i. 160), but no poisoned arrows are ever employed in either of the two poems.

The anecdotes recounted by the Scythian Toxaris in Lucian's work so entitled (vol. ii. c. 36. p. 544 *seqq.* ed. Hemst.) afford a vivid picture of this combination of intense and devoted friendship between individuals, with the most revolting cruelty of manners. "You Greeks live in peace

of Autolykus, the maternal grandfather of Odysseus, in the career of wholesale robbery and perjury, and the wealth which it enabled him to acquire, are described with the same unaffected admiration as the wisdom of Nestôr or the strength of Ajax[1]. Achilles, Menelaus, Odysseus, pillage in person wherever they can find an opportunity, employing both force and stratagem to surmount resistance[2]. The vocation of a pirate is recognised and honourable, so that a host, when he asks his guest what is the purpose of his voyage, enumerates enrichment by indiscriminate maritime plunder as among those projects which may naturally enter into his contemplation[3]. Abduction of cattle, and expedi-

and tranquillity," observes the Scythian—*παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ συνεχεῖς οἱ πόλεμοι, καὶ ἢ ἐπελαύνομεν ἄλλοις, ἢ ὑποχωροῦμεν ἐπιόντας, ἢ συμπεσόντες ὑπὲρ νομῆς ἢ λείας μαχόμεθα· ἔνθα μάλιστα δεῖ φίλων ἀγαθῶν*, &c.

[1] Odyss. xxi. 397; Pherecydês, Fragm. 63, ed. Didot; Autolykus, *πλεῖστα κλέπτων ἐθησαύριζεν*. The Homeric Hymn to Hermês (the great patron-god of Autolykus) is a farther specimen of the admiration which might be made to attach to clever thieving.

The *ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνὴρ*, likely to rob the farm, is one great enemy against whom Hesiod advises precaution to be taken,—a sharp-toothed dog well-fed to serve as guard (Opp. Di. 604).

[2] Iliad, xi. 624; xx. 189. Odyss. iv. 81–90; ix. 40; xiv. 230: and the indirect revelation (Odyss. xix. 284), coupled with a compliment to the dexterity of Odysseus.

[3] Even in the century prior to Thucydidês, undistinguishing plunder at sea, committed by Greek ships against ships not Greek, seems not to have been held discreditable. The Phokæan Dionysius, after the ill-success of the Ionic revolt, goes with his three ships of war to Sicily, and from thence plunders Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians (Herod. vi. 17).—*λῃϊστὴς κατεστήκεε, Ἑλλήνων μὲν οὐδενὸς, Καρχηδονίων δὲ καὶ Τυρσηνῶν*. Compare the conduct of the Phokæan settlers at Alalia in Corsica, after the conquest of Ionia by Harpagus (Hesiod, i. 166).

In the treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, made at some period subsequent to 509 B.C., it is stipulated—*Τοῦ Καλοῦ Ἀκρωτηρίου, Μαστίας, Ταρσηΐου, μὴ λῃΐζεσθαι ἐπέκεινα Ῥωμαίους, μηδ' ἐμπορεύεσθαι, μηδὲ πόλιν κτίζειν* (Polyb. iii. 24, 4). Plunder, commerce and colonisation, are here assumed as the three objects which the Roman ships

tions for unprovoked ravage as well as for retaliation, between neighbouring tribes, appear ordinary phænomena[1]: and the established inviolability of heralds seems the only evidence of any settled feeling of obligation between one community and another. The house and property of Odysseus, during his long absence, enjoys no public protection[2]: the unprincipled chiefs, who consume his substance, find sympathy rather than disapprobation among the people of Ithaka. As a general rule, he who cannot protect himself finds no protection from society: his own kinsmen and immediate companions are the only parties to whom he can look with confidence for support. And in this respect, the representation given by Hesiod makes the picture even worse. In his emphatic denunciation of the fifth age, he deplores not only the absence of all social justice and sense of obligation among his contemporaries, but also the relaxation of the ties of family and hospitality[3]. There are marks of querulous exaggeration in the poem of the Works

Picture given by Hesiod still darker.

would pursue, unless they were under special obligation to abstain, in reference to foreigners. This morality approaches nearer to that of the Homeric age than to the state of sentiment which Thucydidês indicates as current in his day among the Greeks.

[1] See the interesting boastfulness of Nestôr, Iliad, xi. 670–700; also Odyss. xxi. 18; Odyss. iii. 71; Thucyd. i. 5.

[2] Odyss. iv. 165, among many other passages. Telemachus laments the misfortune of his race, in respect that himself, Odysseus, and Laërtês were all only sons of their fathers: there were no brothers to serve as mutual auxiliaries (Odyss. xvi. 118).

[3] Opp. Di. 182–199:—

Οὐδὲ πατὴρ παίδεσσιν ὁμοιΐος, οὐδέ τι παῖδες,
Οὐδὲ ξεῖνος ξεινοδόκῳ, καὶ ἑταῖρος ἑταίρῳ,
Οὐδὲ κασίγνητος φίλος ἔσσεται, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ,
Αἶψα δὲ γηράσκοντας ἀτιμήσουσι τοκῆας, &c.

and Days; but the poet nevertheless professes to describe the real state of things around him, and the features of his picture, soften them as we may, will still appear dark and calamitous. It is however to be remarked, in contrasting the Works and Days with the Homeric poems, that the author contemplates a state of peace: his copious catalogue of social evils scarcely mentions liability to plunder by a foreign enemy, nor does he compute the chances of predatory aggression as a source of profit.

Contrast between heroic and historical Greece.

There are two special veins of estimable sentiment, on which it may be interesting to contrast heroic and historical Greece, and which exhibit the latter as an improvement on the former not less in the affections than in the intellect.

Orphans. Mutilation of dead bodies.

The law of Athens was peculiarly watchful and provident with respect both to the persons and the property of orphan minors: but the description given in the Iliad of the utter and hopeless destitution of the orphan boy, despoiled of his paternal inheritance and abandoned by all the friends of his father, whom he urgently supplicates, and who all harshly cast him off, is one of the most pathetic morsels in the whole poem[1]. In reference again to the treatment of the dead body of an enemy, we find all the Greek chiefs who come near (not to mention the conduct of Achilles himself) piercing with their spears the corpse of the slain Hectôr, while some of them even pass disgusting taunts upon it: we may add, from the lost epics, the mu-

[1] Iliad, xxii. 487–500. Hesiod dwells upon injury to orphan children, however, as a heinous offence (Opp. Di. 330).

tilation of the dead bodies of Paris and Deiphobus by the hand of Menelaus[1]. But at the time of the Persian invasion, it was regarded as unworthy of a right-minded Greek to maltreat in any way the dead body of an enemy, even where such a deed might seem to be justified on the plea of retaliation. After the battle of Platæa, a proposition was made to the Spartan king Pausanias, to retaliate upon the dead body of Mardonius the indignities which Xerxês had heaped upon that of Leonidas at Thermopylæ. He indignantly spurned the suggestion, not without a severe rebuke, or rather a half-suppressed menace, towards the proposer: and the feeling of Herodotus himself goes heartily along with him[2].

Mode of dealing with homicide.

The different manner of dealing with homicide presents a third test, perhaps more striking yet, of the change in Grecian feelings and manners during the three centuries preceding the Persian invasion. That which the murderer in the Homeric times had to dread, was, not public prosecution and punishment, but the personal vengeance of the kinsmen and friends of the deceased, who were stimulated

[1] Iliad, xxii. 371. *οὔδ' ἄρα οἵ τις ἀνούτητί γε παρέστη.* Argument of Iliad. Minor. ap. Düntzer, Epp. Fragm. p. 17; Virgil, Æneid, vi. 520.

The Oiliad Ajax cuts off the head of the slain Imbrius, and sends it rolling like a ball (*σφαιρηδὸν*) among the crowd of warriors, till it reaches the feet of Hectôr (Iliad, xiii. 202).

The ethical maxim preached by Odysseus in the Odyssey, not to utter boastful shouts over a slain enemy (*Οὐκ ὁσίη, κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάασθαι*, xxii. 412), is abundantly violated in the Iliad.

[2] Herodot. ix. 78-79. Contrast this strong expression from Pausanias with the conduct of the Carthaginians towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, after their capture of Selînus in Sicily, where, after having put to death 16,000 persons, they mutilated the dead bodies—*κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος* (Diodôr. xiii. 57-86).

by the keenest impulses of honour and obligation to avenge the deed, and were considered by the public as specially privileged to do so[1]. To escape from this danger, he is obliged to flee the country, unless he can prevail upon the incensed kinsmen to accept of a valuable payment (we must not speak of coined money in the days of Homer) as satisfaction for their slain comrade. They may, if they please, decline the offer, and persist in their right of revenge: but if they accept, they are bound to leave the offender unmolested, and he accordingly remains at home without further consequences. The chiefs in agora do not seem to interfere, except to ensure payment of the stipulated sum.

Here we recognise once more the characteristic attribute of the Grecian heroic age—the omnipotence of private force tempered and guided by family sympathies, and the practical nullity of that collective sovereign afterwards called *The City*—who in historical Greece becomes the central and paramount source of obligation, but who appears yet only in the background, as a germ of promise for the future. And the manner in which, in the case of homicide, that germ was developed into a powerful reality, presents an interesting field of comparison with other nations.

For the practice, here designated, of leaving the

[1] The Mosaic law recognises this habit and duty on the part of the relatives of the murdered man, and provides cities of refuge for the purpose of sheltering the offender in certain cases (Deuteron. xxxv. 13–14; Bauer, Handbuch der Hebraïschen Alterthümer, sect. 51–52).

The relative who inherited the property of a murdered man was specially obliged to avenge his death (H. Leo, Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Jüdischen Staats-Vorl. iii. p. 35).

party guilty of homicide to compromise by valuable payment with the relatives of the deceased, and also of allowing to the latter a free choice whether they would accept such compromise or enforce their right of personal revenge, has been remarked in many rude communities, but is particularly memorable among the early German tribes[1]. Among the many separate Teutonic establishments which rose upon the ruins of the Western Empire of Rome, the right as well as duty of private revenge, for personal injury or insult offered to any member of a family—and the endeavour to avert its effects by means of a pecuniary composition levied upon

[1] "Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est. Nec implacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo pecorum armentorumque numero, recipitque satisfactionem universa domus." (Tacit. German. 21.) Niebuhr, Beschreibung von Arabien, p. 32.

"An Indian feast (says Loskiel, Mission of the United Brethren in North America) is seldom concluded without bloodshed. For the murder of a man 100 yards of wampum, and for that of a woman 200 yards, must be paid by the murderer. If he is too poor, which is commonly the case, and his friends cannot or will not assist him, he must fly from the resentment of the relations."

Rogge (Gerichtswesen der Germanen, capp. 1, 2, 3), Grimm (Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, book v. cap. 1–2), and Eichhorn (Deutsches Privat-Recht. sect. 48) have expounded this idea and the consequences deduced from it among the ancient Germans.

Aristotle alludes, as an illustration of the extreme silliness of ancient Greek practices (*ἐνήθη πάμπαν*), to a custom which he states to have still continued at the Æolic Kymê, in cases of murder. If the accuser produced in support of his charge a certain number of witnesses from his own kindred, the person was held peremptorily guilty—*οἷον ἐν Κύμῃ περὶ τὰ φονικὰ νόμος ἔστιν, ἂν πλῆθος τι παράσχηται μαρτύρων ὁ διώκων τὸν φόνον τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν, ἔνοχον εἶναι τῷ φόνῳ τὸν φεύγοντα* (Polit. ii. 5, 12). This presents a curious parallel with the old German institution of the Eides-helfern or conjurators, who, though most frequently required and produced in support of the party accused, were yet also brought by the party accusing. See Rogge, sect. 36. p. 186; Grimm, p. 862.

the offender, chiefly as satisfaction to the party injured, but partly also as perquisite to the king—was adopted as the basis of their legislation: and this fundamental idea was worked out in elaborate detail as to the valuation of the injury inflicted, in which one main circumstance was the rank, condition and power of the sufferer. The object of the legislator was to preserve the society from standing feuds, but at the same time to accord such full satisfaction as would induce the injured person to waive his acknowledged right of personal revenge—the full luxury of which, as it presented itself to the mind of an Homeric Greek, may be read in more than one passage of the Iliad[1]. The

[1] The word ποινὴ indicates this *satisfaction by valuable payment* for wrong done, especially for homicide: that the Latin word *pœna* originally meant the same thing, may be inferred from the old phrases *dare pœnas, pendere pœnas.* The most illustrative passage in the Iliad is that in which Ajax, in the embassy undertaken to conciliate Achilles, censures by comparison the inexorable obstinacy of the latter in setting at naught the proffered presents of Agamemnôn (Il. ix. 627):—

> Νηλής· καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο
> Ποινὴν, ἢ οὗ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνειῶτος·
> Καί ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ, πολλ' ἀποτίσας·
> Τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρητύεται κραδίη καὶ θύμος ἀγήνωρ,
> Ποινὴν δεξαμένου.....

The ποινὴ is in its primitive sense a genuine payment in valuable commodities serving as compensation (Iliad, iii. 290; v. 266; xiii. 659): but it comes by a natural metaphor to signify the death of one or more Trojans, as a satisfaction for that of a Greek warrior who had just fallen (or *vice versâ*, Iliad, xiv. 483; xvi. 398); sometimes even the notion of compensation generally (xvii. 207). In the representation on the shield of Achilles, the genuine proceeding about ποινὴ clearly appears: the question there tried is, whether the payment stipulated as satisfaction for a person slain, has really been made or not—δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποινῆς Ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου, &c. (xviii. 498).

The danger of an act of homicide is proportioned to the number and power of the surviving relatives of the slain: but even a small number is sufficient to necessitate flight (Odyss. xxiii. 120): on the other hand,

German codes begin by trying to bring about the acceptance of a fixed pecuniary composition as a constant voluntary custom, and proceed ultimately to enforce it as a peremptory necessity: the idea of society is at first altogether subordinate, and its influence passes only by slow degrees from amicable arbitration into imperious control.

The Homeric society, in regard to this capital point in human progression, is on a level with that of the German tribes as described by Tacitus. But the subsequent course of Grecian legislation takes a direction completely different from that of the German codes: the primitive and acknowledged right of private revenge (unless where bought off by pecuniary payment), instead of being developed into practical working, is superseded by more comprehensive views of a public wrong requiring public intervention, or by religious fears respecting the posthumous wrath of the murdered person. In historical Athens, this right of private revenge was discountenanced and put out of sight, even so early as the Draconian legislation, and at last restricted to a few extreme and special cases[1]; while the

Appeased by valuable compensation (ποινή) to the kinsmen of the murdered man.

a large body of relatives was the grand source of encouragement to an insolent criminal (Odys. xviii. 141).

An old law of Tralles in Lydia, enjoining a nominal ποινή of a medimnus of beans to the relatives of a murdered person belonging to a contemptible class of citizens, is noticed by Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 46. p. 302.

[1] See Lysias, De Cæde Eratosthen. Orat. i. p. 94; Plutarch, Solon, c. 23; Demosthen. cont. Aristocrat. p. 632-637.

Plato (De Legg. ix. p. 871-874), in his copious penal suggestions to deal with homicide, both intentional and accidental, concurs in general with the old Attic law (see Matthiæ, Miscellanea Philologica, vol. i. p. 151): and as he states with sufficient distinctness the grounds of his propositions, we see how completely the idea of a right to private or

murderer came to be considered, first as having sinned against the gods, next as having deeply injured the society, and thus at once as requiring absolution and deserving punishment. On the first of these two grounds, he is interdicted from the agora and from all holy places, as well as from public functions, even while yet untried and simply a suspected person; for if this were not done, the wrath of the gods would manifest itself in bad crops and other national calamities. On the second ground, he is tried before the council of Areiopagus, and if found guilty, is condemned to death, or perhaps to disfranchisement and banishment[1]. The

family revenge is absent from his mind. In one particular case, he confers upon kinsmen the privilege of avenging their murdered relative (p. 871); but generally, he rather seeks to enforce upon them strictly the duty of bringing the suspected murderer to trial before the court. By the Attic law, it was only the kinsmen of the deceased who had the right of prosecuting for murder—or the master, if the deceased was an οἰκέτης (Demosthen. cont. Euerg. et Mnesibul. c. 18); they might by forgiveness shorten the term of banishment for the unintentional murderer (Demosth. cont. Makart. p. 1069). They seem to have been regarded, generally speaking, as religiously obliged, but not legally compellable, to undertake this duty; compare Plato, Euthyphro, cap. 4 & 5.

[1] Lysias, cont. Agorat. Or. xiii. p. 137. Antiphon, Tetralog. i. 1. p. 629. Ἀσύμφορον δ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τόνδε, μιαρὸν καὶ ἄναγνον ὄντα, εἰς τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν εἰσιόντα μιαίνειν τὴν ἁγνειαν αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς τραπέζας ἰόντα συγκαταπιμπλάναι τοὺς ἀναιτίους· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων αἵ τε ἀφόριαι γίνονται, δυστυχεῖς θ' αἱ πράξεις καθίστανται.

The three Tetralogies of Antipho are all very instructive respecting the legal procedure in cases of alleged homicide: as also the Oration De Cæde Herodis (see capp. 1 and 2)—τοῦ νόμου κειμένου, τὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἀνταποθανεῖν, &c.

The case of the Spartan Drakontius, one of the Ten Thousand Greeks who served with Cyrus the younger, and permanently exiled from his country in consequence of an involuntary murder committed during his boyhood, presents a pretty exact parallel to the fatal quarrel of Patroklus at dice, when a boy, with the son of Amphidamas, in consequence of which he was forced to seek shelter under the roof of Pêleus (compare Iliad, xxiii. 85, with Xenoph. Anabas. iv. 8, 25).

Punished in historical Greece as a crime against society;

idea of a propitiatory payment to the relatives of the deceased has ceased altogether to be admitted: it is the protection of society which dictates, and the force of society which inflicts, a measure of punishment calculated to deter for the future.

Condition, occupations, and professions of the Homeric Greeks.

3. The society of legendary Greece includes, besides the chiefs, the general mass of freemen (λαοί), among whom stand out by special names certain professional men, such as the carpenter, the smith, the leather-dresser, the leech, the prophet, the bard, and the fisherman[1]. We have no means of appreciating their condition. Lots of arable land were assigned in special property to individuals, with boundaries both carefully marked and jealously watched[2]: but the larger proportion of surface was devoted to pasture; cattle formed both the chief item in the substance of a wealthy man, the chief means of making payments, and the common ground of quarrels: bread and meat, in large quantities, are

[1] Odyss. xvii. 384; xix. 135. Iliad, iv. 187; vii. 221. I know nothing which better illustrates the idea of the Homeric δημιοεργοί—the herald, the prophet, the carpenter, the leech, the bard, &c.—than the following description of the structure of an East Indian village (Mill's History of British India, b. ii. c. 5. p. 266): "A village politically considered resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of *officers and servants* consists of the following descriptions:—The potail, or head inhabitant, who settles disputes and collects the revenue, &c.; the curnum, who keeps the accounts of cultivation, &c.; the tallier; the boundary-man; the superintendent of tanks and water-courses; the Brahman, who performs the village worship; the schoolmaster; the calendar Brahman, or astrologer, who proclaims the lucky or unpropitious periods for sowing or thrashing; the smith and carpenter; the potter; the washerman; the barber; the cowkeeper; the doctor; the dancing-girl, who attends at rejoicings; the musician and the poet."

Each of these officers and servants (δημιοεργοί) is remunerated by a definite perquisite—so much landed produce—out of the general crop of the village (p. 264).

[2] Iliad, xii. 421; xxi. 405.

the constant food of every one[1]. The estates of the owners were tilled, and their cattle tended, mostly by bought slaves, but to a certain degree also by poor freemen called Thêtes, working for hire and for stated periods. The principal slaves, who were entrusted with the care of large herds of oxen, swine, or goats, were of necessity men worthy of confidence: their duties placed them away from their master's immediate eye[2], they had other slaves subordinate to them, and appear to have been well-treated: the deep and unshaken attachment of Eumæus the swineherd and Philœtius the neatherd to the family and affairs of the absent Odysseus, is among the most interesting points in the ancient epic. Slavery was a calamity, which in that period of insecurity might befall any one: the chief who conducted a freebooting expedition, if he succeeded, brought back with him a numerous troop of slaves, as many as he could seize[3]—if he failed, became very likely a slave himself: so that the slave was often by birth of equal dignity with his master—Eumæus was himself the son of a chief, conveyed away when a child by his nurse, and sold by Phenician kidnappers to Laërtês. A slave of this character, if he conducted himself well,

Slaves.

[1] Iliad, i. 155; ix. 154; xiv. 122.

[2] Odysseus and other chiefs of Ithaka had oxen, sheep, mules, &c., on the continent and in Peloponnêsus, under the care of herdsmen (Odyss. iv. 636; xiv. 100).

Leukanor, king of Bosporus, asks the Scythian Arsakomas—Πόσα δὲ βοσκήματα, ἢ πόσας ἁμάξας ἔχεις, ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμεῖς πλουτεῖτε; (Lucian, Toxaris, c. 45.) The enumeration of the property of Odysseus would have placed the *βοσκήματα* in the front line.

[3] Δωμαὶ δ' ἅς Ἀχιλεὺς λητίσσατο (Iliad, xviii. 28: compare also Odyss. i. 397; xxiii. 357; particularly xvii. 441).

might often expect to be enfranchised by his master and placed in an independent holding[1]. On the whole, the slavery of legendary Greece does not present itself as existing under a peculiarly harsh form, especially if we consider that all the classes of society were then very much upon a level in point of taste, sentiment, and instruction[2]. In the absence of legal security or an effective social sanction, it is probable that the condition of a slave under an average master may have been as good as that of the free Thête. The class of slaves whose lot appears to have been the most pitiable were the females—more numerous than the males, and performing the principal work in the interior of the house. Not only do they seem to have been more harshly treated than the males, but they were charged with the hardest and most exhausting labour which the establishment of a Greek chief required—they turned by hand the house-mills, which ground the large quantity of flour consumed in his family[3]. This oppressive task was

[1] Odyss. xiv. 64; xv. 412; see also xix. 78: Eurykleia was also of dignified birth (i. 429). The questions put by Odysseus to Eumæus, to which the speech above referred to is an answer, indicate the proximate causes of slavery: "Was the city of your father sacked? or were you seized by pirates when alone with your sheep and oxen?" (Odyss. xv. 385.)

Eumæus had purchased a slave for himself (Odyss. xiv. 448).

[2] Tacitus, Mor. Germ. 21. "Dominum ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter eadem pecora, in eâdem humo, degunt," &c. (Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 167.)

[3] Odyss. vii. 104; xx. 116. The expression of Telemachus, when he is proceeding to hang up the female slaves who had misbehaved, is bitterly contemptuous:—

Μὴ μὲν δὴ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἕλοίμην
Τάων, &c. (Odyss. xxii. 464.)

The humble establishment of Hesiod's farmer does not possess a mill;

performed generally by female slaves, in historical as well as in legendary Greece[1]. Spinning and weaving was the constant occupation of women, whether free or slave, of every rank and station: all the garments worn both by men and women were fashioned at home, and Helen as well as Penelopê is expert and assiduous at the occupation[2]. The daughters of Keleos at Eleusis go to the well with their basins for water, and Nausikaa daughter of Alcinous[3] joins her female slaves in the business of washing her garments in the river. If we are obliged to point out the fierceness and insecurity of an early society, we may at the same time note with pleasure its characteristic simplicity of manners: Rebecca, Rachel, and the daughters of Jethro in the early Mosaic narrative, as well as the wife of the native Macedonian chief (with whom the Temenid Perdiccas, ancestor of Philip and Alexander, first took service on retiring from Argos) baking

he has nothing better than a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding or bruising the corn; both are constructed, and the wood cut from the trees, by his own hand (Opp. Di. 423), though it seems that a professional carpenter ("the servant of Athênê") is required to put together the plough (v. 430). The Virgilian poem *Moretum* (v. 24) assigns a hand-mill even to the humblest rural establishment.

[1] See Lysias, Or. 1. p. 93 (De Cæde Eratosthenis). Plutarch (Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum, c. 21. p. 1101)—Παχυσκελὴς ἀλετρὶς πρὸς μύλην κινουμένη—and Callimachus (Hymn. ad Delum, 242) —μηδ' ὅθι δειλαὶ Δυστοκέες μογέουσιν ἀλετρίδες—notice the overworked condition of these women.

The "grinding slaves" (ἀλετρίδες) are expressly named in one of the Laws of Ethelbert king of Kent, and constitute the second class in point of value among the female slaves (Law xi. Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, vol. i. p. 7).

[2] Odyss. iv. 131; xix. 235.

[3] Odyss. vi. 96; Hymn. ad Dêmêtr. 105.

her own cakes on the hearth[1], exhibit a parallel in this respect to the Homeric pictures.

Thêtes. We obtain no particulars respecting either the common freemen generally, or the particular class of them called Thêtes. These latter were engaged for special jobs, or at the harvest and other busy seasons of field labour: they seem to have given their labour in exchange for board and clothing: they are mentioned in the same line with the slaves[2], and were (as has been just observed) probably on the whole little better off. The condition of a poor freeman in those days, without a lot of land of his own, going about from one temporary job to another, and having no powerful family and no social authority to look up to for protection, must have been sufficiently miserable. When Eumæus indulged his expectation of being manumitted by his masters, he thought at the same time that they would give him a wife, a house, and a lot of land, near to themselves[3]: simple manumission, without these collateral advantages, would probably have been no improvement in his condition. To be Thête in the service of a very poor farmer is selected by Achilles as the maximum of human hardship: such a person could not give to his Thête the same ample food, and good shoes and clothing, as the wealthy chief Eurymachus, while he would exact more severe labour[4]. It was probably among

[1] Herodot. viii. 137. [2] Odyss. iv. 643. [3] Odyss. xiv. 64.

[4] Compare Odyss. xi. 490, with xviii. 358. Clytæmnêstra, in the *Agamemnôn* of Æschylus, preaches a something similar doctrine to Cassandra,—how much kinder the ἀρχαιόπλουτοι δέσποται were towards

such smaller occupants, who could not advance the price necessary to purchase slaves, and were glad to save the cost of keep when they did not need service, that the Thêtes found employment: though we may conclude that the brave and strong amongst these poor freemen found it preferable to accompany some freebooting chief and to live by the plunder acquired[1]. The exact Hesiod advises his farmer, whose work is chiefly performed by slaves, to employ and maintain the Thête during summer-time, but to dismiss him as soon as the harvest is completely got in, and then to take into his house for the winter a woman "without any child;" who would of course be more useful than the Thête for the indoor occupations of that season[2].

their slaves, than masters who had risen by unexpected prosperity (Agamemn. 1042).

[1] Thucydid. i. 5. *ἐτράποντο πρὸς λήστεια, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων, κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα, καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς.*

[2] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 459—*ἐφορμηθῆναι, ὁμῶς δμῶές τε καὶ αὐτός*— and 603:—

..... Αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ
Πάντα βίον κατάθηαι ἐπήρμενον ἔνδοθι οἴκου,
Θῆτά τ' ἄοικον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄτεκνον ἔριθον
Δίζεσθαι κέλομαι· χαλεπὴ δ' ὑπόπορτις ἔριθος.

The two words *ἄοικον ποιεῖσθαι* seem here to be taken together in the sense of "dismiss the Thête," or "make him houseless"; for when put out of his employer's house, he had no residence of his own. Göttling (*ad loc.*), Nitzsch (ad Odyss. iv. 643), and Lehrs (Quæst. Epic. p. 205) all construe *ἄοικον* with *θῆτα*, and represent Hesiod as advising that the houseless Thête should be at that moment *taken on*, just at the time when the summer's work was finished. Lehrs (and seemingly Göttling also), sensible that this can never have been the real meaning of the poet, would throw out the two lines as spurious. I may remark farther that the translation of *θὴς* given by Göttling—*villicus*—is inappropriate: it includes the idea of superintendence over other labourers, which does not seem to have belonged to the Thête in any case.

There were a class of poor free-women who made their living by

Limited commerce and navigation of the Homeric Greeks.

In a state of society such as that which we have been describing, Grecian commerce was necessarily trifling and restricted. The Homeric poems mark either total ignorance or great vagueness of apprehension respecting all that lies beyond the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor and the islands between or adjoining them. Libya and Egypt are supposed to be very distant, and are known only by name and hearsay: indeed when the city of Cyrene was founded, a century and a half after the first Olympiad, it was difficult to find anywhere a Greek navigator who had ever visited the coast of Libya, or was fit to serve as guide to the colonists[1]. The mention of the Sikels in the Odyssey[2] leads us to conclude that Corcyra, Italy and Sicily were not wholly unknown to the poet: among seafaring Greeks, the knowledge of the latter implied the knowledge of the two former, since the habitual track, even of a well-equipped Athenian trireme during the Peloponnesian war, from Peloponnêsus to Sicily, was by Corcyra and the Gulf of Tarentum. The Phokæans, long afterwards, were the first Greeks who explored either the Adriatic or Tyrrhenian sea[3]. Of the Euxine sea no knowledge is mani-

taking in wool to spin and perhaps to weave: the exactness of their dealing as well as the poor profit which they made, are attested by a touching Homeric simile (Iliad, xiii. 434). See Iliad, vi. 289; xxiii. 742. Odyss. xv. 414.

[1] Herodot. iv. 151. Compare Ukert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, part i. p. 16–19.

[2] Odyss. xx. 383—xxiv. 210. The identity of the Homeric Scheria with Corcyra, and that of the Homeric Thrinakia with Sicily, appear to me not at all made out. Both Welcker and Klausen treat the Phæacians as purely mythical persons (see W. C. Müller, De Corcyræorum Republicâ, Götting. 1835, p. 9).

[3] Herodot. i. 163.

fested in Homer, who, as a general rule, presents to us the names of distant regions only in connection with romantic or monstrous accompaniments. The Cretans, and still more the Taphians (who are supposed to have occupied the western islands off the coast of Acarnania), are mentioned as skilful mariners, and the Taphian Mentês professes to be conveying iron to Temesa to be there exchanged for copper[1]; but both Taphians and Cretans are more corsairs than traders[2]. The strong sense of the dangers of the sea, expressed by the poet Hesiod, and the imperfect structure of the early Grecian ship, attested by Thucydidês (who points out the more recent date of that improved ship-building which prevailed in his time), concur to demonstrate the then narrow range of nautical enterprise[3].

Cretans, Taphians, Phenicians.

Such was the state of the Greeks as traders at a time when Babylon combined a crowded and industrious population with extensive commerce, and when the Phenician merchant-ships visited in one direction the southern coast of Arabia, perhaps even the island of Ceylon—in another direction, the British islands.

The Phenician, the kinsman of the ancient Jew, exhibits the type of character belonging to the latter with greater enterprise and ingenuity,

[1] Nitzsch, ad Odyss. i. 181; Strabo, i. p. 6. The situation of Temesa, whether it is to be placed in Italy or in Cyprus, has been a disputed point among critics both ancient and modern.

[2] Odyss. xv. 426. Τάφιοι, λῃΐστορες ἄνδρες; and xvi. 426. Hymn to Dêmêtêr, v. 123.

[3] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 615–684; Thucyd. i. 13.

and less of religious exclusiveness, yet still different from, and even antipathetic to, the character of the Greeks. In the Homeric poems, he appears somewhat like the Jew of the middle ages, a crafty trader turning to profit the violence and rapacity of others—bringing them ornaments, decorations, the finest and brightest products of the loom, gold, silver, electrum, ivory, tin, &c., in exchange for which he received landed produce, skins, wool, and slaves, the only commodities which even a wealthy Greek chief of those early times had to offer—prepared at the same time for dishonest gain, in any manner which chance might throw in his way[1]. He is however really a trader, not undertaking expeditions with the deliberate purpose of surprise and plunder, and standing distinguished in this respect from the Tyrrhenian, Cretan, or Taphian pirate. Tin, ivory and electrum, all of which are acknowledged in the Homeric

Nature of Phenician trade as indicated by Homer.

[1] Odyss. xiv. 290; xv. 416.—

Φοίνιξ ἦλθεν ἀνὴρ, ἀπατήλια εἰδὼς,
Τρώκτης, ὃς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει.

The interesting narrative given by Eumæus, of the manner in which he fell into slavery, is a vivid picture of Phenician dealing (compare Herodot. i. 2–4. Iliad, vi. 290; xxiii. 743). Paris is there reported to have visited Sidon, and brought from thence women eminent for skill at the loom. The Cyprian Verses (see the Argument. ap. Düntzer, p. 17) affirmed that Paris had landed at Sidon, and attacked and captured the city. Taphian corsairs kidnapped slaves at Sidon (Odyss. xv. 424).

The ornaments or trinkets (*ἀθύρματα*) which the Phenician merchant carries with him, seem to be the same as the *δαίδαλα πολλὰ, Πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἕλικας*, &c., which Hêphæstus was employed in fabricating (Iliad, xviii. 400) under the protection of Thetis.

"Fallacissimum esse genus Phœnikum omnia monumenta vetustatis atque omnes historiæ nobis prodiderunt." (Cicero, Orat. Trium. partes ineditæ, ed. Maii, 1815, p. 13.)

poems, were the fruit of Phenician trade with the West as well as with the East[1]. Thucydidês tells us that the Phenicians and Carians, in very early periods, occupied many of the islands of the Ægean, and we know, from the striking remnant of their mining works which Herodotus himself saw in Thasus, off the coast of Thrace, that they had once extracted gold from the mountains of that island—at a period indeed very far back, since their occupation must have been abandoned prior to the

[1] Ivory is frequently mentioned in Homer, who uses the word ἐλέφας exclusively to mean that substance, not to signify the animal.

The art of dyeing, especially with the various shades of purple, was in after-ages one of the special excellences of the Phenicians: yet Homer, where he alludes in a simile to dyeing or staining, introduces a Mæonian or Carian woman as the performer of the process, not a Phenician (Iliad, iv. 141).

What the *electrum* named in the Homeric poems really is cannot be positively determined. The word in antiquity meant two different things: 1. amber; 2. an impure gold, containing as much as one-fifth or more of silver (Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 4). The passages in which we read the word in the Odyssey do not positively exclude either of these meanings; but they present to us electrum so much in juxtaposition with gold and silver each separately, that perhaps the second meaning is more probable than the first. Herodotus understands it to mean *amber* (iii. 115); Sophoclês, on the contrary, employs it to designate a metal akin to gold (Antigone, 1033).

See the dissertation of Buttmann, appended to his collection of essays called *Mythologus*, vol. ii. p. 337; also Beckmann, History of Inventions, vol. iv. p. 12, Engl. Transl. "The ancients (observes the latter) used as a peculiar metal a mixture of gold and silver, because they were not acquainted with the art of separating them, and gave it the name of *electrum*."

Beckmann doubts whether the oldest κασσίτερος of the Greeks was really *tin*: he rather thinks that it was "the *stannum* of the Romans, the *werk* of our smelting-houses,—that is, a mixture of lead, silver, and other accidental metals" (*ibid.* p. 20). The Greeks of Massalia procured tin from Britain, through Gaul, by the Seine, the Saone, and the Rhone (Diodôr. v. 22).

settlement of the poet Archilochus[1]. But very few of the islands in the Ægean were rich in such valuable products, and it was not in the usual course of Phenician proceeding to occupy islands, except where there was an adjoining mainland with which trade could be carried on. The traffic of the latter required no permanent settlement: such occasional visitors were convenient to enable a Greek chief both to turn his captives to account, to get rid of slaves or friendless Thêtes who were troublesome, and to supply himself with the metals, precious as well as useful[2]. The halls of Alcinous and Menelaus glitter with gold, copper and electrum; and large stocks of yet unemployed metal—gold, copper and iron—are stored up in the treasure-chamber of Odysseus and other chiefs[3]. Coined money is unknown to the Homeric age: the trade carried on is one of barter. In reference also to the metals, it deserves to be remarked that the Homeric descriptions universally suppose copper, and not iron, to be employed for arms, both offensive and defensive. By what process the copper was tempered and hardened, so as to serve the

[1] Herodot. ii. 44; vi. 47. Archiloch. Fragm. 21–22, ed. Gaisf. Œnomaus ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. vi. 7. Thucyd. i. 12.

The Greeks connected this Phenician settlement in Thasus with the legend of Cadmus and his sister Eurôpa: Thasus, the eponymus of the island, was brother of Cadmus. (Herod. *ib.*)

[2] The angry Laomedôn threatens, when Poseidôn and Apollo ask from him (at the expiration of their term of servitude) the stipulated wages of their labour, to cut off their ears and send them off to some distant islands (Iliad, xxi. 454). Compare xxiv. 752. Odyss. xx. 383; xviii. 83.

[3] Odyss. iv. 73; vii. 85; xxi. 61. Iliad, ii. 226; vi. 47.

purposes of the warrior, we do not know[1]; but the use of iron for these objects belongs to a later age, though the Works and Days of Hesiod suppose this change to have been already introduced[2].

Weapons and mode of fighting of the Homeric Greeks.

The mode of fighting among the Homeric heroes is not less different from the historical times, than the material of which their arms were composed. The Hoplites, or heavy-armed infantry of historical Greece, maintained a close order and well-dressed line, charging the enemy with their spears pro-

[1] See Millin, Minéralogie Homerique, p. 74. That there are, however, modes of tempering copper, so as to impart to it the hardness of steel, has been proved by the experiments of the Comte de Caylus.

The Massagetæ employed only copper—no iron—for their weapons (Herodot. i. 215).

[2] Hesiod, Opp. Di. 150–420. The examination of the various matters of antiquity discoverable throughout the north of Europe, as published by the Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, recognises a distinction of three successive ages:—1. Implements and arms of stone, bone, wood, &c.; little or no use of metals at all; clothing made of skins. 2. Implements and arms of copper and gold, or rather bronze and gold; little or no silver or iron: articles of gold and electrum are found belonging to this age, but none of silver, nor any evidences of writing. 3. The age which follows this has belonging to it arms of iron, articles of silver, and some Runic inscriptions: it is the last age of northern paganism, immediately preceding the introduction of Christianity (Leitfaden zur Nördischen Alterthumskunde, pp. 31, 57, 63, Copenhagen, 1837).

The Homeric age coincides with the second of these two periods. Silver is comparatively little mentioned in Homer, while both bronze and gold are familiar metals. Iron also is rare, and seems employed only for agricultural purposes—Χρυσόν τε, χαλκόν τε ἄλις, ἐσθῆτα θ' ὑφαντήν (Iliad, vi. 48; Odyss. ii. 338; xiii. 136). The χρυσόχοος and the χαλκεὺς are both known in Homer, but workers in silver and iron are not known by any special name (Odyss. iii. 425–436).

"The hatchet, wimble, plane, and level, are the tools mentioned by Homer, who appears to have been unacquainted with the saw, the square, and the compass." (Gillies, Hist. of Greece, chap. ii. p. 61.)

The Gauls known to Polybius, seemingly the Cisalpine Gauls only, possessed all their property in cattle and gold—θρέμματα καὶ χρυσὸς,—on account of the easy transportability of both (Polyb. ii. 17).

tended at even distance, and coming thus to close conflict without breaking their rank: there were special troops, bowmen, slingers, &c. armed with missiles, but the hoplite had no weapon to employ in this manner. The heroes of the Iliad and Odyssey, on the contrary, habitually employ the spear as a missile, and launch it with tremendous force: each of them is mounted in his war-chariot drawn by two horses and calculated to contain the warrior and his charioteer; in which latter capacity a friend or comrade will sometimes consent to serve. He advances in this chariot at full speed, in front of his own soldiers, and hurls his spear against the enemy: sometimes indeed he will fight on foot and hand to hand, but the chariot is usually near to receive him if he chooses, or to ensure his retreat. The mass of the Greeks and Trojans come forward to the charge, without any regular step or evenly-maintained line, and make their attack in the same way by hurling their spears. Each chief wore habitually a long sword and a short dagger, besides his two spears to be launched forward: the spear was also used, if occasion served, as a weapon for thrust. Every man was protected by shield, helmet, breastplate and greaves: but the armour of the chiefs was greatly superior to that of the common men, while they themselves were both stronger and more expert in the use of their weapons. There were a few bowmen, as rare exceptions, but the general equipment and proceeding was as here described.

Such loose array, immortalised as it is in the Iliad, is familiar to every one; and the contrast

which it presents, with those inflexible ranks and that irresistible simultaneous charge which bore down the Persian throng at Platæa and Cunaxa[1], is such as to illustrate very forcibly the general difference between heroic and historical Greece. In the former, a few splendid figures stand forward, in prominent relief, while the remainder is a mere unorganised and ineffective mass: in the latter, these units have been combined into a system, in which every man, officer and soldier, has his assigned place and duty, and the victory, when gained, is the joint work of all. Pre-eminent individual prowess is indeed materially abridged, if not wholly excluded—no man can do more than maintain his station in the line[2]: but on the other hand, the grand purposes, aggressive or defensive, for which alone arms are taken up, become more assured and easy, and long-sighted combinations of the general are rendered for the first time practicable, when he has a disciplined body of men to obey him. In tracing the picture of civil society, we have to remark a similar transition—

Contrast with the military array of historical Greece.

[1] Tyrtæus, in his military expressions, seems to conceive the Homeric mode of hurling the spear as still prevalent—*δόρυ δ' εὐτόλμως βάλλοντες* (Fragm. ix. Gaisford). Either he had his mind prepossessed with the Homeric array, or else the close order and conjunct spears of the hoplites had not yet been introduced during the second Messenian war.

Thiersch and Schneidewin would substitute *πάλλοντες* in place of *βάλλοντες*. Euripidês (Androm. 695) has a similar expression, yet it does not apply well to hoplites; for one of the virtues of the hoplite consisted in carrying his spear steadily: *δοράτων κίνησις* betokens a disorderly march and the want of steady courage and self-possession. See the remarks of Brasidas upon the ranks of the Athenians under Cleon at Amphipolis (Thucyd. v. 6).

[2] Euripid. Andromach. 696.

Analogous change—in military array and in civil society.

we pass from Hêraklês, Thêseus, Jasôn, Achilles, to Solon, Pythagoras and Periklês—from "the shepherd of his people," (to use the phrase in which Homer depicts the good side of the heroic king,) to the legislator who introduces, and the statesman who maintains, a preconcerted system by which willing citizens consent to bind themselves. If commanding individual talent is not always to be found, the whole community is so trained as to be able to maintain its course under inferior leaders; the rights as well as the duties of each citizen being predetermined in the social order, according to principles more or less wisely laid down. The contrast is similar, and the transition equally remarkable, in the civil as in the military picture. In fact, the military organization of the Grecian republics is an element of the greatest importance in respect to the conspicuous part which they have played in human affairs: their superiority over other contemporary nations in this respect is hardly less striking than it is in many others, as we shall have occasion to see in a subsequent stage of this history.

Fortification of towns.

Even at the most advanced point of their tactics, the Greeks could effect little against a walled city, whilst the heroic weapons and array were still less available for such an undertaking as a siege. Fortifications are a feature of the age deserving considerable notice. There was a time, we are told, in which the primitive Greek towns or villages derived a precarious security, not from their walls, but merely from sites lofty and difficult of access. They were not built immediately upon the shore,

or close upon any convenient landing-place, but at some distance inland, on a rock or elevation which could not be approached without notice or scaled without difficulty. It was thought sufficient at that time to guard against piratical or marauding surprise: but as the state of society became assured—as the chance of sudden assault comparatively diminished and industry increased—these uninviting abodes were exchanged for more convenient sites on the plain or declivity beneath; or a portion of the latter was enclosed within larger boundaries and joined on to the original foundation, which thus became the Acropolis of the new town. Thêbes, Athens, Argos, &c. belonged to the latter class of cities; but there were in many parts of Greece deserted sites on hill-tops, still retaining even in historical times the traces of former habitation, and some of them still bearing the name of the old towns. Among the mountainous parts of Crête, in Ægina and Rhodes, in portions of Mount Ida and Parnassus, similar remnants might be perceived[1].

[1] Ἡ παλαιὰ πόλις in Ægina (Herodot. vi. 88); Ἀστυπάλαια in Samus (Polyæn. i. 23. 2; Etymol. Magn. v. Ἀστυπάλαια): it became seemingly the acropolis of the subsequent city.

About the deserted sites in the lofty regions of Crête, see Theophrastus, De Ventis, v. 13, ed. Schneider, p. 762.

The site of Παλαίσκηψις in Mount Ida,—ἐπάνω Κέβρηνος κατὰ τὸ μετεωρότατον τῆς Ἴδης (Strabo, xiii. p. 607); ὕστερον δὲ κατωτέρω σταδίοις ἑξήκοντα εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκῆψιν μετωκίσθησαν. Paphos in Cyprus was the same distance below the ancient Palæ-Paphos (Strabo, xiv. p. 683).

Near Mantineia in Arcadia was situated ὄρος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, τὰ ἐρείπια ἔτι Μαντινείας ἔχον τῆς ἀρχαίας· καλεῖται δὲ τὸ χώριον ἐφ' ἡμῶν Πτόλις (Pausan. viii. 12, 4). See a similar statement about the lofty sites of the ancient town of Orchomenus (in Arcadia) (Paus. viii. 13, 2), of Nonakris (viii. 17, 5), of Lusi (viii. 18, 3), Lykoreia on Parnassus (Paus. x. 6, 2; Strabo, ix. p. 418).

Compare also Plato, Legg. iii. 2. p. 678–679: he traces these lofty

Earliest residences of the Greeks—hill villages lofty and difficult of access.

Probably in such primitive hill villages, a continuous circle of wall would hardly be required as an additional means of defence, and would often be rendered very difficult by the rugged nature of the ground. But Thucydidês represents the earliest Greeks—those whom he conceives anterior to the Trojan war,—as living thus universally in unfortified villages chiefly on account of their poverty, rudeness, and thorough carelessness for the morrow. Oppressed and held apart from each other by perpetual fear, they had not yet contracted the sentiment of fixed abodes—they were unwilling even to plant fruit-trees because of the uncertainty of gathering the produce—and were always ready to dislodge, because there was nothing to gain by staying, and a bare subsistence might be had any where. He compares them to the mountaineers of Ætolia and of the Ozolian Locris in his own time, who dwelt in their unfortified hill villages with little or no inter-communication, always armed and fighting, and subsisting on the produce of their cattle and their woods[1]—clothed in undrest hides, and eating raw meat.

and craggy dwellings, general among the earliest Grecian townships, to the commencement of human society after an extensive deluge, which had covered all the lower grounds and left only a few survivors.

[1] Thucyd. i. 2. *Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη, οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὖσαι τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες, βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τινῶν ἀεὶ πλειόνων· τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις, οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοι δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν, καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὂν ὅποτέ τις ἐπελθὼν, καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων, ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον, οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ.*

About the distant and unfortified villages and rude habits of the Æto-

The picture given by Thucydidês, of these very early and unrecorded times, can only be taken as conjectural—the conjectures indeed of a statesman and a philosopher,—generalised too, in part, from the many particular instances of contention and expulsion of chiefs which he found in the old legendary poems. The Homeric poems, however, present to us a different picture. They recognise walled towns, fixed abodes, strong local attachments, hereditary individual property in land, vineyards planted and carefully cultivated, established temples of the gods, and splendid palaces of the chiefs[1]. The description of Thucydidês belongs to a lower form of society, and bears more analogy to that which the poet himself conceives as antiquated and barbarous —to the savage Cyclopes who dwell on the tops of mountains, in hollow caves, without the plough, without vine- or fruit-culture, without arts or instruments—or to the primitive settlement of Dardanus son of Zeus, on the higher ground of Ida, while it was reserved for his descendants and successors to found the holy Ilium on the plain[2]. Ilium

Homeric society recognises walled towns, individual property, and strong local attachments.

lians and Locrians, see Thucyd. iii. 94; Pausan. x. 38, 3: also of the Cisalpine Gauls, Polyb. ii. 17.

Both Thucydidês and Aristotle seem to have conceived the Homeric period as mainly analogous to the *βάρβαροι* of their own day—*Λύει δ' Ἀριστοτέλης λέγων, ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἀεὶ ποιεῖ Ὅμηρος οἷα ἦν τότε· ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα τὰ παλαιὰ οἵπερ καὶ νῦν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις* (Schol. Iliad. x. 151).

[1] Odyss. vi. 10; respecting Nausithous, past king of the Phæacians:

Ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει, καὶ ἐδείματο οἴκους,
Καὶ νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν, καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας.

The vineyard, olive-ground and garden of Laërtes, is a model of careful cultivation (Odyss. xxiv. 245); see also the Shield of Achilles (Iliad, xviii. 541–580), and the Kalydonian plain (Iliad, ix. 575).

[2] Odyss. x. 106–115; Iliad, xx. 216.

or Troy represents the perfection of Homeric society. It is a consecrated spot, containing temples of the gods as well as the palace of Priam, and surrounded by walls which are the fabric of the gods: while the antecedent form of ruder society, which the poet briefly glances at, is the parallel of that which the theory of Thucydidês ascribes to his own early semi-barbarous ancestors.

Walled towns serve thus as one of the evidences, that a large part of the population of Greece had, even in the Homeric times, reached a level higher than that of the Ætolians and Locrians of the days of Thucydidês. The remains of Mycênæ and Tiryns demonstrate the massy and Cyclopian style of architecture employed in those early days: but we may remark, that while modern observers seem inclined to treat the remains of the former as very imposing, and significant of a great princely family, Thucydidês, on the contrary, speaks of it as a small place, and labours to elude the inference, which might be deduced from its insignificant size, in disproof of the grandeur of Agamemnôn[1]. Such fortifications supplied a means of defence incomparably superior to those of attack: even in historical Greece, and after the invention of battering engines, no city could be taken except by surprise or stratagem, or by ruining the country around, and thus depriving the inhabitants of their means of subsistence. And in the two great sieges of the legendary time, Troy and Thêbes, the former is captured by the stratagem

Means of defence superior to those of attack.

[1] Thucyd. i. 10. Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν, ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα μὴ ἀξιοχρέων δοκεῖ εἶναι, &c.

of the wooden horse, while the latter is evacuated by its citizens, under the warning of the gods, after their defeat in the field.

This decided superiority of the means of defence over those of attack, in rude ages, has been one of the grand promotive causes both of the growth of civic life and of the general march of human improvement. It has enabled the progressive portions of mankind first to maintain their acquisitions against the predatory instincts of the ruder and poorer, and to surmount the difficulties of incipient organisation—and ultimately, when their organisation has been matured, both to acquire predominance, and to uphold it until their own disciplined habits have in part passed to their enemies. The important truth here stated is illustrated not less by the history of ancient Greece, than by that of modern Europe during the middle ages. The Homeric chief, combining superior rank with superior force, and ready to rob at every convenient opportunity, greatly resembles the feudal baron of the middle ages, but circumstances absorb him more easily into a city life, and convert the independent potentate into the member of a governing aristocracy[1]. Traffic by sea continued to be beset with

[1] Nägelsbach, Homerische Theologie, Abschn. v. sect. 54. Hesiod strongly condemns robbery—Δὼς ἀγαθὴ, ἅρπαξ δὲ κακὴ, θανάτοιο δότειρα (Opp. Di. 356, comp. 320); but the sentiment of the Grecian heroic poetry seems not to go against it—it is looked upon as a natural employment of superior force—Αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἵασιν (Athenæ. v. p. 178; comp. Pindar, Fragm. 48, ed. Dissen.): the long spear, sword and breastplate, of the Cretan Hybreas, constitute his wealth (Skolion 27, p. 877; Poet. Lyric. ed. Bergk), wherewith he ploughs and reaps—while the unwarlike, who dare not or cannot wield these weapons, fall at his feet, and call him The Great King. The

Habitual piracy.

danger from pirates, long after it had become tolerably assured by land: the "wet ways" have always been the last resort of lawlessness and violence, and the Ægean in particular has in all times suffered more than other waters under this calamity. The aggressions of the sort here described were of course

feeling is different in the later age of Demêtrius Poliorkêtês (about 310 B.C.); in the Ithyphallic Ode addressed to him at his entrance into Athens, robbery is treated as worthy only of Ætolians:—

Αἰτωλικὸν γὰρ ἁρπάσαι τὰ τῶν πέλας,
Νυνὶ δὲ, καὶ τὰ πόῤῥω.—
(Poet. Lyr. xxv. p. 453, ed. Schneid.)

The robberies of powerful men, and even highway robbery generally, found considerable approving sentiment in the middle ages. "All Europe (observes Mr. Hallam, Hist. Mid. Ag. ch. viii. part 3, p. 247) was a scene of intestine anarchy during the middle ages: and though England was far less exposed to the scourge of private war than most nations on the continent, we should find, could we recover the local annals of every country, such an accumulation of petty rapine and tumult, as would almost alienate us from the liberty which served to engender it.....Highway robbery was from the earliest times a sort of national crime.....We know how long the outlaws of Sherwood lived in tradition; men who, like some of their betters, have been permitted to redeem by a few acts of generosity the just ignominy of extensive crimes. These indeed were the heroes of vulgar applause: but when such a judge as Sir John Fortescue could exult, that more Englishmen were hanged for robbery in one year than French in seven—and that, *if an Englishman be poor, and see another having riches, which may be taken from him by might, he will not spare to do so*,—it may be perceived how thoroughly these sentiments had pervaded the public mind."

The robberies habitually committed by the noblesse of France and Germany during the middle ages, so much worse than any thing in England—and those of the Highland chiefs even in later times—are too well-known to need any references: as to France, an ample catalogue is set forth in Dulaure's Histoire de la Noblesse (Paris, 1792). The confederations of the German cities chiefly originated in the necessity of keeping the roads and rivers open for the transit of men and goods against the nobles who infested the high roads. Scaliger might have found a parallel to the λῃσταὶ of the heroic ages in the noblesse of la Rouergue as it stood even in the 16th century, which he thus describes:—"In Comitatu Rodez pessimi sunt: nobilitas ibi latrocinatur: nec possunt reprimi" (ap. Dulaure, c. 9).

most numerous in those earliest times when the Ægean was not yet an Hellenic sea, and when many of the Cyclades were occupied, not by Greeks, but by Carians, perhaps by Phenicians: the number of Carian sepulchres discovered in the sacred island of Delus seems to attest such occupation as an historical fact[1]. According to the legendary account, espoused both by Herodotus and by Thucydidês, it was the Cretan Minôs who subdued these islands and established his sons as rulers in them; either expelling the Carians or reducing them to servitude and tribute[2]. Thucydidês presumes that he must of course have put down piracy, in order to enable his tribute to be remitted in safety, like the Athenians during the time of their hegemony[3]. Upon the legendary thalassocraty of Minôs I have already remarked in another place: it is sufficient here to repeat, that in the Homeric poems (long subsequent to Minôs in the current chronology) we find piracy both frequent and held in honourable estimation, as Thucydidês himself emphatically tells us: he remarks moreover that the vessels of those early days were only half-decked, built and equipped after the piratical fashion[4], in a manner upon which the nautical men of his time looked back with disdain: improved and enlarged ship-building, and the trireme, or ship with three banks of oars,

[1] Thucyd. i. 4–8. *τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης.*

[2] Herodot. i. 171; Thucyd. i. 4–8. Isokratês (Panathenaic, p. 241) takes credit to Athens for having finally expelled the Carians out of these islands at the time of the Ionic emigration.

[3] Thucyd. i. 4. *τό τε λῃστικὸν ὡς εἰκὸς, καθῄρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον ἠδύνατο, τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ.*

[4] Thucyd. i. 10. *τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ λῃστρικώτερον παρεσκευασμένα.*

common for warlike purposes during the Persian invasion, began only with the growing skill, activity and importance of the Corinthians, three quarters of a century after the first Olympiad[1]. Corinth, even in the Homeric poems, is distinguished by the epithet of wealthy, which it acquired principally from its remarkable situation on the Isthmus, and from its two harbours of Lechæum and Kenchreæ, the one on the Corinthian, the other on the Sarônic gulf. It thus supplied a convenient connection between Epirus and Italy on the one side, and the Ægean sea on the other, without imposing upon the timid navigator of those days the necessity of circumnavigating Peloponnêsus.

Extended geographical knowledge in the Hesiodic poems, as compared with Homer.

The extension of Grecian traffic and shipping is manifested by a comparison of the Homeric with the Hesiodic poems; in respect to knowledge of places and countries—the latter being probably referable to dates between B.C. 740 and B.C. 640. In Homer, acquaintance is shown (the accuracy of such acquaintance however being exaggerated by Strabo and other friendly critics) with continental Greece and its neighbouring islands, with Crête and the principal islands of the Ægean, and with Thrace, the Troad, the Hellespont, and Asia Minor between Paphlagonia northward and Lycia southward: the Sikels are mentioned in the Odyssey, and Sikania in the last book of that poem, but nothing is said to evince a knowledge of Italy or the realities of the western world: Libya, Egypt, and Phœnice, are known by name and by vague hearsay, but the Nile is only mentioned as "the

[1] Thucyd. i. 13.

river Egypt:" while the Euxine sea is not mentioned at all[1]. In the Hesiodic poems, on the other hand, the Nile, the Ister, the Phasis and the Eridanus, are all specified by name[2]; Mount Ætna, and the island of Ortygia near to Syracuse, the Tyrrhenians and Ligurians in the west, and the Scythians in the north, were also noticed[3]. Indeed within forty years after the first Olympiad, the cities of Corcyra and Syracuse were founded from Corinth—the first of a numerous and powerful series of colonies, destined to impart a new character both to the south of Italy and to Sicily.

Astronomy and physics.

In reference to the astronomy and physics of the Homeric Greek, it has already been remarked that he connected together the sensible phænomena which form the subject matter of these sciences by threads of religious and personifying fancy, to which the real analogies among them were made subordinate; and that these analogies did not begin to be studied by themselves, apart from the religious element by which they had been at first overlaid, until the age of Thales,—coinciding as that period did with the increased opportunities for visiting Egypt and the interior of Asia. The Greeks obtained access in both of these countries

[1] See Voelcker, Homerische Geographie, ch. iii. sect. 55–63. He has brought to bear much learning and ingenuity to identify the places visited by Odysseus with real lands, but the attempt is not successful. Compare also Ukert, Hom. Geog. vol. i. p. 14, and the valuable treatises of J. H. Voss, *Alte Weltkunde*, annexed to the second volume of his Kritische Blätter (Stuttgart, 1828), pp. 245–413. Voss is the father of just views respecting Homeric geography.

[2] Hesiod. Theog. 338–340.

[3] Hesiod. Theogon. 1016; Hesiod. Fragm. 190–194, ed. Göttling; Strabo, i. p. 16; vii. p. 300. Compare Ukert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, i. p. 37.

to an enlarged stock of astronomical observations, to the use of the gnomon or sun-dial, and to a more exact determination of the length of the solar year[1] than that which served as the basis of their various lunar periods. According to Herodotus, they also acquired from the Babylonians the conception of "the pole," or of the heavens as a complete hollow sphere, revolving round and enclosing the earth: and this idea, an important departure from the Homeric point of view, was either adopted from them or imagined by Thales—who still however continued to treat the earth as a flat, round, thick plate,

[1] We have very little information respecting the early Grecian mode of computing time, and we know that though all the different states computed by lunar periods, yet most, if not all, of them had different names of months as well as different days of beginning and ending their months. All their immediate computations however were made by months: the lunar period was their immediate standard of reference for determining their festivals and for other purposes, the solar period being resorted to only as a corrective, to bring the same months constantly into the same seasons of the year. Their original month had thirty days, and was divided into three decads, as it continued to be during the times of historical Athens (Hesiod. Opp. Di. 766). In order to bring this lunar period more nearly into harmony with the sun, they intercalated every year an additional month: so that their years included alternately twelve months and thirteen months, each month of thirty days. This period was called a Dieteris—sometimes a Trieteris. Solon is said to have first introduced the fashion of months differing in length, varying alternately from thirty to twenty-nine days. It appears however that Herodotus had present to his mind the Dieteric cycle, or years alternating between thirteen months and twelve months (each month of thirty days), and no other (Herodot. i. 32; compare ii. 104). As astronomical knowledge improved, longer and more elaborate periods were calculated, exhibiting a nearer correspondence between an integral number of lunations and an integral number of solar years. First, we find a period of four years; next, the Octaëteris, or period of eight years or seventy-nine lunar months; lastly, the Metonic period of nineteen years, or 235 lunar months. How far any of these larger periods were ever legally authorised or brought into civil usage even at Athens, is matter of much doubt. See Ideler, Uber die Astronomischen Beobachtungen der Alten, p. 175–195; Macrobius, Saturnal. i. 13.

supported on water, and remaining unmoved[1]. It is pretended that Thales was the first who predicted an eclipse of the sun—not indeed accurately, but with large limits of error as to the time of its occurrence—and that he also possessed so profound an acquaintance with meteorological phænomena and probabilities, as to be able to foretel an abundant crop of olives for the coming year, and to realise a large sum of money by an olive speculation[2]. From Thales downward we trace a succession of astronomical and physical theories, more or less successful, into which I do not intend here to enter: it is sufficient at present to contrast the father of the Ionic philosophy with the times preceding him, and to mark the first commencement of scientific prediction among the Greeks, however imperfect at the outset, as distinguished from the inspired dicta of prophets or oracles, and from those special signs of the purposes of the gods, which formed the habitual reliance of the Homeric man[3]. We shall see these two modes of anticipating the

[1] The Greeks learnt from the Babylonians, *πόλον καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυωκαίδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης* (Herodot. ii. 109).

The meaning of the word *πόλος* is not perfectly clear, and has been differently interpreted. See Larcher *ad loc.* Plato uses it to mean "the axis of rotation of the universe:"—see the much-discussed passage, Timæus, p. 40, with Stallbaum's note (Aristotel. de Cœlo, ii. 13), but Ukert explains the word, as it seems to me justly, in the sense given in the text—Geographie der Griech. und Römer, part ii. p. 115. Respecting the opinions of Thales, see the same work, part ii. p. 18–57; Plutarch. de Placit. Philosophor. ii. c. 12; Aristot. de Cœlo, ii. 13. Costard, Rise and Progress of Astronomy among the Ancients, p. 99.

[2] Herodot. i. 74; Aristot. Polit. i. 4, 5.

[3] Odyss. iii. 173.—

Ἠτέομεν δὲ θεὸν φαίνειν τέρας· αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἡμῖν
Δείξε, καὶ ἠνώγει πέλαγος μέσον εἰς Εὔβοιαν
Τέμνειν, &c.

Compare Odyss. xx. 100; Iliad, i. 62; Eurip. Suppl. 216–230.

future—one based upon the philosophical, the other upon the religious appreciation of nature—running simultaneously on throughout Grecian history, and sharing between them in unequal portions the empire of the Greek mind: the former acquiring both greater predominance and wider application among the intellectual men, and partially restricting, but never abolishing, the spontaneous employment of the latter among the vulgar.

Coined money, writing, arts.

Neither coined money, nor the art of writing[1], nor painting, nor sculpture, nor imaginative architecture, belong to the Homeric and Hesiodic times. Such rudiments of arts, destined ultimately to acquire so great a development in Greece, as may have existed in these early days, served only as a sort of nucleus to the fancy of the poet, to shape out for himself the fabulous creations ascribed to Hephæstus or Dædalus. No statues of the gods, not even of wood, are mentioned in the Homeric poems. All the many varieties, in Grecian music, poetry and dancing—the former chiefly borrowed from Lydia and Phrygia—date from a period considerably later than the first Olympiad: Terpander, the earliest musician whose date is assigned, and the inventor of the harp with seven strings instead of that with four strings, does not come until the 26th Olympiad, or 676 B.C.: the poet Archilochus is nearly of the same date. The iambic and elegiac metres—the first deviations from the primitive epic strain and subject—do not reach up to the year 700 B.C.

[1] The σήματα λυγρὰ mentioned in Iliad, vi. 168, if they prove anything, are rather an evidence against, than for, the existence of alphabetical writing at the times when the Iliad was composed.

Epic poetry.

It is this epic poetry which forms at once both the undoubted prerogative and the solitary jewel of the earliest æra of Greece. Of the many epic poems which existed in Greece during the eighth century before the Christian æra, none have been preserved except the Iliad and Odyssey: the Æthiopis of Arctinus, the Ilias Minor of Lesches, the Cyprian Verses, the Capture of Œchalia, the Returns of the Heroes from Troy, the Thêbaïs and the Epigoni—several of them passing in antiquity under the name of Homer—have all been lost. But the two which remain are quite sufficient to demonstrate in the primitive Greeks, a mental organisation unparalleled in any other people, and powers of invention and expression which prepared, as well as foreboded, the future eminence of the nation in all the various departments to which thought and language can be applied. Great as the power of thought afterwards became among the Greeks, their power of expression was still greater: in the former, other nations have built upon their foundations and surpassed them—in the latter they still remain unrivalled. It is not too much to say that this flexible, emphatic and transparent character of the language as an instrument of communication—its perfect aptitude for narrative and discussion, as well as for stirring all the veins of human emotion without ever forfeiting that character of simplicity which adapts it to all men and all times—may be traced mainly to the existence and the wide-spread influence of the Iliad and Odyssey. To us these compositions are interesting as beautiful poems, depicting life and manners, and

Its great and permanent influence on the Greek mind.

unfolding certain types of character, with the utmost vivacity and artlessness: to their original hearer, they possessed all these sources of attraction, together with others more powerful still, to which we are now strangers. Upon him they bore with the full weight and solemnity of history and religion combined, while the charm of the poetry was only secondary and instrumental. The poet was then the teacher and preacher of the community, not simply the amuser of their leisure hours: they looked to him for revelations of the unknown past and for expositions of the attributes and dispensations of the gods, just as they consulted the prophet for his privileged insight into the future. The ancient epic comprised many different poets and poetical compositions which fulfilled this purpose with more or less completeness: but it is the exclusive prerogative of the Iliad and Odyssey, that after the minds of men had ceased to be in full harmony with their original design, they yet retained their empire by the mere force of secondary excellences; while the remaining epics—though serving as food for the curious, and as storehouses for logographers, tragedians and artists—never seem to have acquired very wide popularity even among intellectual Greeks.

I shall, in the succeeding chapter, give some account of the epic cycle, of its relation to the Homeric poems, and of the general evidences respecting the latter, both as to antiquity and authorship.

CHAPTER XXI.

GRECIAN EPIC.—HOMERIC POEMS.

Two classes of Epic poetry—Homeric—Hesiodic.

At the head of those once abundant epical compositions, most of them unfortunately lost, stand the Iliad and Odyssey, with the immortal name of Homer attached to each of them, embracing separate portions of the comprehensive legend of Troy. They form the type of what may be called the heroic epic of the Greeks, as distinguished from the genealogical, in which latter species some of the Hesiodic poems—the Catalogue of Women, the Eœæ, and the Naupactia—stood conspicuous. Poems of the Homeric character (if so it may be called, though the expression is very indefinite) were confined to one of the great events or great personages of Grecian legendary antiquity, comprised a limited number of characters all contemporaneous, and made some approach, more or less successful, to a certain poetical unity; while the Hesiodic poems, tamer in their spirit and unconfined both as to time and as to persons, strung together distinct events without any obvious view to concentration of interest—without legitimate beginning or end[1]. Between these two extremes

[1] Aristot. Poet. c. 17–37. He points out and explains the superior structure of the Iliad and Odyssey, as compared with the semi-Homeric and biographical poems: but he takes no notice of the Hesiodic or genealogical.

there were many gradations: biographical poems, such as the Herakleids and Theseids, recounting all the principal exploits performed by one single hero, present a character intermediate between the two, but bordering more closely on the Hesiodic. Even the hymns to the gods, which pass under the name of Homer, are epical fragments, narrating particular exploits or adventures of the god commemorated.

Didactic and mystic Hexameter poetry—later as a genus than the Epic.

Both the didactic and the mystico-religious poetry of Greece, began in Hexameter verse—the characteristic and consecrated measure of the epic[1]: but they belong to a different species, and burst out from a different vein in the Grecian mind. It seems to have been the more common belief among the historical Greeks that such mystic effusions were more ancient than their narrative poems, and that Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, Olên, Pamphus, and even Hesiod, &c. &c., the reputed composers of the former, were of earlier date than Homer. But there is no evidence to sustain this opinion, and the presumptions are all against it: those compositions, which in the sixth century before the Christian æra passed under the name of Orpheus and Musæus, seem to have been unquestionably post-Homeric, nor can we even admit the modified conclusion of Hermann, Ulrici, and others, that the mystic poetry as a genus (putting aside the particular compositions falsely ascribed to Orpheus and others) preceded in order of time the narrative[2].

[1] Aristot. Poetic. c. 41. He considers the Hexameter to be the *natural* measure of narrative poetry: any other would be unseemly.

[2] Ulrici, Geschichte des Griechischen Epos, 5te Vorlesung, pp. 96–108;

Besides the Iliad and Odyssey, we make out the titles of about thirty lost epic poems, sometimes with a brief hint of their contents.

Lost epic poems.

Concerning the legend of Troy there were five—the Cyprian Verses, the Æthiopis and the Capture of Troy, both ascribed to Arktinus; the lesser Iliad, ascribed to Leschês; the Returns (of the Heroes from Troy), to which the name of Hagias of Trœzên is attached; and the Telegonia, by Eugammôn, a continuation of the Odyssey. Two poems—the Thebaïs and the Epigoni (perhaps two parts of one and the same poem) were devoted to the legend of Thêbes—the two sieges of that city by the Argeians. Another poem, called Œdipodia, had for its subject the tragical destiny of Œdipus and his family; and perhaps that which is cited as Eurôpia, or verses on Eurôpa, may have comprehended the tale of her brother Cadmus, the mythical founder of Thêbes[1].

The exploits of Hêraklês were celebrated in two compositions, each called Hêrakleia, by Kinæthôn and Pisander—probably also in many others of which the memory has not been preserved. The capture of Œchalia by Hêraklês formed the subject of a separate epic. Two other poems, the Ægimius and the Minyas, are supposed to have been founded

G. Hermann, Ueber Homer und Sappho, in his Opuscula, tom. vi. p. 89.

The superior antiquity of Orpheus as compared with Homer passed as a received position to the classical Romans (Horat. Art. Poet. 392).

[1] Respecting these lost epics, see Düntzer, Collection of the Fragmenta Epicor. Græcorum; Wüllner, De Cyclo Epico, p. 43–66; and Mr. Fynes Clinton's Chronology, vol. iii. p. 349–359.

on other achievements of this hero—the effective aid which he lent to the Dorian king Ægimius against the Lapithæ, his descent to the under-world for the purpose of rescuing the imprisoned Thêseus, and his conquest of the city of the Minyæ, the powerful Orchomenus[1].

Other epic poems—the Phorônis, the Danaïs, the Alkmæônis, the Atthis, the Amazonia[2]—we know only by name, and can just guess obscurely at their contents so far as the name indicates. The Titanomachia, the Gigantomachia, and the Corinthiaka, three compositions all ascribed to Eumêlus, afford by means of their titles an idea somewhat clearer of the matter which they comprised. The Theogony ascribed to Hesiod still exists, though partially corrupt and mutilated: but there seem to have been other poems, now lost, of the like import and title.

Of the poems composed in the Hesiodic style, diffusive and full of genealogical detail, the principal were, the Catalogue of Women and the Great Eœæ; the latter of which indeed seems to have been a continuation of the former. A large number of the celebrated women of heroic Greece were commemorated in these poems, one after the other, without any other than an arbitrary bond of connection.

[1] Welcker, Der Epische Kyklus, p. 256–266; Apollodôr. ii. 7, 7; Diodôr. iv. 37; O. Müller, Dorians, i. 28.

[2] Welcker (Der Epische Kyklus, p. 209) considers the Alkmæônis as the same with the Epigoni, and the Atthis of Hegesinous the same with the Amazonia: in Suidas (v. Ὅμηρος) the latter is among the poems ascribed to Homer.

Leutsch (Thebaidos Cyclicæ Reliquiæ, p. 12–14) views the Thebaïs and the Epigoni as different parts of the same poem.

The Marriage of Kêyx—the Melampodia—and a string of fables called Astronomia, are farther ascribed to Hesiod: and the poem above-mentioned, called Ægimius, is also sometimes connected with his name, sometimes with that of Kerkops. The Naupaktian Verses (so called probably from the birth-place of their author), and the genealogies of Kinæthôn and Asius, were compositions of the same rambling character, as far as we can judge from the scanty fragments remaining[1]. The Orchomenian epic poet Chersias, of whom two lines only are preserved to us by Pausanias, may reasonably be referred to the same category[2].

Epic poets and their probable dates.

The oldest of the epic poets, to whom any date, carrying with it the semblance of authority, is assigned, is Arktinus of Milêtus, who is placed by Eusebius in the first Olympiad, and by Suidas in the ninth. Eugammôn, the author of the Telegonia, and the latest of the catalogue, is placed in the fifty-third Olympiad B.C. 566. Between these two we find Asius and Leschês, about the thirtieth Olympiad,—a time when the vein of the ancient epic was drying up, and when other forms of poetry—elegiac, iambic, lyric, and choric—had either already arisen, or were on the point of arising, to compete with it[3].

[1] See the Fragments of Hesiod, Eumêlus, Kinæthôn, and Asius, in the collections of Marktscheffel, Düntzer, Göttling, and Gaisford.

I have already, in going over the ground of Grecian legend, referred to all these lost poems in their proper places.

[2] Pausan. ix. 38, 6; Plutarch, Sept. Sap. Conv. p. 156.

[3] See Mr. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, about the date of Arktinus, vol. iii. p. 350.

Epic cycle.

It has already been stated in a former chapter, that in the early commencements of prose-writing, Hekatæus, Pherecydês, and other logographers, made it their business to extract from the ancient fables something like a continuous narrative chronologically arranged. It was upon a principle somewhat analogous that the Alexandrine literati, about the second century before the Christian æra[1], arranged the multitude of old epic poets into a series founded on the supposed order of time in the events narrated—beginning with the intermarriage of Uranus and Gæa and the Theogony, and concluding with the death of Odysseus by the hands of his son Telegonus. This collection passed by the name of the Epic Cycle, and the poets, whose compositions were embodied in it, were termed Cyclic poets. Doubtless the epical treasures of the Alexandrine library were larger than had ever before been brought together and submitted to men both of learning and leisure: so that multiplication of such

[1] Perhaps Zenodotus, the superintendent of the Alexandrine library under Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the third century B.C.: there is a Scholion on Plautus, published not many years ago by Osann, and since more fully by Ritschl,—"Cæcius in commento Comœdiarum Aristophanis in Pluto—Alexander Ætolus, et Lycophron Chalcidensis, et Zenodotus Ephesius, impulsu regis Ptolemæi, Philadelphi cognomento, artis poetices libros in unum collegerunt et in ordinem redegerunt. Alexander tragœdias, Lycophron comœdias, Zenodotus vero Homeri poemata et reliquorum illustrium poetarum." See Lange, Ueber die Kyklischen Dichter, p. 56 (Mainz. 1837); Welcker, Der Epische Kyklus, p. 8; Ritschl, Die Alexandrinischen Bibliotheken, p. 3 (Breslau, 1838).

Lange disputes the sufficiency of this passage as proof that Zenodotus was the framer of the Epic Cycle: his grounds are however unsatisfactory to me.

compositions in the same museum rendered it advisable to establish some fixed order of perusal, and to copy them in one corrected and uniform edition[1]. It pleased the critics to determine precedence neither by antiquity nor by excellence of the compositions themselves, but by the supposed sequence of narrative, so that the whole taken together constituted a readable aggregate of epical antiquity. Much obscurity[2] exists, and many different opinions have been expressed, respecting this Epic Cycle: I view it, not as an exclusive canon, but simply as an all-comprehensive classification, with a new edition founded thereupon. It would include all the epic poems in the library older than the Telegonia, and apt for continuous narrative: it would exclude only two classes—first, the recent epic poets, such as Panyasis and Antimachus; next, the genealogical and desultory poems, such as the Catalogue of Women, the Eœæ, and others,

[1] That there existed a cyclic copy or edition of the Odyssey (ἡ κυκλικὴ) is proved by two passages in the Scholia (xvi. 195; xvii. 25), with Boeckh's remark in Buttmann's edition: this was the Odyssey copied or edited along with the other poems of the cycle.

Our word to *edit*—or *edition*—suggests ideas not exactly suited to the proceedings of the Alexandrine library, in which we cannot expect to find anything like what is now called *publication*. That magnificent establishment, possessing a large collection of epical manuscripts, and ample means of every kind at command, would naturally desire to have these compositions put in order and corrected by skilful hands, and then carefully copied for the use of the library. Such copy constitutes the cyclic *edition*: they might perhaps cause or permit duplicates to be made, but the ἐκδόσις or edition was complete without them.

[2] Respecting the great confusion in which the Epic Cycle is involved, see the striking declaration of Buttmann, Addenda ad Scholia in Odysseum, p. 575: compare the opinions of the different critics, as enumerated at the end of Welcker's treatise, Episch. Kyk. p. 420–453.

What the Epic cycle was—an arrangement of the poems according to continuity of narrative.

which could not be made to fit in to any chronological sequence of events[1]. Both the Iliad and the Odyssey were comprised in the Cycle, so that the denomination of cyclic poet did not originally or designedly carry with it any association of contempt. But as the great and capital poems were chiefly spoken of by themselves, or by the title of their own separate authors, so the general name of *poets of the Cycle* came gradually to be applied only to the worst, and thus to imply vulgarity or common-place: the more so as many of the inferior compositions included in the collection seem to have been anonymous, and their authors in conse-

[1] Our information respecting the Epic Cycle is derived from Eutychius Proclus, a literary man of Sicca during the second century of the Christian æra, and tutor of Marcus Antoninus (Jul. Capitolin. Vit. Marc. c. 2)—not from Proclus, called Diadochus, the new-Platonic philosopher of the fifth century, as Heyne, Mr. Clinton, and others have imagined. The fragments from his work called Chrestomathia give arguments of several of the lost cyclic poems connected with the siege of Troy, communicating the important fact that the Iliad and Odyssey were included in the cycle, and giving the following description of the principle upon which it was arranged:—*Διαλαμβάνει δὲ περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἐπικοῦ κύκλου, ὃς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐράνου καὶ Γῆς ὁμολογουμένης μίξεως.....καὶ περατοῦται ὁ ἐπικὸς κύκλος, ἐκ διαφόρων ποιητῶν συμπληρούμενος, μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως Ὀδυσσέως.....Λέγει δὲ ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πραγμάτων* (ap. Photium, cod. 239).

This much-commented passage, while it clearly marks out the cardinal principle of the Epic Cycle (*ἀκολουθία πραγμάτων*), neither affirms nor denies anything respecting the excellence of the constituent poems. Proclus speaks of the taste common in his own time (*σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς*): there was not much relish in his time for these poems as such, but people were much interested in the sequence of epical events. The abstracts which he himself drew up in the form of arguments of several poems, show that he adapted himself to this taste. We cannot collect from his words that he intended to express any opinion of his own respecting the goodness or badness of the cyclic poems.

quence describable only under some such common designation as that of the cyclic poets. It is in this manner that we are to explain the disparaging sentiment connected by Horace and others with the idea of a cyclic writer, though no such sentiment was implied in the original meaning of the Epic Cycle.

The poems of the Cycle were thus mentioned in contrast and antithesis with Homer[1], though

[1] The gradual growth of a contemptuous feeling towards the *scriptor cyclicus* (Horat. Ars Poetic. 136), which was not originally implied in the name, is well set forth by Lange (Ueber die Kyklisch. Dicht. p. 53–56).

Both Lange (p. 36–41) however and Ulrici (Geschichte des Griech. Epos, 9te Vorles. p. 418) adopt another opinion with respect to the cycle, which I think unsupported and inadmissible,—that the several constituent poems were not received into it entire (*i. e.* with only such changes as were requisite for a corrected text), but cut down and abridged in such manner as to produce an *exact* continuity of narrative. Lange even imagines that the cyclic Odyssey was thus dealt with. But there seems no evidence to countenance this theory, which would convert the Alexandrine literati from critics into logographers: that the cyclic Iliad and Odyssey were the same in the main (allowing for corrections of text) as the common Iliad and Odyssey, is shown by the fact, that Proclus merely names them in the series without giving any abstract of their contents: they were too well known to render such a process necessary. Nor does either the language of Proclus, or that of Cæcius as applied to Zenodotus, indicate any transformation applied to the poets whose works are described to have been brought together and put into a certain order.

The hypothesis of Lange is founded upon the idea that the (ἀκολουθία πραγμάτων) continuity of narrated events must necessarily have been exact and without break, as if the whole constituted one work. But this would not be possible, let the framers do what they might: moreover, in the attempt, the individuality of all the constituent poets must have been sacrificed, in such manner that it would be absurd to discuss their separate merits.

The continuity of narrative in the Epic Cycle could not have been more than approximative,—as complete as the poems composing it would admit: nevertheless it would be correct to say that the poems were arranged in series upon this principle and upon no other. The librarians might have arranged in like manner the vast mass of trage-

originally the Iliad and Odyssey had both been included among them: and this alteration of the meaning of the word has given birth to a mistake as to the primary purpose of the classification, as if it had been designed especially to part off the inferior epic productions from Homer. But while some critics are disposed to distinguish the cyclic poets too pointedly from Homer, I conceive that Welcker goes too much into the other extreme, and identifies the Cycle too closely with that poet. He construes it as a classification deliberately framed to comprise all the various productions of the Homeric epic, with its unity of action and comparative paucity both of persons and adventures—as opposed to the Hesiodic epic, crowded with separate persons and pedigrees, and destitute of central action as well as of closing catastrophe. This opinion does indeed coincide to a great degree with the fact, inasmuch as few of the Hesiodic epics appear to have been included in the Cycle: to say that *none* were included, would be too much, for we cannot venture to set aside either the Theogony or the Ægimius; but we may account for their absence perfectly well without supposing any design to exclude them, for it is obvious that their rambling character (like that of the metamorphoses of Ovid) forbade the possibility of interweaving them in any continuous series. Continuity in the series of narrated events, coupled with a certain degree of antiquity in the poems, being the principle on which

Relation of the epic cycle to Homer.

dies in their possession (if they had chosen to do so) upon the principle of sequence in the subjects: had they done so, the series would have formed a *Tragic Cycle*.

the arrangement called the Epic Cycle was based, the Hesiodic poems generally were excluded, not from any preconceived intention, but because they could not be brought into harmony with such orderly reading.

What were the particular poems which it comprised, we cannot now determine with exactness. Welcker arranges them as follows:—Titanomachia, Danaïs, Amazonia (or Atthis), Œdipodia, Thebais (or Expedition of Amphiaräus), Epigoni (or Alkmæônis), Minyas (or Phokaïs), Capture of Œchalia, Cyprian Verses, Iliad, Æthiopis, Lesser Iliad, Iliupersis or the Taking of Troy, Returns of the Heroes, Odyssey, and Telegonia. Wuellner, Lange, and Mr. Fynes Clinton enlarge the list of cyclic poems still farther[1]. But all such reconstructions of the Cycle are conjectural and destitute of authority: the only poems which we can affirm on positive grounds to have been comprehended in it, are, first, the series respecting the heroes of Troy, from the Cypria to the Telegonia, of which Proclus has preserved the arguments, and which includes the Iliad and Odyssey —next, the old Thebaïs, which is expressly termed cyclic[2] in order to distinguish it from the poem of the same name composed by Antimachus: in regard to other particular compositions, we have no evidence to guide us, either for admission or exclusion, except our general views as to the scheme upon which the Cycle was framed. If my idea of that scheme be correct, the Alexandrine critics

What poems were included in the cycle

[1] Welcker, Der Epische Kyklus, p. 37–41; Wuellner, De Cyclo Epico, p. 43 *seq.*; Lange, Ueber die Kyklischen Dichter, p. 47; Clinton, Fasti Hellenici, vol. iii. p. 349.

[2] Schol. Pindar. Olymp. vi. 26; Athenæ. xi. p. 465.

arranged therein *all* their old epical treasures, down to the Telegonia—the good as well as the bad; gold, silver, and iron—provided only they could be pieced in with the narrative series. But I cannot venture to include, as Mr. Clinton does, the Eurôpia, the Phorônis, and other poems of which we know only the names, because it is uncertain whether their contents were such as to fulfil that primary condition: nor can I concur with him in thinking that, where there were two or more poems of the same title and subject, one of them must necessarily have been adopted into the Cycle to the exclusion of the others. There may have been two Theogonies, or two Hêrakleïds, both comprehended in the Cycle; the purpose being (as I before remarked), not to sift the better from the worse, but to determine some fixed order, convenient for reading and reference, amidst a multiplicity of scattered compositions, as the basis of a new, entire, and corrected edition.

Whatever may have been the principle on which the cyclic poems were originally strung together, they are all now lost, except those two unrivalled diamonds, whose brightness, dimming all the rest, has alone sufficed to confer imperishable glory even upon the earliest phase of Grecian life. It has been the natural privilege of the Iliad and Odyssey, from the rise of Grecian philology down to the present day, to provoke an intense curiosity, which, even in the historical and literary days of Greece, there were no assured facts to satisfy. These compositions are the monuments of an age essentially religious and poetical, but essentially also unphiloso-

The Iliad and Odyssey are the only poems of the cycle preserved.

phical, unreflecting and unrecording: the nature of the case forbids our having any authentic transmitted knowledge of such a period; and the lesson must be learnt, hard and painful though it be, that no imaginable reach of critical acumen will of itself enable us to discriminate fancy from reality, in the absence of a tolerable stock of evidence. After the numberless comments and acrimonious controversies[1] to which the Homeric poems have given rise, it can hardly be said that any of the points originally doubtful have obtained a solution such as to command universal acquiescence. To glance at all these controversies, however briefly, would far transcend the limits of the present work; but the most abridged Grecian history would be incomplete without a few words respecting *the Poet* (so the Greek critics in their veneration denominated Homer), and the productions which pass now, or have heretofore passed, under his name.

Curiosity which these two poems provoke—no data to satisfy it.

Who or what was Homer? What date is to be assigned to him? What were his compositions?

A person, putting these questions to Greeks of different towns and ages, would have obtained answers widely discrepant and contradictory. Since the invaluable labours of Aristarchus and the other

[1] It is a memorable illustration of that bitterness which has so much disgraced the controversies of literary men in *all* ages (I fear we can make no exception), when we find Pausanias saying that he had examined into the ages of Hesiod and Homer with the most laborious scrutiny, but that he knew too well the calumnious disposition of contemporary critics and poets, to declare what conclusion he had come to (Paus. ix. 30, 2): Περὶ δὲ Ἡσιόδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὁμήρου, πολυπραγμονήσαντι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὔ μοι γράφειν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ φιλαίτιον ἄλλων τε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅσοι κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει τῶν ἐπῶν καθειστήκεσαν.

Alexandrine critics on the text of the Iliad and Odyssey, it has indeed been customary to regard those two (putting aside the Hymns and a few other minor poems) as being the only genuine Homeric compositions: and the literary men called Chorizontes, or the Separators, at the head of whom were Xenôn and Hellanicus, endeavoured still farther to reduce the number by disconnecting the Iliad and Odyssey, and pointing out that both could not be the work of the same author. Throughout the whole course of Grecian antiquity, the Iliad and the Odyssey, and the Hymns, have been received as Homeric: but if we go back to the time of Herodotus or still earlier, we find that several other epics also were ascribed to Homer—and there were not wanting[1] critics, earlier than the Alexandrine age, who regarded the whole Epic Gycle, together with the satirical poem called Margitês, the Batrachomyomachia, and other smaller pieces, as Homeric works. The cyclic Thebaïs and the Epigoni (whether they be two separate poems, or the latter a second part of the former) were in early days currently ascribed to Homer: the same was the case with the Cyprian Verses: some even attributed to him several other poems[2], the Capture of Œchalia, the Lesser Iliad, the Phokaïs, and the Amazonia. The title of the poem called Thebaïs to be styled Homeric depends upon evidence more ancient than any which can be produced to authenticate the Iliad and Odyssey: for Kallinus, the ancient elegiac poet (B.C. 660) mentioned Homer as the author of

Different poems ascribed to Homer.

[1] See the extract of Proclus, in Photius Cod. 239.

[2] Suidas, v. Ὅμηρος; Eustath. ad Iliad. ii. p. 330.

it, and his opinion was shared by many other competent judges[1]. From the remarkable description given by Herodotus of the expulsion of the rhapsodes from Sicyôn, by the despot Cleisthenês, in the time of Solôn (about B.C. 580), we may form a probable judgment that the Thebaïs and the Epigoni were then rhapsodised at Sicyôn as Homeric productions[2]. And it is clear from the language of

[1] Pausan. ix. 9, 3. The name of Kallinus in that passage seems certainly correct: Τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα (the Thebaïs) Καλλῖνος, ἀφικόμενος αὐτῶν ἐς μνήμην, ἔφησεν Ὅμηρον τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι· Καλλίνῳ δὲ πολλοί τε καὶ ἄξιοι λόγου κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἔγνωσαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ποίησιν ταύτην μετά γε Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἐπαινῶ μάλιστα.

To the same purpose the author of the Certamen of Hesiod and Homer and the pseudo-Herodotus (Vit. Homer. c. 9). The Ἀμφιαρέω ἐξέλασία, alluded to in Suidas as the production of Homer, may be reasonably identified with the Thebaïs (Suidas, v. Ὅμηρος).

The cyclographer Dionysius, who affirmed that Homer had lived both in the Theban and the Trojan wars, must have recognised that poet as author of the Thebaïs as well as of the Iliad (ap. Procl. ad Hesiod. p. 3).

[2] Herodot. v. 67. Κλεισθένης γὰρ Ἀργείοισι πολεμήσας—τοῦτο μὲν, ῥαψῳδοὺς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τῶν Ὁμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἄργος τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέαται—τοῦτο δὲ, ἡρῷον γὰρ ἦν καί ἐστι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀγόρᾳ τῶν Σικυωνίων Ἀδρήστου τοῦ Ταλαοῦ, τοῦτον ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Κλεισθένης, ἐόντα Ἀργεῖον, ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. Herodotus then goes on to relate how Cleisthenês carried into effect his purpose of banishing the hero Adrastus: first, he applied to the Delphian Apollo for permission to do so directly and avowedly; next, on that permission being refused, he made application to the Thebans to allow him to introduce into Sicyôn their hero Melanippus, the bitter enemy of Adrastus in the old Theban legend; by their consent, he consecrated a chapel to Melanippus in the most commanding part of the Sicyonian agora, and then transferred to the newly-imported hero the rites and festivals which had before been given to Adrastus.

Taking in conjunction all the points of this very curious tale, I venture to think that the rhapsodes incurred the displeasure of Cleisthenês by reciting, not the Homeric Iliad, but the *Homeric Thebaïs and Epigoni*. The former does not answer the conditions of the narrative: the latter fulfils them accurately.

1. It cannot be said, even by the utmost latitude of speech, that in the Iliad "Little else is sung except Argos and the Argeians"—("in illis

Herodotus, that in his time the general opinion ascribed to Homer both the Cyprian Verses and the Epigoni, though he himself dissents[1]. In spite of

ubique fere nonnisi Argos et Argivi celebrantur"—is the translation of Schweighhäuser): Argos is rarely mentioned in it, and never exalted into any primary importance: the Argeians, as inhabitants of Argos separately, are never noticed at all: that name is applied in the Iliad, in common with *Achæans* and *Danaans*, only to the general body of Greeks—and even applied to them much less frequently than the name of *Achæans*.

2. Adrastus is twice, and only twice, mentioned in the Iliad, as master of the wonderful horse Areion and as father-in-law of Tydeus; but he makes no figure in the poem, and attracts no interest.

Wherefore, though Cleisthenês might have been ever so much incensed against Argos and Adrastus, there seems no reason why he should have interdicted the rhapsodes from reciting the Iliad. On the other hand, the Thebaïs and Epigoni could not fail to provoke him especially. For,

1. Argos and its inhabitants were the grand subject of the poem, and the proclaimed assailants in the expedition against Thêbes. Though the poem itself is lost, the first line of it has been preserved (Leutsch, Theb. Cycl. Reliq. p. 5; compare Sophoclês, Œd. Col. 380 with Scholia),—

"Αργος ἄειδε, θεὰ, πολυδίψιον, ἔνθεν ἄνακτες, &c.

2. Adrastus was king of Argos, and the chief of the expedition.

It is therefore literally true, that Argos and the Argeians were "the burden of the song" in these two poems.

To this we may add—

1. The rhapsodes would have the strongest motive to recite the Thebaïs and Epigoni at Sicyôn, where Adrastus was worshiped and enjoyed so vast a popularity, and where he even attracted to himself the choric solemnities which in other towns were given to Dionysus.

2. The means which Cleisthenês took to get rid of Adrastus indicates a special reference to the Thebaïs: he invited from Thêbes the hero Melanippus, the *Hector* of Thêbes in that very poem.

For these reasons I think we may conclude, that the Ὁμήρεια ἔπη alluded to in this very illustrative story of Herodotus are the Thebaïs and the Epigoni, not the Iliad.

[1] Herodot. ii. 117; iv. 32. The words in which Herodotus intimates his own dissent from the reigning opinion are treated as spurious by F. A. Wolf, and vindicated by Schweighhäuser: whether they be admitted or not, the general currency of the opinion adverted to is equally evident.

such dissent, however, that historian must have conceived the names of Homer and Hesiod to be nearly co-extensive with the whole of the ancient epic, otherwise he would hardly have delivered his memorable judgment, that they two were the framers of all Grecian theogony.

The many different cities which laid claim to the birth of Homer (seven is rather below the truth, and Smyrna and Chios are the most prominent among them) is well-known, and most of them had legends to tell respecting his romantic parentage, his alleged blindness, and his life of an itinerant bard acquainted with poverty and sorrow[1]. The

[1] The Life of Homer, which passes falsely under the name of Herodotus, contains a collection of these different stories: it is supposed to have been written about the second century after the Christian æra, but the statements which it furnishes are probably several of them as old as Ephorus (compare also Proclus ap. Photium, c. 239).

The belief in the blindness of Homer is doubtless of far more ancient date, since it is attested in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo, where the bard of Chios, in some very touching lines, recommends himself and his strains to the favour of the Delian maidens employed in the worship of Apollo. This hymn is cited by Thucydidês as unquestionably authentic, and he doubtless accepted the lines as a description of the personal condition and relations of the author of the Iliad and Odyssey (Thucyd. iii. 104): Simonidês of Keôs also calls Homer a Chian (Frag. 69, Schneidewin).

There were also tales which represented Homer as the contemporary, the cousin, and the rival in recited composition, of Hesiod, who (it was pretended) had vanquished him. See the Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi, annexed to the works of the latter (p. 314, ed. Göttling; and Plutarch, Conviv. Sept. Sapient. c. 10), in which also various stories respecting the life of Homer are scattered. The emperor Hadrian consulted the Delphian oracle to know who Homer was: the answer of the priestess reported him to be a native of Ithaca, the son of Telemachus and Epikastê, daughter of Nestôr (Certamen Hom. et Hes. p. 314). The author of this Certamen tells us that the authority of the Delphian oracle deserves implicit confidence.

Hellanicus, Damastes, and Pherecydês traced both Homer and Hesiod up to Orpheus, through a pedigree of ten generations (see Sturz,

Nothing known, and endless diversity of opinion, respecting the person and date of Homer.

discrepancies of statement respecting the date of his reputed existence are no less worthy of remark; for out of the eight different epochs assigned to him, the oldest differs from the most recent by a period of 460 years.

Thus conflicting would have been the answers returned in different portions of the Grecian world to any questions respecting the person of Homer. But there were a poetical gens (fraternity or guild) in the Ionic island of Chios, who, if the question had been put to them, would have answered in another manner. To them Homer was not a mere antecedent man, of kindred nature with themselves, but a divine or semi-divine eponymus and progenitor, whom they worshiped in their gentile sacrifices, and in whose ascendent name and glory the individuality of every member of the gens was merged. The compositions of each separate Homêrid, or the combined efforts of many of them in conjunction, were the works of Homer: the name of the individual bard perishes and his authorship is forgotten, but the common gentile father lives and grows in renown, from generation to generation, by the genius of his self-renewing sons.

Poetical Gens of the Homêrids.

Fragment. Hellanic. fr. 75–144; compare also Lobeck's remarks—*Aglaophamus*, p. 322—on the subject of these genealogies). The computations of these authors earlier than Herodotus are of value, because they illustrate the habits of mind in which Grecian chronology began: the genealogy might be easily continued backward to any length in the past. To trace Homer up to Orpheus, however, would not have been consonant to the belief of the Homêrids.

The contentions of the different cities which contended for the birth of Homer, and indeed all the legendary anecdotes circulated in antiquity respecting the poet, are copiously discussed in Welcker, Der Epische Kyklos (p. 194–199).

Such was the conception entertained of Homer by the poetical gens called Homêridæ or Homêrids; and in the general obscurity of the whole case, I lean towards it as the most plausible conception. Homer is not only the reputed author of the various compositions emanating from the gentile members, but also the recipient of the many different legends and of the divine genealogy, which it pleases their imagination to confer upon him. Such manufacture of fictitious personality, and such perfect incorporation of the entities of religion and fancy with the real world, is a process familiar and even habitual in the retrospective vision of the Greeks[1].

Homer, the superhuman Eponymus and father of this Gens.

It is to be remarked that the poetical gens here brought to view, the Homêrids, are of indisputable authenticity. Their existence and their considerations were maintained down to the historical times in the island of Chios[2]. If the Homêrids were still conspicuous even in the days of Akusilaus, Pindar, Hellanicus and Plato, when their productive invention had ceased, and when they had become only guardians and distributors, in common with others, of the treasures bequeathed by their predecessors —far more exalted must their position have been

[1] Even Aristotle ascribed to Homer a divine parentage: a damsel of the isle of Ios, pregnant by some god, was carried off by pirates to Smyrna at the time of the Ionic emigration, and there gave birth to the poet (Aristotel. ap. Plutarch. Vit. Homer. p. 1059).

Plato seems to have considered Homer as having been an itinerant rhapsode, poor and almost friendless (Republ. p. 600).

[2] Pindar, Nem. ii. 1, and Scholia; Akusilaus, Fragm. 31, Didot; Harpokration, v. Ὁμήριδαι; Hellanic. Fr. 55, Didot; Strabo, xiv. p. 645.

It seems by a passage of Plato (Phædrus, p. 252), that the Homêridæ professed to possess unpublished verses of their ancestral poet—ἔπη ἀποθέτα. Compare Plato, Republic. p. 599, and Isocrat. Helen. p. 218.

three centuries before, while they were still the inspired creators of epic novelty, and when the absence of writing assured to them the undisputed monopoly of their own compositions[1].

Homer, then, is no individual man, but the divine or heroic father (the ideas of worship and ancestry coalescing, as they constantly did in the Grecian mind) of the gentile Homêrids, and he is the author of the Thebaïs, the Epigoni, the Cyprian Verses, the Procems or Hymns, and other poems, in the same sense in which he is the author of the Iliad and Odyssey—assuming that these various compo-

[1] Nitzsch (De Historiâ Homeri, Fasciç. 1. p. 128, Fascic. 2. p. 71), and Ulrici (Geschichte der Episch. Poesie, vol. i. p. 240–381) question the antiquity of the Homêrid gens, and limit their functions to simple reciters, denying that they ever composed songs or poems of their own. Yet these *gentes*, such as the Euneidæ, the Lykomidæ, the Butadæ, the Talthybiadæ, the descendants of Cheirôn at Pêlion, &c., the Hesychidæ (Schol. Sophocl. Œdip. Col. 489) (the acknowledged parallels of the Homêridæ), may be surely all considered as belonging to the earliest known elements of Grecian history: rarely at least, if ever, can such gens, with its tripartite character of civil, religious and professional, be shown to have commenced at any recent period. And in the early times, composer and singer were one person: often at least, though probably not always, the bard combined both functions. The Homeric ἀοιδὸς sings his own compositions; and it is reasonable to imagine that many of the early Homêrids did the same.

See Niebuhr, Römisch. Gesch. vol. i. p. 324; and the treatise, Ueber die Sikeler in der Odyssee—in the Rheinische Museum, 1828, p. 257; and Boeckh, in the Index of Contents to his Lectures of 1834.

"The Sage Vyasa (observes Professor Wilson, System of Hindu Mythology, Introd. p. lxii.) is represented, not as the author, but as the arranger and compiler of the Vedas and the Puránás. His name denotes his character, meaning *the arranger or distributor* (Welcker gives the same meaning to the name *Homer*); and the recurrence of many Vyasas,—many individuals who new-modelled the Hindu scriptures,—has nothing in it that is improbable, except the fabulous intervals by which their labours are separated." Individual authorship and the thirst of personal distinction are in this case also buried under one great and common name, as in the case of Homer.

sitions emanate, as perhaps they may, from different individuals numbered among the Homêrids. But this disallowance of the historical personality of Homer is quite distinct from the question, with which it has been often confounded, whether the Iliad and Odyssey are originally entire poems, and whether by one author or otherwise. To us, the name of Homer means these two poems, and little else: we desire to know as much as can be learnt respecting their date, their original composition, their preservation, and their mode of communication to the public. All these questions are more or less complicated one with the other.

What may be the dates of the Iliad and Odyssey.

Concerning the date of the poems, we have no other information except the various affirmations respecting the age of Homer, which differ among themselves (as I have before observed) by an interval of 460 years, and which for the most part determine the date of Homer by reference to some other event, itself fabulous and unauthenticated—such as the Trojan war, the Return of the Hêrakleids, or the Ionic migration. Kratês placed Homer earlier than the Return of the Hêrakleids and less than eighty years after the Trojan war: Eratosthenês put him 100 years after the Trojan war: Aristotle, Aristarchus and Castor made his birth contemporary with the Ionic migration, while Apollodôrus brings him down to 100 years after that event, or 240 years after the taking of Troy. On the other hand, Theopompus and Euphoriôn refer his age to the far more recent period of the Lydian king Gygês (Ol. 18–23, B.C. 708–688), and put him

500 years after the Trojan epoch[1]. What were the grounds of these various conjectures, we do not know, though in the statements of Kratês and Eratosthenês, we may pretty well divine. But the oldest dictum preserved to us respecting the date of Homer—meaning thereby the date of the Iliad and Odyssey—appears to me at the same time the most credible, and the most consistent with the general history of the ancient epic. Herodotus places Homer 400 years before himself; taking his departure, not from any fabulous event, but from a point of real and authentic time[2]. Four centuries anterior to Herodotus would be a period commencing with 880 B.C.: so that the composition of the Homeric poems would thus fall in a space between 850 and 800 B.C. We may gather from the language of Herodotus that this was his own judgment, opposed to a current opinion which assigned the poet to an earlier epoch.

Date assigned by Herodotus the most probable.

[1] See the statements and citations respecting the age of Homer, collected in Mr. Clinton's Chronology, vol. iii. p. 146. He prefers the view of Aristotle, and places the Iliad and Odyssey a century earlier than I am inclined to do,—940–927 B.C.

Kratês probably placed the poet anterior to the Return of the Hêrakleids, because the Iliad makes no mention of Dorians in Peloponnesus: Eratosthenês may be supposed to have grounded his date on the passage of the Iliad which mentions the three generations descended from Æneas. We should have been glad to know the grounds of the very low date assigned by Theopompus and Euphoriôn.

The Pseudo-Herodotus, in his life of Homer, puts the birth of the poet 168 years after the Trojan war.

[2] Herodot. ii. Hêrakleides Ponticus affirmed that Lycurgus had brought into Peloponnesus the Homeric poems, which had before been unknown out of Ionia. The supposed epoch of Lycurgus has sometimes been employed to sustain the date here assigned to the Homeric poems; but everything respecting Lycurgus is too doubtful to serve as evidence in other inquiries.

To place the Iliad and Odyssey at some periods between 850 B.C. and 776 B.C., appears to me more probable than any other date, anterior or posterior —more probable than the latter, because we are justified in believing these two poems to be older than Arktinus, who comes shortly after the first Olympiad—more probable than the former, because the farther we push the poems back, the more do we enhance the wonder of their preservation, already sufficiently great, down from such an age and society to the historical times.

Probable date of the Iliad and Odyssey between 850 and 776 B.C.

The mode in which these poems, and indeed all poems, epic as well as lyric, down to the age (probably) of Peisistratus, were circulated and brought to bear upon the public, deserves particular attention. They were not read by individuals alone and apart, but sung or recited at festivals or to assembled companies. This seems to be one of the few undisputed facts with regard to the great poet: for even those who maintain that the Iliad and Odyssey were preserved by means of writing, seldom contend that they were read. In appreciating the effect of the poems, we must always take account of this great difference between early Greece and our own times—between the congregation mustered at a solemn festival, stimulated by community of sympathy, listening to a measured and musical recital from the lips of trained bards or rhapsodes, whose matter was supposed to have been inspired by the Muse—and the solitary reader with a manuscript before him; such manuscript being, down to a very late period in Greek literature, indifferently written, without division into parts and without

Epic poems recited to assembled companies, not read by individuals apart.

marks of punctuation. As in the case of dramatic performances in all ages, so in that of the early Grecian epic—a very large proportion of its impressive effect was derived from the talent of the reciter and the force of the general accompaniments, and would have disappeared altogether in solitary reading. Originally, the bard sung his own epical narrative, commencing with a proœmium or hymn to one of the gods[1]: his profession was separate and special, like that of the carpenter, the leech, or the prophet: his manner and enunciation must have required particular training no less than his imaginative faculty. His character presents itself in the Odyssey as one highly esteemed; and in the Iliad even Achilles does not disdain to touch the lyre with his own hands, and to sing heroic deeds[2]. Not only did the Iliad and Odyssey, and the poems embodied in the Epic Cycle, produce all their impression and gain all their renown by this process

[1] The Homeric hymns are proœms of this sort, some very short, consisting only of a few lines, others of considerable length. The Hymn (or rather one of the two hymns) to Apollo is cited by Thucydidês as the Proœm of Apollo.

The Hymns to Aphroditê, Apollo, Hermês, Dêmêtêr and Dionysus, are genuine epical narratives. Hermann (Præf. ad Hymn. p. lxxxix.) pronounces the Hymn to Aphroditê to be the oldest and most genuine: portions of the Hymn to Apollo (Herm. p. xx.) are also very old, but both that hymn and the others are largely interpolated. His opinion respecting these interpolations, however, is disputed by Franke (Præfat. ad Hymn. Homeric. p. ix.–xix.); and the distinction between what is genuine and what is spurious, depends upon criteria not very distinctly assignable. Compare Ulrici, Gesch. der Ep. Poes. p. 385–391.

[2] Phemius, Demodokus, and the nameless bard who guarded the fidelity of Klytæmnêstra, bear out this position (Odyss. i. 155; iii. 267; viii. 490; xxi. 330; Achilles in Iliad, ix. 190.

A degree of inviolability seems attached to the person of the bard as well as to that of the herald (Odyss. xxii. 355–357).

of oral delivery, but even the lyric and choric poets who succeeded them were known and felt in the same way by the general public, even after the full establishment of habits of reading among lettered men. While in the case of the epic, the recitation or singing had been extremely simple and the measure comparatively little diversified, with no other accompaniment than that of the four-stringed harp —all the variations superinduced upon the original hexameter, beginning with the pentameter and iambus, and proceeding step by step to the complicated strophês of Pindar and the tragic writers, still left the general effect of the poetry greatly dependent upon voice and accompaniments, and pointedly distinguished from mere solitary reading of the words. And in the dramatic poetry, the last in order of time, the declamation and gesture of the speaking actor alternated with the song and dance of the Chorus, and with the instruments of musicians, the whole being set off by imposing visible decorations. Now both dramatic effect and song are familiar in modern times, so that every man knows the difference between reading the words and hearing them under the appropriate circumstances: but poetry, as such, is, and has now long been, so exclusively enjoyed by reading, that it requires an especial memento to bring us back to the time when the Iliad and Odyssey were addressed only to the ear and feelings of a promiscuous and sympathising multitude. Readers there were none, at least until the century preceding Solôn and Peisistratus: from that time forward, they gradually increased both in number and in-

Lyric and choric poetry, intended for the ear.

fluence; though doubtless small, even in the most literary period of Greece, as compared with modern European society. So far as the production of beautiful epic poetry was concerned, however, the select body of instructed readers furnished a less potent stimulus than the unlettered and listening crowd of the earlier periods. The poems of Chœrilus and Antimachus, towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, though admired by erudite men, never acquired popularity; and the emperor Hadrian failed in his attempt to bring the latter poet into fashion at the expense of Homer[1].

Importance of the class of rhapsodes, singers and reciters.

It will be seen by what has been here stated, that that class of men, who formed the medium of communication between the verse and the ear, were of the highest importance in the ancient world, and especially in the earlier periods of its career—the bards and rhapsodes for the epic, the singers for the lyric, the actors and singers jointly with the

[1] Spartian. Vit. Hadrian. p. 8; Dio Cass. lxix. 4; compare Plutarch, Timoleon, c. 36.

There are some good observations on this point in Näke's comments on Chœrilus, ch. viii. p. 59:—

"Habet hoc epica poesis, vera illa, cujus perfectissimam normam agnoscimus Homericam—habet hoc proprium, ut non in possessione virorum eruditorum, sed quasi viva sit et coram populo recitanda: ut cum populo crescat, et si populus Deorum et antiquorum heroum facinora, quod præcipuum est epicæ poeseos argumentum, audire et secum repetere dedidicerit, obmutescat. Id vero tum factum est in Græciâ, quum populus eâ ætate, quam pueritiam dicere possis, peractâ, partim ad res serias tristesque, politicas maxime—easque multo, quam antea, impeditiores—abstrahebatur: partim epicæ poeseos pertæsus, ex aliis poeseos generibus, quæ tum nascebantur, novum et diversum oblectamenti genus primo præsagire, sibi, deinde haurire, cœpit."

Näke remarks too that the "splendidissima et propria Homericæ poeseos ætas, ea quæ sponte quasi suâ inter populum et quasi cum populo viveret," did not reach below Peisistratus. It did not, I think, reach even so low as that period.

dancers for the chorus and drama. The lyric and dramatic poets taught with their own lips the delivery of their compositions, and so prominently did this business of teaching present itself to the view of the public, that the name Didaskalia, by which the dramatic exhibition was commonly designated, derived from thence its origin.

Among the number of rhapsodes who frequented the festivals at a time when Grecian cities were multiplied and easy of access, for the recitation of the ancient epic, there must have been of course great differences of excellence; but that the more considerable individuals of the class were elaborately trained and highly accomplished in the exercise of their profession, we may assume as certain. But it happens that Socrates with his two pupils Plato and Xenophon speak contemptuously of their merits, and many persons have been disposed, somewhat too readily, to admit this sentence of condemnation as conclusive, without taking account of the point of view from which it was delivered[1].

[1] Xenoph. Memorab. iv. 2, 10; and Sympos. iii. 6. Οἶσθά τι οὖν ἔθνος ἠλιθιώτερον ῥαψῳδῶν;.....Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τὰς ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἐπίστανται. Σὺ δὲ Στησιμβρότῳ τε καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς πολὺ δέδωκας ἀργύριον, ὥστε οὐδέν σε τῶν πολλοῦ ἀξίων λέληθε.

These ὑπόνοιαι are the hidden meanings or allegories which a certain set of philosophers undertook to discover in Homer, and which the rhapsodes were no way called upon to study.

The Platonic dialogue called Iôn ascribes to Iôn the double function of a rhapsode or impressive reciter, and a critical expositor of the poet (Isocratês also indicates the same double character in the rhapsodes of his time—Panathenaic, p. 240); but it conveys no solid grounds for a mean estimate of the class of rhapsodes, while it attests remarkably the striking effect produced by their recitation (c. 6. p. 535). That this class of men came to combine the habit of expository comment on the poet with their original profession of reciting, proves the tendencies of

These philosophers considered Homer and other poets with a view to instruction, ethical doctrine, and virtuous practice: they analysed the characters whom the poet described, sifted the value of the lessons conveyed, and often struggled to discover a hidden meaning where they disapproved that which was apparent. When they found a man like the rhapsode, who professed to impress the Homeric narrative upon an audience, and yet either never meddled at all, or meddled unsuccessfully, with the business of exposition, they treated him with contempt; and Socrates depreciates the poets themselves much upon the same principle, as dealing with matters of which they could render no rational account[1]. It was also the habit of Plato and Xenophon to disparage generally professional exertion of talent for the purpose of gaining a livelihood, contrasting it often in an indelicate manner with the gratuitous teaching and ostentatious poverty of their master. But we are not warranted in judging the rhapsodes by such a standard. Though they were not philosophers or moralists, it was their province—and it had been so, long before the philosophical point of view was opened—to bring their

Rhapsodes condemned by the Socratic philosophers —undeservedly.

the age; probably it also brought them into rivalry with the philosophers.

The grounds taken by Aristotle (Problem. xxx. 10; compare Aul. Gellius, xx. 14) against the actors, singers, musicians, &c. of his time are more serious, and have more the air of truth.

If it be correct in Lehrs (De Studiis Aristarchi, Diss. ii. p. 46) to identify those early glossographers of Homer, whose explanations the Alexandrine critics so severely condemned, with the rhapsodes, this only proves that the rhapsodes had come to undertake a double duty, of which their predecessors before Solôn would never have dreamt.

[1] Plato, Apolog. Socrat. p. 22. c. 7.

poet home to the bosoms and emotions of an assembled crowd, and to penetrate themselves with his meaning so far as was suitable for that purpose, adapting to it the appropriate graces of action and intonation. In this their genuine task they were valuable members of the Grecian community, and they seem to have possessed all the qualities necessary for success.

These rhapsodes, the successors of the primitive Aœdi or Bards, seem to have been distinguished from them by the discontinuance of all musical accompaniment. Originally, the bard sung, enlivening the song with occasional touches of the simple four-stringed harp: his successor the rhapsode, recited, holding in his hand nothing but a branch of laurel, and depending for effect upon voice and manner,—a species of musical and rhythmical declamation[1], which gradually increased in vehement emphasis and gesticulation until it approached to

[1] Aristotel. Poetic. c. 47; Welcker, Der Episch. Kyklos; Ueber den Vortrag der Homerischen Gedichte, pp. 340–406, which collects all the facts respecting the Aœdi and the rhapsodes. Unfortunately the ascertained points are very few.

The laurel branch in the hand of the singer or reciter (for the two expressions are often confounded) seems to have been peculiar to the recitation of Homer and Hesiod (Hesiod, Theog. 30; Schol. ad Aristophan. Nub. 1367. Pausan. x. 7, 2). "Poemata omne genus (says Apuleius, Florid. p. 122, Bipont.) apta *virgæ*, lyræ, socco, cothurno."

Not only Homer and Hesiod, but also Archilochus, was recited by rhapsodes (Athenæ. xii. 620; also Plato, Legg. ii. p. 658). Consult, besides, Nitzsch, De Historiâ Homeri, Fascic. 2. p. 114 *seq.*, respecting the rhapsodes; and O. Müller, History of the Literature of Ancient Greece, ch. iv. s. 3.

The ideas of singing and speech are however often confounded, in reference to any verse solemnly and emphatically delivered (Thucydid. ii. 53)—φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ᾄδεσθαι, Ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ. And the rhapsodes are said to *sing* Homer

that of the dramatic actor. At what time this change took place, or whether the two different modes of enunciating the ancient epic may for a certain period have gone on simultaneously, we have no means of determining: Hesiod receives from the Muse a branch of laurel, as a token of his ordination into their service, which marks him for a rhapsode: while the ancient bard with his harp is still recognised, in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo, as efficient and popular at the Panionic festivals in the island of Delos[1]. Perhaps the

Variations in the mode of reciting the ancient epic.

(Plato, Eryxias, c. 13; Hesych. v. Βραυρωνίοις); Strabo (i. p. 18) has a good passage upon song and speech.

William Grimm (Deutsche Heldensage, p. 373) supposes the ancient German heroic romances to have been recited or declaimed in a similar manner with a simple accompaniment of the harp, as the Servian heroic lays are even at this time delivered.

Fauriel also tells us, respecting the French Carlovingian Epic (Romans de Chevalerie, Revue des Deux Mondes, xiii. p. 559): "The romances of the 12th and 13th centuries were really sung: the *jongleur* invited his audience to hear a *belle chanson d'histoire*,—'le mot chanter ne manque jamais dans la formule initiale,'—and it is to be understood literally: the music was simple and intermittent, more like a recitative; the jongleur carried a rebek, or violin with three strings, an Arabic instrument; when he wished to rest his voice, he played an air or ritournelle upon this; he went thus about from place to place, and the romances had no existence among the people except through the aid and recitation of these jongleurs."

It appears that there had once been rhapsodic exhibitions at the festivals of Dionysus, but they were discontinued (Klearchus ap. Athenæ. vii. p. 275)—probably superseded by the dithyramb and the tragedy.

The etymology of ῥαψῳδὸς is a disputed point: Welcker traces it to ῥάβδος; most critics derive it from ῥάπτειν ἀοιδήν, which O. Müller explains "to denote the coupling together of verses without any considerable divisions or pauses,—the even, unbroken, continuous flow of the epic poem," as contrasted with the strophic or choric periods (*l. c.*).

[1] Homer, Hymn to Apoll. 170. The κίθαρις, ἀοιδή, ὀρχηθμὸς, are constantly put together in that hymn: evidently the instrumental accompaniment was essential to the hymns at the Ionic festival. Compare also the Hymn to Hermês (430), where the function ascribed to the Muses can hardly be understood to include non-musical recitation.

improvements made in the harp, to which three strings, in addition to the original four, were attached by Terpander (B.C. 660), and the growing complication of instrumental music generally, may have contributed to discredit the primitive accompaniment, and thus to promote the practice of recital: the story, that Terpander himself composed music not only for hexameter poems of his own, but also for those of Homer, seems to indicate that that which preceded him was ceasing to find favour[1]. By whatever steps the change from the bard to the rhapsode took place, certain it is that before the time of Solôn, the latter was the recognised and exclusive organ of the old Epic: sometimes in short fragments before private companies, by single rhapsodes—sometimes several rhapsodes in continuous succession at a public festival.

Respecting the mode in which the Homeric poems were preserved, during the two centuries (or as some think, longer interval) between their original composition and the period shortly pre-

The Hymn to Hermês is more recent than Terpander, inasmuch as it mentions the seven strings of the lyre, v. 50.

[1] Terpander—see Plutarch. de Musicâ, c. 3–4; the facts respecting him are collected in Plehn's Lesbiaca, pp. 140–160; but very little can be authenticated.

Stesander at the Pythian festivals sang the Homeric battles, with a harp accompaniment of his own composition (Athenæ. xiv. p. 638).

The principal testimonies respecting the rhapsodising of the Homeric poems at Athens, chiefly at the Panathenaic festival, are Isocratês, Panegyric. p. 74; Lycurgus contra Leocrat. p. 161; Plato, Hipparch. p. 228; Diogen. Laërt. Vit. Solon. i. 57.

Inscriptions attest that rhapsodising continued in great esteem, down to a late period of the historical age, both at Chios and Teôs, especially the former: it was the subject of competition by trained youth, and of prizes for the victor, at periodical religious solemnities: see Corp. Inscript. Boeckh, No. 2214–3088.

ceding Solôn—and respecting their original composition and subsequent changes—there are wide differences of opinion among able critics. Were they preserved with, or without, being written? Was the Iliad originally composed as one poem, and the Odyssey in like manner, or is each of them an aggregation of parts originally self-existent and unconnected? Was the authorship of each poem single-headed or many-headed?

At what time the Homeric poems began to be written.

Either tacitly or explicitly, these questions have been generally coupled together and discussed with reference to each other, by inquirers into the Homeric poems; though Mr. Payne Knight's Prolegomena have the merit of keeping them distinct. Half a century ago, the acute and valuable Prolegomena of F. A. Wolf, turning to account the Venetian Scholia which had then been recently published, first opened philosophical discussion as to the history of the Homeric text. A considerable part of that dissertation (though by no means the whole) is employed in vindicating the position, previously announced by Bentley amongst others, that the separate constituent portions of the Iliad and Odyssey had not been cemented together into any compact body and unchangeable order until the days of Peisistratus, in the sixth century before Christ. As a step towards that conclusion, Wolf maintained that no written copies of either poem could be shown to have existed during the earlier times to which their composition is referred, and that without writing, neither the perfect symmetry of so complicated a work could have been originally conceived by any poet, nor, if realised by him,

Prolegomena of Wolf—raised new questions respecting the Homeric text—connected unity of authorship with poems written from the beginning.

transmitted with assurance to posterity. The absence of easy and convenient writing, such as must be indispensably supposed for long manuscripts, among the early Greeks, was thus one of the points in Wolf's case against the primitive integrity of the Iliad and Odyssey. By Nitzsch and other leading opponents of Wolf, the connection of the one with the other seems to have been accepted as he originally put it, and it has been considered incumbent on those, who defended the ancient aggregate character of the Iliad and Odyssey, to maintain that they were written poems from the beginning.

To me it appears that the architectonic functions, ascribed by Wolf to Peisistratus and his associates in reference to the Homeric poems, are nowise admissible. But much would undoubtedly be gained towards that view of the question, if it could be shown that in order to controvert it, we were driven to the necessity of admitting long written poems in the ninth century before the Christian æra. Few things, in my opinion, can be more improbable: and Mr. Payne Knight, opposed as he is to the Wolfian hypothesis, admits this no less than Wolf himself[1]. The traces of writing in Greece, even in the seventh

The two questions not necessarily connected, though

[1] Knight, Prolegom. Hom. c. xxxviii.-xl. "Haud tamen ullum Homericorum carminum exemplar Pisistrati seculo antiquius extitisse, aut sexcentesimo prius anno ante C.N. scriptum fuisse, facile credam: rara enim et perdifficilis erat iis temporibus scriptura ob penuriam materiæ scribendo idoneæ, quum literas aut lapidibus exarare, aut tabulis ligneis, aut laminis metalli alicujus insculpere oporteret.....Atque ideo memoriter retenta sunt, et hæc et alia veterum poetarum carmina, et per urbes et vicos et in principum virorum ædibus, decantata a rhapsodis. Neque mirandum est, ea per tot sæcula sic integra conservata esse, quoniam—per eos tradita erant, qui ab omnibus Græciæ et coloniarum regibus et civitatibus mercede satis amplâ conducti, omnia sua studia in iis edis-

commonly discussed together.—Few traces of writing, long after the Homeric age.

century before the Christian æra, are exceedingly trifling: we have no remaining inscription earlier than the 40th Olympiad, and the early inscriptions are rude and unskilfully executed: we cannot even assure ourselves whether Archilochus, Simonidês of Amorgus, Kallinus, Tyrtæus, Xanthus, and the other early elegiac and lyric poets, committed their compositions to writing, or at what time the practice of doing so became familiar. The first positive ground, which authorises us to presume the existence of a manuscript of Homer, is in the famous ordinance of Solôn with regard to the rhapsodes at the Panathenæa; but for what length of time, previously, manuscripts had existed, we are unable to say.

Those who maintain the Homeric poems to have been written from the beginning, rest their case, not upon positive proofs—nor yet upon the existing habits of society with regard to poetry, for they admit generally that the Iliad and Odyssey were not read, but recited and heard—but upon the supposed necessity that there must have been

cendis, retinendis, et rite recitandis, conferebant." Compare Wolf, Prolegom. xxiv.-xxv.

The evidences of early writing among the Greeks, and of written poems even anterior to Homer, may be seen collected in Kreuser (Vorfragen Ueber Homeros, p. 127–159, Frankfort 1828). His proofs appear to me altogether inconclusive. Nitzsch maintains the same opinion (Histor. Homeri, Fasc. i. sect. xi. xvii. xviii.)—in my opinion, not more successfully: nor does Franz (Epigraphicê Græc. Introd. s. iv.) produce any new arguments.

I do not quite subscribe to Mr. Knight's language, when he says that *there is nothing wonderful* in the long preservation of the Homeric poems *unwritten*. It is enough to maintain that the existence and practical use of long manuscripts by all the rhapsodes, under the condition and circumstances of the 8th and 9th centuries among the Greeks, would be a greater wonder.

manuscripts[1], to ensure the preservation of the poems,—the unassisted memory of reciters being neither sufficient nor trustworthy. But here we only escape a smaller difficulty by running into a greater; for the existence of trained bards, gifted with extraordinary memory, is far less astonishing than that of long manuscripts in an age essentially non-reading and non-writing, and when even suitable instruments and materials for the process are not obvious. Moreover, there is a strong positive reason for believing that the bard was under no necessity of refreshing his memory by consulting a manuscript. For if such had been the fact, blindness would have been a disqualification for the profession, which we know that it was not; as well from the example of Demodokus in the Odyssey, as from that of the blind bard of Chios, in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo, whom Thucydidês, as well as the general tenor of Grecian legend, identifies with Homer himself[2]. The author of that Hymn, be he who he may, could never have described a blind man as attaining the utmost perfection in his art, if he had been conscious that the memory of the bard was only maintained by con-

Bards or rhapsodes of adequate memory, less inconsistent with the conditions of the age than long MSS.

Blind bards.

[1] See this argument strongly put by Nitzsch, in the prefatory remarks at the beginning of his second volume of Commentaries on the Odyssey (p. x.-xxix.). He takes great pains to discard all idea that the poems were written in order to be read. To the same purpose Franz (Epigraphicê Græc. Introd. p. 32), who adopts Nitzsch's positions,—"Audituris enim, non lecturis, carmina parabant."

[2] Odyss. viii. 65; Hymn. ad Apoll. 172; Pseudo-Herodot. Vit. Homer. c. 3; Thucyd. iii. 104.

Various commentators on Homer imagined that under the misfortune of Demodokus the poet in reality described his own (Schol. ad Odyss. l. l.; Maxim. Tyr. xxxviii. 1).

stant reference to the manuscript in his chest. Nor will it be found, after all, that the effort of memory required either from bards or rhapsodes, even for the longest of these old Epic poems, was at all superhuman. Taking the case with reference to the entire Iliad and Odyssey, we know that there were educated gentlemen at Athens who could repeat both poems by heart[1]: but in the

[1] Xenoph. Sympos. iii. 5. Compare, respecting the laborious discipline of the Gallic Druids, and the number of unwritten verses which they retained in their memories, Cæsar, B. G. vi. 14; Mela, iii. 2; also Wolf, Prolegg. s. xxiv. and Herod. ii. 77, about the prodigious memory of the Egyptian priests at Heliopolis.

I transcribe, from the interesting Discours of M. Fauriel (prefixed to his Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne, Paris 1824), a few particulars respecting the number, the mnemonic power, and the popularity of those itinerant singers or rhapsodes who frequent the festivals or *paneghyris* of modern Greece: it is curious to learn that this profession is habitually exercised by *blind* men (p. xc *seq.*).

"Les aveugles exercent en Grèce une profession qui les rend non seulement agréables, mais nécessaires; le caractère, l'imagination, et la condition du peuple, étant ce qu'ils sont: c'est la profession de chanteurs ambulans.....Ils sont dans l'usage, tant sur le continent que dans les îles, de la Grèce, d'apprendre par cœur le plus grand nombre qu'ils peuvent de chansons populaires de tout genre et de toute époque. Quelques uns finissent par en savoir une quantité prodigieuse, et tous en savent beaucoup. Avec ce trésor dans leur mémoire, ils sont toujours en marche, traversent la Grèce en tout sens; ils s'en vont de ville en ville, de village en village, chantant à l'auditoire qui se forme aussitôt autour d'eux, partout où ils se montrent, celles de leurs chansons qu'ils jugent convenir le mieux, soit à la localité, soit à la circonstance, et reçoivent une petite rétribution qui fait tout leur revenu. Ils ont l'air de chercher de préférence, en tout lieu, la partie la plus inculte de la population, qui en est toujours la plus curieuse, la plus avide d'impressions, et la moins difficile dans le choix de ceux qui leur sont offertes. Les Turcs seuls ne les écoutent pas. C'est aux réunions nombreuses, aux fêtes de village connues sous le nom de *Paneghyris*, que ces chanteurs ambulans accourent le plus volontiers. Ils chantent en s'accompagnant d'un instrument à cordes que l'on touche avec un archet, et qui est exactement l'ancienne lyre des Grecs, dont il a conservé le nom comme la forme.

"Cette lyre, pour être entière, doit avoir cinq cordes: mais souvent

professional recitations, we are not to imagine that the same person did go through the whole: the recitation was essentially a joint undertaking, and the rhapsodes who visited a festival would naturally understand among themselves which part of the poem should devolve upon each particular individual. Under such circumstances, and with such means of preparation beforehand, the quantity of verse which a rhapsode could deliver would be measured, not so much by the exhaustion of his memory, as by the physical sufficiency of his voice,

elle n'en a que deux ou trois, dont les sons, comme il est aisé de présumer, n'ont rien de bien harmonieux. Les chanteurs aveugles vont ordinairement isolés, et chacun d'eux chante à part des autres: mais quelquefois aussi ils se réunissent par groupes de deux ou de trois, pour dire ensemble les mêmes chansons.....Ces modernes rhapsodes doivent être divisés en deux classes. Les uns (et ce sont, selon toute apparence, les plus nombreux) se bornent à la fonction de recueillir, d'apprendre par cœur, et de mettre en circulation, des pièces qu'ils n'ont point composées. Les autres (et ce sont ceux qui forment l'ordre le plus distingué de leur corps), à cette fonction de répétiteurs et de colporteurs des poésies d'autrui, joignent celle de poëtes, et ajoutent à la masse des chansons apprises d'autres chants de leur façon.....Ces rhapsodes aveugles sont les nouvellistes et les historiens, en même temps que les poëtes du peuple, en cela parfaitement semblables aux rhapsodes anciens de la Grèce."

To pass to another country—Persia, once the great rival of Greece:—"The Kurroglian rhapsodes are called *Kurroglou-Khans*, from *khaunden*, to sing. Their duty is to know by heart all the *mejjlisses* (meetings) of Kurroglou, narrate them, or sing them with the accompaniment of the favourite instrument of Kurroglou, the chungur or sitar, a three-stringed guitar. Ferdausi has also his *Shah-nama-Khans*, and the prophet Mahommed his *Koran Khans*. The memory of those singers is truly astonishing. At every request they recite in one breath for some hours, without stammering, beginning the tale at the passage or verse pointed out by the hearers." (Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia, as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglou, the Bandit Minstrel of Northern Persia, by Alexander Chodzko: London 1842, Introd. p. 13.)

"One of the songs of the Calmuck national bards sometimes lasts a whole day." (Ibid. p. 372.)

having reference to the sonorous, emphatic, and rhythmical pronunciation required from him[1].

Possibility of preserving the poems by memory, as accurately as in fact they were preserved.

But what guarantee have we for the exact transmission of the text for a space of two centuries by simply oral means? It may be replied that oral transmission would hand down the text as exactly as in point of fact it was handed down. The great lines of each poem—the order of parts—the vein of Homeric feeling and the general style of locution, and for the most part, the true words—would be maintained: for the professional training of the rhapsode, over and above the precision of his actual memory, would tend to Homerize his mind (if the expression may be permitted) and to restrain him within this magic circle. On the other hand, in respect to the details of the text, we should expect that there would be wide differences and numerous inaccuracies: and so there really were, as the records contained in the Scholia, together with the passages cited in ancient authors, but not found in our Homeric text, abundantly testify[2].

Moreover the state of the Iliad and Odyssey in respect to the letter called the Digamma affords a proof that they were recited for a considerable period

[1] There are just remarks of Mr. Mitford on the possibility that the Homeric poems might have been preserved without writing (History of Greece, vol. i. pp. 135–137).

[2] Villoison, Prolegomen. pp. xxxiv.–lvi.; Wolf, Prolegomen. p. 37. Düntzer, in the Epicor. Græc. Fragm. p. 27–29, gives a considerable list of the Homeric passages cited by ancient authors, but not found either in the Iliad or Odyssey. It is hardly to be doubted, however, that many of these passages belonged to other epic poems which passed under the name of Homer. Welcker (Der Episch. Kyklus, pp. 20–133) enforces this opinion very justly, and it harmonises with his view of the name of Homer as co-extensive with the whole Epic cycle.

Argument from the lost letter Digamma.

before they were committed to writing, insomuch that the oral pronunciation underwent during the interval a sensible change[1]. At the time when these poems were composed, the Digamma was an effective consonant, and figured as such in the structure of the verse: at the time when they were committed to writing, it had ceased to be pronounced, and therefore never found a place in any of the manuscripts, insomuch that the Alexandrine critics, though they knew of its existence in the much later poems of Alkæus and Sapphô, never recognised it in Homer. The hiatus, and the various perplexities of metre, occasioned by the loss of the Digamma, were corrected by different grammatical stratagems: but the whole history of this lost letter is very curious, and is rendered intelligible only by the supposition that the Iliad and Odyssey belonged for a wide space of time to the memory, the voice, and the ear, exclusively.

When did the Homeric poems begin to be written?

At what period these poems, or indeed any other Greek poems, first began to be written, must be matter of conjecture, though there is ground for assurance that it was before the time of Solôn. If

[1] See this argument strongly maintained in Giese (Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt, sect. 14. p. 160 *seqq.*). He notices several other particulars in the Homeric language—the plenitude and variety of interchangeable grammatical forms—the numerous metrical licences, set right by appropriate oral intonations—which indicate a language as yet not constrained by the fixity of written authority.

The same line of argument is taken by O. Müller (History of the Literature of Ancient Greece, ch. iv. s. 5).

Giese has shown also, in the same chapter, that all the manuscripts of Homer, mentioned in the Scholia, were written in the Ionic alphabet (with H and Ω as marks for the long vowels, and no special mark for the rough breathing), in so far as the special citations out of them enable us to verify.

in the absence of evidence we may venture upon naming any more determinate period, the question at once suggests itself, what were the purposes which in that stage of society, a manuscript at its first commencement must have been intended to answer? For whom was a written Iliad necessary? Not for the rhapsodes; for with them it was not only planted in the memory, but also interwoven with the feelings, and conceived in conjunction with all those flexions and intonations of voice, pauses and other oral artifices, which were required for emphatic delivery, and which the naked manuscript could never reproduce. Not for the general public —*they* were accustomed to receive it with its rhapsodic delivery, and with its accompaniments of a solemn and crowded festival. The only persons for whom the written Iliad would be suitable, would be a select few; studious and curious men—a class of readers, capable of analysing the complicated emotions which they had experienced as hearers in the crowd, and who would on perusing the written words realise in their imaginations a sensible portion of the impression communicated by the reciter[1].

[1] Nitszch and Welcker argue, that because the Homeric poems were *heard* with great delight and interest, therefore the first rudiments of the art of writing, even while beset by a thousand mechanical difficulties, would be employed to record them. I cannot adopt this opinion, which appears to me to derive all its plausibility from our present familiarity with reading and writing. The first step from the recited to the written poem is really one of great violence, as well as useless for any want then actually felt. I much more agree with Wolf when he says: "Diu enim illorum hominum vita et simplicitas nihil admodum habuit, quod scripturâ dignum videretur: in aliis omnibus occupati agunt illi, quæ posteri scribunt, vel (ut de quibusdam populis accepimus) etiam monstratam operam hanc spernunt tanquam indecori otii: carmina autem quæ pangunt, longo usu sic ore fundere et excipere consueverunt, ut

Incredible as the statement may seem in an age like the present, there is in all early societies, and there was in early Greece, a time when no such reading class existed: if we could discover at what time such a class first began to be formed, we should be able to make a guess at the time when the old Epic poems were first committed to writing. Now the period which may with the greatest probability be fixed upon as having first witnessed the formation even of the narrowest reading class in Greece, is the middle of the seventh century before the Christian æra (B.C. 660 to B.C. 630),—the age of Terpander, Kallinus, Archilochus, Simonidês of Amorgus, &c. I ground this supposition on the change then operated in the character and tendencies of Grecian poetry and music,—the elegiac and iambic measures having been introduced as rivals to the primitive hexameter, and poetical compositions having been transferred from the epical past to the affairs of present and real life. Such a

Reasons for presuming that they were first written about the middle of the seventh century B.C.

cantu et recitatione cum maxime vigentia deducere ad mutas notas, ex illius ætatis sensu nihil aliud esset, quam perimere ea et vitali vi ac spiritu privare." (Prolegom. s. xv. p. 59.)

Some good remarks on this subject are to be found in William Humboldt's Introduction to his elaborate treatise *Ueber die Kawi-Sprache*, in reference to the oral tales current among the Basques. He too observes how great and repulsive a proceeding it is, to pass at first from verse sung or recited, to verse written; implying that the words are conceived detached from the *Vortrag*, the accompanying music, and the surrounding and sympathising assembly. The Basque tales have no charm for the people themselves when put in Spanish words and read (Introduction, sect. xx. p. 258–259).

Unwritten prose tales, preserved in the memory and said to be repeated nearly in the same words from age to age, are mentioned by Mariner in the Tonga Islands (Mariner's Account, vol. ii. p. 377).

The Druidical poems were kept unwritten by design, after writing was in established use for other purposes (Cæsar, B. G. vi. 13).

change was important, at a time when poetry was the only known mode of publication (to use a modern phrase not altogether suitable, yet the nearest approaching to the sense): it argued a new way of looking at the old epical treasures of the people, as well as a thirst for new poetical effect; and the men who stood forward in it may well be considered as desirous to study, and competent to criticise, from their own individual point of view, the written words of the Homeric rhapsodes, just as we are told that Kallinus both noticed and eulogised the Thebaïs as the production of Homer. There seems therefore ground for conjecturing, that for the use of this newly-formed and important, but very narrow class, manuscripts of the Homeric poems and other old epics—the Thebaïs and the Cypria as well as the Iliad and the Odyssey—began to be compiled towards the middle of the seventh century B.C.[1]: and the opening of Egypt to Grecian commerce, which took place about the same period, would furnish increased facilities for obtaining the requisite papyrus to write upon. A reading class, when once formed, would doubtless slowly increase, and the number of manuscripts along with it; so that before the time of Solôn, fifty years afterwards,

[1] Mr. Fynes Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, vol. iii. p. 368–373) treats it as a matter of *certainty* that Archilochus and Alkman *wrote* their poems. I am not aware of any evidence for announcing this as positively known—except indeed an admission of Wolf, which is doubtless good as an *argumentum ad hominem*, but is not to be received as proof (Wolf, Proleg. p. 50). The evidences mentioned by Mr. Clinton (p. 368) certainly cannot be regarded as proving anything to the point.

Giese (Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt, p. 172) places the first writing of the separate rhapsodies composing the Iliad in the seventh century B.C.

both readers and manuscripts, though still comparatively few, might have attained a certain recognised authority, and formed a tribunal of reference, against the carelessness of individual rhapsodes.

Condition of the Iliad and Odyssey down to the reign of Peisistratus —Theory of Wolf.

We may, I think, consider the Iliad and Odyssey to have been preserved without the aid of writing for a period near upon two centuries[1]. But is it true, as Wolf imagined, and as other able critics have imagined also, that the separate portions of which these two poems are composed were originally distinct epical ballads, each constituting a separate whole and intended for separate recitation? Is it true that they had not only no common author, but originally neither common purpose nor fixed order, and that their first permanent arrangement and integration was delayed for three centuries, and accomplished at last only by the taste of Peisistratus conjoined with various lettered friends[2]?

[1] The songs of the Icelandic Skalds were preserved orally for a period longer than two centuries,—P. A. Müller thinks very much longer,—before they were collected or embodied in written story by Snorro and Sæmund (Lange, Untersuchungen über die Gesch. der Nördischen Heldensage, p. 98; also Introduct. p. xx.-xxviii.). He confounds, however, often the preservation of the songs from old time with the question whether they have or have not an historical basis.

And there were doubtless many old bards and rhapsodes in ancient Greece, of whom the same might be said which Saxo Grammaticus affirms of an Englishman named Lucas, that he was "literis quidem tenuiter instructus, sed historiarum scientiâ apprime eruditus" (Dahlmann, Historische Forschungen, vol. ii. p. 176).

[2] "Homer wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies, to be sung by himself for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment; the Iliad he made for the men, the Odysseis for the other sex. These loose songs were not collected together into the form of an epic poem until 500 years after."

Such is the naked language in which Wolf's main hypothesis had been previously set forth by Bentley, in his "Remarks on a late Dis-

This hypothesis—to which the genius of Wolf first gave celebrity, but which has been since enforced more in detail by others, especially by William Müller and Lachmann—appears to me not only unsupported by any sufficient testimony, but also opposed to other testimony as well as to a strong force of internal probability. The authorities quoted by Wolf are Josephus, Cicero and Pausanias[1]: Josephus mentions nothing about Peisistratus, but merely states (what we may accept as the probable fact) that the Homeric poems were originally unwritten, and preserved only in songs or recitations, from which they were at a subsequent period put into writing: hence many of the discrepancies in the text. On the other hand, Cicero and Pausanias go farther, and affirm that Peisistratus both collected, and arranged in the existing

Authorities quoted in its favour.

course of Freethinking, by Phileleutherus Lipsiensis," published in 1713: the passage remained unaltered in the seventh edition of that treatise published in 1737. See Wolf's Proleg. xxvii. p. 115.

The same hypothesis may be seen more amply developed, partly in the work of Wolf's pupil and admirer, William Müller, *Homerische Vorschule* (the second edition of which was published at Leipsic, 1836, with an excellent introduction and notes by Baumgarten-Crusius, adding greatly to the value of the original work by its dispassionate review of the whole controversy), partly in two valuable Dissertations of Lachmann, published in the Philological Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1837 and 1841.

[1] Joseph. cont. Apion. i. 2; Cicero de Orator. iii. 34; Pausan. vii. 26, 6: compare the Scholion on Plautus in Ritschl, Die Alexandrin. Bibliothek, p. 4. Ælian (V. H. xiii. 14), who mentions both the introduction of the Homeric poems into Peloponnesus by Lycurgus, and the compilation by Peisistratus, can hardly be considered as adding to the value of the testimony: still less Libanius and Suidas. What we learn is, that some literary and critical men of the Alexandrine age (more or fewer, as the case may be; but Wolf exaggerates when he talks of an *unanimous* conviction) talked of Peisistratus as having first put together the fractional parts of the Iliad and Odyssey into entire poems.

order, the rhapsodies of the Iliad and Odyssey, (implied as poems originally entire and subsequently broken into pieces,) which he found partly confused and partly isolated from each other—each part being then remembered only in its own portion of the Grecian world. Respecting Hipparchus the son of Peisistratus, too, we are told in the Pseudo-Platonic dialogue which bears his name, that he was the first to introduce into Attica the poetry of Homer, and that he prescribed to the rhapsodes to recite the parts at the Panathenaic festival in regular sequence[1].

Wolf and William Müller occasionally speak as if they admitted something like an Iliad and Odyssey as established aggregates prior to Peisistratus; but for the most part they represent him or his associates as having been the first to put together Homeric poems which were before distinct and self-existent compositions. And Lachmann, the recent expositor of the same theory, ascribes to Peisistratus still more unequivocally this original integration of parts in reference to the Iliad: he distributes the first twenty-two books of the poem into sixteen separate songs, and treats it as ridiculous to imagine that the fusion of these songs, into an order such as we now read, belongs to any date earlier than Peisistratus[2]. Upon this theory we may remark,

[1] Plato, Hipparch. p. 228.

[2] "Doch ich komme mir bald lächerlich vor, wenn ich noch immer die Möglichkeit gelten lasse, dass unsere Ilias in dem gegenwärtigen Zusammenhange der bedeutenden Theile, und nicht blos der wenigen bedeutendsten, jemals vor der Arbeit des Pisistratus gedacht worden sey." (Lachmann, Fernere Betrachtungen über die Ilias, sect. xxviii. p. 32; Abhandlungen Berlin. Academ. 1841.) How far this admission —that for the *few most important* portions of the Iliad, there *did* exist

first, that it stands opposed to the testimony existing respecting the regulations of Solôn; who, before the time of Peisistratus, had enforced a fixed order of recitation on the rhapsodes of the Iliad at the Panathenaic festival; not only directing that they should go through the rhapsodies *seriatim* and without omission or corruption, but also establishing a prompter or censorial authority to ensure obedience[1],—which implies the existence (at the

Objections against it.

an established order of succession prior to Peisistratus—is intended to reach, I do not know; but the language of Lachmann goes farther than either Wolf or William Müller. (See Wolf, Prolegomen. p. cxli.–cxlii., and W. Müller, Homerische Vorschule, Abschnitt. vii. pp. 96, 98, 100, 102.) The latter admits that neither Peisistratus nor the Diaskeuasts could have made any considerable changes in the Iliad and Odyssey, either in the way of addition or of transposition; the poems as aggregates being too well-known, and the Homeric vein of invention too completely extinct, to admit of such novelties.

I confess I do not see how these last-mentioned admissions can be reconciled with the main doctrine of Wolf, in so far as regards Peisistratus.

[1] Diogen. Laërt.—Τὰ δὲ Ὁμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε (Σόλων) ῥαψῳδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν, ἔκειθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἀρχόμενον, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν τοῖς Μεγαρικοῖς (i. 57).

Respecting Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus, the Pseudo-Plato tells us (in the dialogue so called, p. 228)—καὶ τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνὶ, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψῳδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διϊέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔτι οἵδε ποιοῦσι.

These words have provoked multiplied criticisms from all the learned men who have touched upon the theory of the Homeric poems—to determine what was the practice which Solôn found existing, and what was the change which he introduced. Our information is too scanty to pretend to certainty, but I think the explanation of Hermann the most satisfactory ("*Quid sit ὑποβολὴ et ὑποβλήδην.*"—*Opuscula*, tom. v. p. 300, tom. vii. p. 162).

Ὑποβολεὺς is the technical term for the prompter at a theatrical representation (Plutarch, Præcept. gerend. Reip. p. 813); ὑποβολὴ and ὑποβάλλειν have corresponding meanings, of aiding the memory of a speaker and keeping him in accordance with a certain standard, in possession of the prompter. Ὑποβολὴ therefore has no necessary connection with a *series* of rhapsodes, but would apply just as much to one alone; although it happens in this case to be brought to bear upon

same time that it proclaims the occasional infringement) of an orderly aggregate, as well as of manuscripts professedly complete. Next, the theory ascribes to Peisistratus a character not only materially different from what is indicated by Cicero

several in succession. Ὑπόληψις, again, means "the taking up in succession of one rhapsode by another:" though the two words, therefore, have not the same meaning, yet the proceeding described in the two passages in reference both to Solôn and Hipparchus appears to be in substance the same—*i. e.* to ensure, by compulsory supervision, a correct and orderly recitation by the successive rhapsodes who went through the different parts of the poem.

There is good reason to conclude from this passage that the rhapsodes before Solôn were guilty both of negligence and of omission in their recital of Homer, but no reason to imagine either that they transposed the books, or that the legitimate order was not previously recognised.

The appointment of a systematic ὑποβολεὺς or prompter plainly indicates the existence of complete manuscripts.

The direction of Solôn, that Homer should be rhapsodised under the security of a prompter with his manuscript, appears just the same as that of the orator Lycurgus in reference to Æschylus, Sophoclês, and Euripidês (Pseudo-Plutarch. Vit. x. Rhetor. Lycurgi Vit.)—*εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ νόμους—ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν, καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις· οὐ γὰρ ἐξὴν αὐτὰς (ἄλλως) ὑποκρίνεσθαι.* The word ἄλλως which occurs last but one is introduced by the conjecture of Grysar, who has cited and explained the above passage of the Pseudo-Plutarch in a valuable dissertation—*De Græcorum Tragœdiâ, qualis fuit circa tempora Demosthenis* (Cologne 1830). All the critics admit the text as it now stands to be unintelligible, and various corrections have been proposed, among which that of Grysar seems the best. From his Dissertation I transcribe the following passage, which illustrates the rhapsodising of Homer *ἐξ ὑποβολῆς*:—

"Quum histriones fabulis interpolandis ægre abstinerent, Lycurgus legem supra indicatam eo tulit consilio, ut recitationes histrionum cum publico illo exemplo omnino congruas redderet. Quod ut assequeretur, constituit, ut dum fabulæ in scenâ recitarentur, scriba publicus simul exemplum civitatis inspiceret, juxta sive in theatro sive in postscenio sedens. Hæc enim verbi *παραναγινώσκειν* est significatio, posita præcipue in præpositione *παρὰ*, ut idem sit, quod *contra* sive *juxta* legere; id quod faciunt ii, *qui lecta ab altero vel recitata cum suis conferre cupiunt.*" (Grysar, p. 7.)

and Pausanias—who represent him, not as having put together atoms originally distinct, but as the renovator of an ancient order subsequently lost—but also in itself unintelligible and inconsistent with Grecian habit and feeling. That Peisistratus should take pains to repress the licence, or make up for the unfaithful memory, of individual rhapsodes, and to ennoble the Panathenaic festival by the most correct recital of a great and venerable poem, according to the standard received among the best judges in Greece—this is a task both suitable to his position, and requiring nothing more than an improved recension, together with exact adherence to it on the part of the rhapsodes. But what motive had he to string together several poems, previously known only as separate, into one new whole? What feeling could he gratify by introducing the extensive changes and transpositions surmised by Lachmann, for the purpose of binding together sixteen songs which the rhapsodes are assumed to have been accustomed to recite, and the people to hear, each by itself apart? Peisistratus was not a poet, seeking to interest the public mind by new creations and combinations, but a ruler desirous to impart solemnity to a great religious festival in his native city. Now such a purpose would be answered by selecting, amidst the divergences of rhapsodes in different parts of Greece, that order of text which intelligent men could approve as a return to the pure and pristine Iliad; but it would be defeated if he attempted large innovations of his own, and brought out for the first time a new Iliad by blending together, altering, and transposing,

many old and well-known songs. A novelty so bold would have been more likely to offend than to please both the critics and the multitude; and if it were even enforced, by authority, at Athens, no probable reason can be given why all the other towns and all the rhapsodes throughout Greece should abnegate their previous habits in favour of it, since Athens at that time enjoyed no political ascendency such as she acquired during the following century. On the whole, it will appear that the character and position of Peisistratus himself go far to negative the function which Wolf and Lachmann put upon him. His interference presupposes a certain foreknown and ancient aggregate, the main lineaments of which were familiar to the Grecian public, although many of the rhapsodes in their practice may have deviated from it both by omission and interpolation. In correcting the Athenian recitations conformably with such understood general type, he might hope both to procure respect for Athens and to constitute a fashion for the rest of Greece. But this step of "collecting the torn body of sacred Homer" is something generically different from the composition of a new Iliad out of pre-existing songs: the former is as easy, suitable, and promising, as the latter is violent and gratuitous[1].

[1] That the Iliad or Odyssey were ever recited with all the parts entire, at any time anterior to Solôn, is a point which Ritschl denies (Die Alexandrin. Bibliothek. p. 67–70). He thinks that before Solôn, they were always recited in parts, and without any fixed order among the parts. Nor did Solôn determine (as he thinks) the order of the parts: he only checked the licence of the rhapsodes as to the recitation of the separate books: it was Peisistratus, who, with the help of Onomakritus

To sustain the inference, that Peisistratus was the first architect of the Iliad and Odyssey, it ought at least to be shown that no other long and continuous poems existed during the earlier centuries. But the contrary of this is known to be the fact. The Æthiopis of Arktinus, which contained 9100 verses, dates from a period more than two centuries earlier than Peisistratus: several other of the lost cyclic epics, some among them of considerable length, appear during the century succeeding Arktinus; and it is important to notice that three or four at least of these poems passed currently under the name of Homer[1]. There is

Other long epic poems besides the Iliad and Odyssey.

and others, first settled the order of the parts and bound each poem into a whole, with some corrections and interpolations. Nevertheless he admits that the parts were originally composed by the same poet, and adapted to form a whole amongst each other: but this primitive entireness (he asserts) was only maintained as a sort of traditional belief, never realised in recitation, and never reduced to an obvious, unequivocal, and permanent fact—until the time of Peisistratus.

There is no sufficient ground, I think, for denying all entire recitation previous to Solôn, and we only interpose a new difficulty, both grave and gratuitous, by doing so.

[1] The Æthiopis of Arktinus contained 9100 verses, as we learn from the Tabula Iliaca: yet Proklus assigns to it only four books. The Ilias Minor had *four* books, the Cyprian Verses *eleven*, though we do not know the number of lines in either.

Nitzsch states it as a certain matter of fact, that Arktinus recited his own poem *alone*, though it was too long to admit of his doing so without interruption. (See his Vorrede to the 2nd vol. of the Odyssey, p. xxiv.) There is no evidence for this assertion, and it appears to me highly improbable.

In reference to the Romances of the Middle Ages, belonging to the Cycle of the Round Table, M. Fauriel tells us that the German *Perceval* has nearly 25,000 verses (more than half as long again as the Iliad); the *Perceval* of Christian of Troyes probably more; the German *Tristan*, of Godfrey of Strasburg, has more than 23,000; sometimes the poem is begun by one author and continued by another. (Fauriel, Romans de Chevalerie, Revue des Deux Mondes, t. xiii. p. 695-697.)

The ancient unwritten poems of the Icelandic Skalds are as much

no greater intrinsic difficulty in supposing long epics to have begun with the Iliad and Odyssey than with the Æthiopis: the ascendency of the name of Homer, and the subordinate position of Arktinus, in the history of early Grecian poetry, tend to prove the former in preference to the latter.

Moreover, we find particular portions of the Iliad, which expressly pronounce themselves, by their own internal evidence, as belonging to a large whole, and not as separate integers. We can hardly conceive the Catalogue in the second book except as a fractional composition, and with reference to a series of approaching exploits: taken apart by itself, such a barren enumeration of names could have stimulated neither the fancy of the poet nor the attention of the listeners. But the Homeric Catalogue had acquired a sort of canonical authority even in the time of Solôn, insomuch that he interpolated a line into it, or was accused of doing so, for the purpose of gaining a disputed point against the Megarians, who on their side set forth another version[1]. No such established reverence could have been felt for this document, unless there had existed, for a long time prior to Peisistratus, the habit of regarding and listening to the Iliad as a continuous poem. And when the philosopher Xenophanês, also anterior to the same epoch, noticed Homer as the universal teacher, and

Catalogue in the Iliad—essentially a part of a long poem—its early authority.

lyric as epic: the longest of them does not exceed 800 lines, and they are for the most part much shorter (Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Nördischen Heldensage, aus P. A. Müller's Sagabibliothek von G. Lange, Frankf. 1832, Introduct. p. xlii.).

[1] Plutarch. Solôn, 10.

denounced him as an unworthy describer of the gods, he must have connected this great mental sway, not with a number of unconnected rhapsodies, but with an aggregate Iliad and Odyssey; probably with other poems also, ascribed to the same author, such as the Cypria, Epigoni, and Thebaïs.

We find, it is true, references in various authors to portions of the Iliad each by its own separate name, such as the Teichomachy, the Aristeia (pre-eminent exploits) of Diomêdês or of Agamemnôn, the Doloneia or Night-expedition (of Dolon as well as of Odysseus and Diomêdês), &c., and hence it has been concluded that these portions originally existed as separate poems, before they were cemented together into an Iliad. But such references prove nothing to the point; for until the Iliad was divided by Aristarchus and his colleagues into a given number of books or rhapsodies, designated by the series of letters in the alphabet, there was no method of calling attention to any particular portion of the poem except by special indication of its subject-matter[1]. Authors subsequent to Peisistratus, such as Herodotus and Plato, who unquestionably conceived the Iliad as a whole, cite the separate fractions of it by designations of this sort.

The foregoing remarks on the Wolfian hypothesis respecting the text of the Iliad, tend to separate two points which are by no means necessarily connected, though that hypothesis, as set forth by Wolf himself, by W. Müller, and by Lachmann,

[1] The Homeric Scholiast refers to Quintus Calaber ἐν τῇ Ἀμαζονομαχίᾳ, which was only one portion of his long poem (Schol. ad Iliad. ii. 220).

presents the two in conjunction. First, was the Iliad originally projected and composed by one author and as one poem, or were the different parts composed separately and by unconnected authors, and subsequently strung together into an aggregate? Secondly, assuming that the internal evidences of the poem negative the former supposition, and drive us upon the latter, was the construction of the whole poem deferred, and did the parts exist only in their separate state, until a period so late as the reign of Peisistratus? It is obvious that these two questions are essentially separate, and that a man may believe the Iliad to have been put together out of pre-existing songs, without recognising the age of Peisistratus as the period of its first compilation. Now whatever may be the steps through which the poem passed to its ultimate integrity, there is sufficient reason for believing that they had been accomplished long before that period: the friends of Peisistratus found an Iliad already existing and already ancient in their time, even granting that the poem had not been originally born in a state of unity. Moreover, the Alexandrine critics, whose remarks are preserved in the Scholia, do not even notice the Peisistratic recension among the many manuscripts which they had before them: and Mr. Payne Knight justly infers from their silence that either they did not possess it, or it was in their eyes of no great authority[1];

Iliad and Odyssey were entire poems long anterior to Peisistratus, whether they were originally composed as entire or not.

[1] Knight, Prolegg. Homer. xxxii. xxxvi. xxxvii. That Peisistratus caused a corrected MS. of the Iliad to be prepared, there seems good reason to believe, and the Scholion on Plautus edited by Ritschl (see Die Alexandrinische Bibliothek, p. 4) specifies the four persons (Onomacritus was one) employed in the task. Ritschl fancies that it served

which could never have been the case if it had been the prime originator of Homeric unity. The line of argument, by which the advocates of that hypothesis negative the primitive unity of the poem, consists in exposing gaps, incongruities, contradictions, &c. between the separate parts: now, if in spite of all these incoherencies, standing mementos of an antecedent state of separation, the component poems were made to coalesce so intimately as to appear as if they had been one from the beginning, we can better understand the complete success of the proceeding and the universal prevalence of the illusion, by supposing such coalescence to have taken place at a very early period, during the productive days of epical genius, and before the growth of reading and criticism. The longer the aggregation of the separate poems was deferred, the harder it would be to obliterate in men's minds the previous state of separation, and to make them accept the new aggregate as an original unity. The bards or rhapsodes might have found comparatively little difficulty in thus piecing together distinct songs, during

as a sort of Vulgate for the text to the Alexandrine critics, who named specially other MSS. (of Chios, Sinôpê, Massalia, &c.) only when they diverged from this Vulgate: he thinks also that it formed the original from whence those other MSS. were first drawn, which are called in the Homeric Scholia *αἱ κοιναὶ, κοινότεραι* (p. 59–60).

Welcker supposes the Peisistratic MS. to have been either lost or carried away when Xerxês took Athens (Der Epische Kyklus, p. 382–388).

Compare Nitzsch, Histor. Homer. Fasc. i. p. 165–167; also his commentary on Odyss. xi. 604, the alleged interpolation of Onomacritus; and Ulrici, Geschichte der Hellen. Poes. Part i. s. vii. p. 252–255.

The main facts respecting the Peisistratic recension are collected and discussed by Gräfenhan, Geschichte der Philologie, sect. 54–64. vol. i. p. 266–311. Unfortunately we cannot get beyond mere conjecture and possibility.

the ninth or eighth century before Christ; but if we suppose the process to be deferred until the latter half of the sixth century—if we imagine that Solôn, with all his contemporaries and predecessors, knew nothing about any aggregate Iliad, but was accustomed to read and hear only those sixteen distinct epical pieces into which Lachmann would dissect the Iliad, each of the sixteen bearing a separate name of its own—no compilation then for the first time made by the friends of Peisistratus could have effaced the established habit, and planted itself in the general convictions of Greece as the primitive Homeric production. Had the sixteen pieces remained disunited and individualised down to the time of Peisistratus, they would in all probability have continued so ever afterwards: the extensive changes and transpositions which (according to Lachmann's theory) were required to melt them down into our present Iliad, could never at that late period have obtained universal acceptance. Assuming it to be true that such changes and transpositions did really take place, they must at least be referred to a period greatly earlier than Peisistratus or Solôn.

No traces, in the Homeric poems, of ideas or customs belonging to the age of Peisistratus.

The whole tenor of the poems themselves confirms what is here remarked. There is nothing either in the Iliad or Odyssey which savours of *modernism*, applying that term to the age of Peisistratus; nothing which brings to our view the alterations brought about by two centuries in the Greek language, the coined money, the habits of writing and reading, the despotisms and republican governments, the close military array, the improved

construction of ships, the Amphictyonic convocations, the mutual frequentation of religious festivals, the Oriental and Egyptian veins of religion, &c., familiar to the latter epoch, which Onomacritus and the other literary friends of Peisistratus could hardly have failed to introduce, had they then for the first time undertaken the task of piecing together many self-existent epics into one large aggregate[1]. Everything in the two great Homeric poems, both in substance and in language, belongs to an age two or three centuries earlier than Peisistratus: even most of the interpolations (or those passages which on the best grounds are pronounced to be such) betray no trace of the sixth century before Christ, and may well have been heard by Archilochus and Kallinus—in some cases even by Arktinus and Hesiod—as genuine Homeric words. As far as the evidences on the case, as well internal as external, enable us to judge, we seem warranted in believing that the Iliad and Odyssey were recited substantially as they now stand (always allowing for partial divergences of text and interpolations) in 776 B.C., our first trustworthy mark of Grecian

[1] Wolf allows both the uniformity of colouring and the antiquity of colouring which pervade the Homeric poems, also the strong line by which they stand distinguished from the other Greek poets:—"Immo congruunt in iis omnia ferme in idem ingenium, in eosdem mores, in eandem formam sentiendi et loquendi." (Prolegom. p. cclxv.; compare p. cxxxviii.)

He thinks indeed that this harmony was *restored* by the ability and care of Aristarchus ("mirificum illum concentum revocatum Aristarcho imprimis debemus"). This is a very exaggerated estimate of the interference of Aristarchus: but at any rate the *concentus* itself was ancient and original, and Aristarchus only *restored* it when it had been spoiled by intervening accidents; at least, if we are to construe *revocatum* strictly, which perhaps is hardly consistent with Wolf's main theory.

time. And this ancient date—let it be added—as it is the best-authenticated fact, so it is also the most important attribute of the Homeric poems, considered in reference to Grecian history; for they thus afford us an insight into the ante-historical character of the Greeks, enabling us to trace the subsequent forward march of the nation, and to seize instructive contrasts between their former and their later condition.

Homeric poems— 1. Whether by one author, or several? 2. Whether of one date and scheme?

Rejecting therefore the idea of compilation by Peisistratus, and referring the present state of the Iliad and Odyssey to a period more than two centuries earlier, the question still remains, by what process, or through whose agency, they reached that state? Is each poem the work of one author, or of several? If the latter, do all the parts belong to the same age? What ground is there for believing, that any or all of these parts existed before as separate poems, and have been accommodated to the place in which they now appear by more or less systematic alteration?

The acute and valuable Prolegomena of Wolf, half a century ago, powerfully turned the attention of scholars to the necessity of considering the Iliad and Odyssey with reference to the age and society in which they arose, and to the material differences in this respect between Homer and the more recent epic poets[1]. Since that time an elaborate study

[1] See Wolf, Prolegg. c. xii. p. xliii. "Nondum enim prorsus ejecta et explosa est eorum ratio, qui Homerum et Callimachum et Virgilium et Nonnum et Miltonum eodem animo legunt, nec qui uniuscujusque ætas ferat, expendere legendo et computare laborant," &c.

A similar and earlier attempt to construe the Homeric poems with reference to their age, is to be seen in the treatise called *Il Vero Omero*

has been bestowed upon the early manifestations of poetry (Sagen-poesie) among other nations; and the German critics especially, among whom this description of literature has been most cultivated, have selected it as the only appropriate analogy for the Homeric poems. Such poetry, consisting for the most part of short, artless effusions, with little of deliberate or far-sighted combination, has been assumed by many critics as a fit standard to apply for measuring the capacities of the Homeric age; an age exclusively of speakers, singers, and hearers, not of readers or writers. In place of the unbounded admiration which was felt for Homer, not merely as a poet of detail, but as constructor of a long epic, at the time when Wolf wrote his Prolegomena, the tone of criticism passed to the opposite extreme, and attention was fixed entirely upon the defects in the arrangement of the Iliad and Odyssey; whatever was to be found in them of symmetry or pervading system was pronounced to be decidedly post-Homeric. Under such preconceived anticipations Homer seems to have been generally studied in Germany, during the generation succeeding Wolf, the negative portion of whose theory was usually admitted, though as to the positive substitute—what explanation was to be given of the history and present constitution of the Homeric poems—there was by no means the like agreement. During the last ten years, however, a contrary tendency has manifested itself; the Wolfian theory has been re-examined and shaken by Nitzsch,

Question raised by Wolf—Sagen-poesie—New standard applied to the Homeric poems.

of Vico,—marked with a good deal of original thought, but not strong in erudition (Opere di Vico, ed. Milan, vol. v. p. 437–497).

who, as well as O. Müller, Welcker, and other scholars, have revived the idea of original Homeric unity, under certain modifications. The change in Göthe's opinion, coincident with this new direction, is recorded in one of his latest works[1]. On the other hand, the original opinion of Wolf has also been reproduced within the last five years, and fortified with several new observations on the text of the Iliad, by Lachmann.

Homeric unity—generally rejected by German critics in the last generation—now again partially revived.

The point is thus still under controversy among able scholars, and is probably destined to remain so; for in truth our means of knowledge are so limited, that no man can produce arguments sufficiently cogent to contend against opposing preconceptions; and it creates a painful sentiment of diffidence when we read the expressions of equal and absolute persuasion with which the two opposite conclusions have both been advanced[2]. We have

[1] In the 40th volume of his collected works, in the little treatise "*Homer, noch einmal*"; compare G. Lange, Uber die Kyklischen Dichter (Mainz. 1837), Preface, p. vi.

[2] "Non esse totam Iliadem aut Odysseam unius poetæ opus, ita extra dubitationem positam puto, ut qui secus sentiat, eum non satis lectitasse illa carmina contendam." (Godf. Hermann, Præfat. ad Odysseam, Lips. 1825, p. iv.) See the language of the same eminent critic in his treatise "Uber Homer und Sappho," Opuscula, vol. v. p. 74.

Lachmann, after having dissected the 2200 lines in the Iliad, between the beginning of the eleventh book and line 590 of the fifteenth, into four songs "in the highest degree different in their spirit" ("ihrem Geiste nach höchst verschiedene Lieder"), tells us that whosoever thinks this difference of spirit inconsiderable,—whosoever does not feel it at once when pointed out,—whosoever can believe that the parts as they stand now belong to one artistically constructed Epos,—"will do well not to trouble himself any more either with my criticisms or with epic poetry, because he is too weak to understand anything about it" ("weil er zu schwach ist etwas darin zu verstehen"): Fernere Betrachtungen Ueber die Ilias: Abhandl. Berlin. Acad. 1841, p. 18. § xxiii.

On the contrary, Ulrici, after having shown (or tried to show) that

Scanty evidence—difficulty of forming any conclusive opinion.

nothing to teach us the history of these poems except the poems themselves. Not only do we possess no collateral information respecting them or their authors, but we have no one to describe to us the people or the age in which they originated: our knowledge respecting contemporary Homeric society is collected exclusively from the Homeric compositions themselves. We are ignorant whether any other, or what other, poems preceded them or divided with them the public favour, and we are reduced to nothing better than conjecture to determine either the circumstances under which they were brought before the hearers, or the conditions which a bard of that day was required to satisfy. On all these points, moreover, the age of Thucydidês[1] and Plato seems to have been no better informed than we are, except in so far as they could profit by the analogies of the cyclic and other epic

the composition of Homer satisfies perfectly, in the main, all the exigences of an artistic epic, adds, that this will make itself at once evident to all those who have any sense of artistical symmetry, but that for those to whom that sense is wanting, no conclusive demonstration can be given; he warns the latter, however, that they are not to deny the existence of that which their shortsighted vision cannot distinguish, for everything cannot be made clear to children, which the mature man sees through at a glance (Ulrici, Geschichte des Griechischen Epos, Part i. ch. vii. p. 260–261). Read also Payne Knight, Proleg. c. xxvii., about the insanity of the Wolfian school, obvious even to the "homunculus e trivio."

I have the misfortune to dissent from both Lachmann and Ulrici; for it appears to me a mistake to put the Iliad and Odyssey on the same footing, as Ulrici does, and as is too frequently done by others.

[1] Plato, Aristotle, and their contemporaries generally, read the most suspicious portions of the Homeric poems as genuine (Nitzsch, Plan und Gang der Odyssee, in the Preface to his second vol. of Comments on the Odyssey, p. lx.–lxiv.).

Thucydidês accepts the Hymn to Apollo as a composition by the author of the Iliad.

poems, which would doubtless in many cases have afforded valuable aid.

Nevertheless no classical scholar can be easy without *some* opinion respecting the authorship of these immortal poems; and the more defective the evidence we possess, the more essential is it that all that evidence should be marshalled in the clearest order, and its bearing upon the points in controversy distinctly understood beforehand. Both these conditions seem to have been often neglected, throughout the long-continued Homeric discussion.

To illustrate the first point:—Since two poems are comprehended in the problem to be solved, the natural process would be, first to study the easiest of the two, and then to apply the conclusions thence deduced as a means of explaining the other. Now the Odyssey, looking at its aggregate character, is incomparably more easy to comprehend than the Iliad. Yet most Homeric critics apply the microscope at once, and in the first instance, to the Iliad.

Method of studying the question of Homeric unity.

To illustrate the second point:—What evidence is sufficient to negative the supposition that the Iliad or the Odyssey is a poem originally and intentionally one? Not simply particular gaps and contradictions, though they be even gross and numerous; but the preponderance of these proofs of mere unprepared coalescence over the other proofs of designed adaptation scattered throughout the whole poem. For the poet (or the cooperating poets, if more than one) may have intended to compose an harmonious whole, but may have

realised their intention incompletely, and left partial faults; or perhaps the contradictory lines may have crept in through a corrupt text. A survey of the whole poem is necessary to determine the question; and this necessity, too, has not always been attended to.

If it had happened that the Odyssey had been preserved to us alone, without the Iliad, I think the dispute respecting Homeric unity would never have been raised. For the former is, in my judgment, pervaded almost from beginning to end by marks of continuous adaptation; and the special faults which Wolf, W. Müller, and B. Thiersch[1], have singled out for the purpose of disproving such unity of intention, are so few and of so little importance, that they would have been universally regarded as mere instances of haste or unskilfulness on the part of the poet, had they not been seconded by the far more powerful battery opened against the Iliad. These critics, having laid down their general presumptions against the antiquity of the long epopee, illustrate their principles by exposing the many flaws and fissures in the Iliad, and then think it sufficient if they can show a few similar defects in the Odyssey—as if the breaking up of Homeric unity in the former naturally entailed a similar necessity with regard to the latter; and their method of proceeding, contrary to the rule above laid down, puts the more difficult problem in the foreground, as a means of solution for the easier. We can hardly wonder, however, that they have applied

[1] Bernhard Thiersch, Uber das Zeitalter und Vaterland des Homer (Halberstadt 1832), Einleitung, p. 4–18.

their observations in the first instance to the Iliad, because it is in every man's esteem the most marked, striking, and impressive poem of the two, and the character of Homer is more intimately identified with it than with the Odyssey. This may serve as an explanation of the course pursued; but be the case as it may in respect to comparative poetical merit, it is not the less true, that as an aggregate, the Odyssey is more simple and easily understood, and therefore ought to come first in the order of analysis.

Odyssey to be studied first, as of more simple and intelligible structure than the Iliad.

Now, looking at the Odyssey by itself, the proofs of an unity of design seem unequivocal and everywhere to be found: a premeditated structure, and a concentration of interest upon one prime hero under well-defined circumstances, may be traced from the first book to the twenty-third. Odysseus is always either directly or indirectly kept before the reader, as a warrior returning from the fulness of glory at Troy, exposed to manifold and protracted calamities during his return home, on which his whole soul is so bent that he refuses even the immortality offered by Calypsô;—a victim, moreover, even after his return, to mingled injury and insult from the suitors, who have long been plundering his property and dishonouring his house; but at length obtaining, by valour and cunning united, a signal revenge which restores him to all that he had lost. All the persons and all the events in the poem are subsidiary to this main plot: and the divine agency, necessary to satisfy the feeling of the Homeric man, is put forth by Poseidôn and Athênê, in both cases from dispositions directly

Odyssey—evidences of one design throughout its structure.

bearing upon Odysseus. To appreciate the unity of the Odyssey, we have only to read the objections taken against that of the Iliad, especially in regard to the long withdrawal of Achilles, not only from the scene, but from the memory, and the independent prominence of Ajax, Diomêdês and other heroes: how far we are entitled from hence to infer the want of premeditated unity in the Iliad, will be presently considered; but it is certain that the constitution of the Odyssey in this respect everywhere demonstrates the presence of such unity. Whatever may be the interest attached to Penelopê, Telemachus, or Eumæus, we never disconnect them from their association with Odysseus. The present is not the place for collecting the many marks of artistical structure dispersed throughout this poem; but it may be worth while to remark, that the final catastrophe realised in the twenty-second book—the slaughter of the suitors in the very house which they were profaning—is distinctly and prominently marked out in the first and second books, promised by Teiresias in the eleventh, by Athênê in the thirteenth, and by Helen in the fifteenth, and gradually matured by a series of suitable preliminaries, throughout the eight books preceding its occurrence[1]. Indeed what is principally evident, and what has been often noticed, in the Odyssey, is, the equable flow both of the narrative and the events; the absence of that rise and fall of interest which is sufficiently conspicuous in the Iliad.

[1] Compare i. 295; ii. 145 (*νηποινοί κεν ἔπειτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ὄλοισθε*); xi. 118; xiii. 395; xv. 178; also xiv. 162.

To set against these evidences of unity, there ought at least to be some strong cases produced of occasional incoherence or contradiction. But it is remarkable how little of such counter-evidence is to be found, although the arguments of Wolf, W. Müller, and B. Thiersch stand so much in need of it: they have discovered only one instance of undeniable inconsistency in the parts—the number of days occupied by the absence of Telemachus at Pylus and Sparta. That young prince, though represented as in great haste to depart, and refusing pressing invitations to prolong his stay, must nevertheless be supposed to have continued for thirty days the guest of Menelaus, in order to bring his proceedings into chronological harmony with those of Odysseus, and to explain the first meeting of father and son in the swine-fold of Eumæus. Here is undoubtedly an inaccuracy (so Nitzsch[1] treats it, and I think justly) on the part of the poet, who did not anticipate, and did not experience in ancient times, so strict a scrutiny; an inaccuracy certainly not at all wonderful; the

Exhibits very few marks of incoherence or contradiction.

Chronological reckoning in the Odyssey, inaccurate in one case.

[1] Nitzsch, Plan und Gang der Odyssee, p. xliii., prefixed to the second vol. of his Commentary on the Odysseis.

"At carminum primi auditores non adeo curiosi erant (observes Mr. Payne Knight, Proleg. c. xxiii.), ut ejusmodi rerum rationes aut exquirerent aut expenderent: neque eorum fides e subtilioribus congruentiis omnino pendebat. Monendi enim sunt etiam atque etiam Homericorum studiosi, veteres illos ἀοιδοὺς non linguâ professoriâ inter viros criticos et grammaticos, aut alios quoscunque argutiarum captatores, carmina cantitasse, sed inter eos qui sensibus animorum libere, incaute, et effuse indulgerent," &c. Chap. xxii.–xxvii. of Mr. Knight's Prolegomena are valuable to the same purpose, showing the "homines rudes et agrestes" of that day as excellent judges of what fell under their senses and observation, but careless, credulous, and unobservant of contradiction, in matters which came only under the mind's eye.

matter of real wonder is, that it stands almost alone, and that there are no others in the poem.

Inference erroneously drawn from hence, that the parts of the poem were originally separate.

Now this is one of the main points on which W. Müller and B. Thiersch rest their theory: they explain the chronological confusion by supposing that the journey of Telemachus to Pylus and Sparta constituted the subject of an epic originally separate (comprising the first four books and a portion of the fifteenth), and incorporated at second-hand with the remaining poem. And they conceive this view to be farther confirmed by the double assembly of the gods, (at the beginning of the first book as well as of the fifth) which they treat as an awkward repetition, such as could not have formed part of the primary scheme of any epic poet. But here they only escape a small difficulty by running into another and a greater; for it is impossible to comprehend how the first four books and part of the fifteenth can ever have constituted a distinct epic: since the adventures of Telemachus have no satisfactory termination, except at the point of confluence with those of his father, when the unexpected meeting and recognition takes place under the roof of Eumæus—and no epic poem can ever have described that meeting and recognition without giving some account how Odysseus came thither. Moreover the first two books of the Odyssey distinctly lay the ground, and carry expectation forward, to the final catastrophe of the poem, treating Telemachus as a subordinate person, and his expedition as merely provisional towards an ulterior result. Nor can I agree with W. Müller, that the real Odyssey might well be supposed to

begin with the fifth book; on the contrary, the exhibition of the suitors and the Ithakesian agora, presented to us in the second book, is absolutely essential to the full comprehension of the books subsequent to the thirteenth. The suitors are far too important personages in the poem to allow of their being first introduced in so informal a manner as we read in the sixteenth book: indeed the passing allusions of Athênê (xiii. 310, 375) and Eumæus (xiv. 41, 81) to the suitors, presuppose cognizance of them on the part of the hearer.

Lastly, the twofold discussion of the gods, at the beginning of the first and fifth books, and the double interference of Athênê, far from being a needless repetition, may be shown to suit perfectly both the genuine epical conditions and the unity of the poem[1]. For although the final consummation, and the organization of measures against the suitors, was to be accomplished by Odysseus and Telemachus jointly, yet the march and adventures of the two, until the moment of their meeting in the dwelling of Eumæus, were essentially distinct. But according to the religious ideas of the old epic, the presiding direction of Athênê was necessary for the safety and success of both of them: her first interference arouses and inspires the son, her second produces

[1] W. Müller is not correct in saying that in the first assembly of the gods, Zeus promises something which he does not perform: Zeus does not *promise* to send Hermês as messenger to Kalypsô, in the first book, though Athênê urges him to do so. Zeus indeed requires to be urged twice before he dictates to Kalypsô the release of Odysseus, but he had already intimated in the first book that he felt great difficulty in protecting the hero, because of the wrath manifested against him by Poseidôn.

Double start and double stream of events, ultimately brought into confluence in the Odyssey.

the liberation of the father; and she thus constitutes a point of union and common origination for two lines of adventures, in both of which she takes earnest interest, but which are necessarily for a time kept apart in order to coincide at the proper moment.

It will thus appear that the twice-repeated agora of the gods in the Odyssey, bringing home as it does to one and the same divine agent that double start which is essential to the scheme of the poem, consists better with the supposition of premeditated unity than with that of distinct self-existent parts.

Skill displayed in this point by the poet.

And assuredly the manner in which Telemachus and Odysseus, both by different roads, are brought into meeting and conjunction at the dwelling of Eumæus, is something not only contrived, but very skilfully contrived. It is needless to advert to the highly interesting character of Eumæus, rendered available as a rallying-point, though in different ways, both to the father and the son, over and above the sympathy which he himself inspires.

Difficulty of imagining the Odyssey broken up into many pre-existing poems or songs.

If the Odyssey be not an original unity, of what self-existent parts can we imagine it to have consisted? To this question it is difficult to imagine a satisfactory reply: for the supposition that Telemachus and his adventures may once have formed the subject of a separate epos, apart from Odysseus, appears inconsistent with the whole character of that youth as it stands in the poem, and with the events in which he is made to take part. We could better imagine the distribution of the adventures of Odysseus himself into two parts—one containing his wanderings and return, the other handling his

ill-treatment by the suitors and his final triumph. But though either of these two subjects might have been adequate to furnish out a separate poem, it is nevertheless certain, that as they are presented in the Odyssey, the former cannot be divorced from the latter: the simple return of Odysseus, as it now stands in the poem, could satisfy no one as a final close, so long as the suitors remain in possession of his house and forbid his reunion with his wife. Any poem which treated his wanderings and return separately, must have made entire abstraction of the suitors, and must have represented his reunion with Penelopê and restoration to his house as following naturally upon his arrival in Ithaka. But this would be a capital mutilation of the genuine epical narrative, which considers the suitors at home as an essential portion of the destiny of the much-suffering hero, not less than his shipwrecks and trials at sea: his return (separately taken) is foredoomed, according to the curse of Polyphemus executed by Poseidôn, to be long-deferred, miserable, solitary, and ending with destruction in his house to greet him[1]; and the ground is thus laid, in the very recital of his wanderings, for a new series of events which are to happen to him after his arrival in Ithaka. There is no tenable halting-place between the departure of Odysseus from Troy and the final restoration to his house and his

[1] Odyss. ix. 534.—

Ὀψὲ κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἀπὸ πάντας ἑταίρους,
Νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης, εὗροι δ' ἐν πήματα οἴκῳ—
Ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· (the Cyclops to Poseidôn) τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Κυανοχαίτης.

wife: the distance between these two events may indeed be widened, by accumulating new distresses and impediments, but any separate portion of it cannot be otherwise treated than as a fraction of the whole. The beginning and end are here the data in respect to epical genesis, though the intermediate events admit of being conceived as variables, more or less numerous: so that the conception of the whole may be said without impropriety both to precede and to govern that of the constituent parts.

Structure of the Odyssey—essentially one—cannot have been pieced together out of pre-existing epics.

The general result of a study of the Odyssey may be set down as follows:—1. The poem as it now stands exhibits unequivocally adaptation of parts and continuity of structure, whether by one or by several consentient hands: it may perhaps be a secondary formation, out of a pre-existing Odyssey of smaller dimensions; but if so, the parts of the smaller whole must have been so far recast as to make them suitable members of the larger, and are noway recognisable by us. 2. The subject-matter of the poem not only does not favour, but goes far to exclude, the possibility of the Wolfian hypothesis. Its events cannot be so arranged as to have composed several antecedent substantive epics, afterwards put together into the present aggregate: nor can its authors have been mere compilers of pre-existing materials, such as Peisistratus and his friends: they must have been poets, competent to work such matter as they found into a new and enlarged design of their own. And the age in which this long poem, of so many thousand lines, was

turned out as a continuous aggregate, cannot be separated from the ancient, productive, inspired age of Grecian epic.

Arriving at such conclusions from the internal evidence of the Odyssey[1], we can apply them by analogy to the Iliad. We learn something respecting the character and capacities of that early age which has left no other mementos except these two poems. Long continuous epics (it is observed by those who support the views of Wolf), with an artistical structure, are inconsistent with the capacities of a rude and non-writing age. Such epics (we may reply) are *not inconsistent* with the early age of the Greeks, and the Odyssey is a proof of it; for in that poem the integration of the whole, and the composition of the parts, must have been simultaneous. The analogy of the Odyssey enables us to rebut that preconception under which many ingenious critics sit down to the study of the Iliad, and which induces them to explain all the incoherencies of the latter by breaking it up into smaller unities, as if short epics were the only manifestation of poetical power which the age admitted. There ought to be no reluctance in admitting a presiding scheme and premeditated unity of parts,

Analogy of the Odyssey shows that long and premeditated epical composition consists with the capacities of the early Greek mind.

[1] Wolf admits, in most unequivocal language, the compact and artful structure of the Odyssey. Against this positive internal evidence he sets the general presumption, that no such constructive art can possibly have belonged to a poet of the age of Homer:—"De Odysseâ maxime, cujus admirabilis summa et compages pro præclarissimo monumento Græci ingenii habenda est.....Unde fit ut Odysseam nemo, cui omnino priscus vates placeat, nisi perlectam e manu deponere queat. At illa ars id ipsum est, quod *vix ac ne vix quidem cadere* videtur in vatem, singulas tantum rhapsodias decantantem," &c. (Prolegomen. p. cxviii.–cxx.; compare cxii.)

in so far as the parts themselves point to such a conclusion.

Iliad—much less coherent and uniform than the Odyssey.

That the Iliad is not so essentially one piece as the Odyssey, every man agrees. It includes a much greater multiplicity of events, and what is yet more important, a greater multiplicity of prominent personages: the very indefinite title which it bears, as contrasted with the speciality of the name Odyssey, marks the difference at once. The parts stand out more conspicuously from the whole, and admit more readily of being felt and appreciated in detached recitation. We may also add, that it is of more unequal execution than the Odyssey—often rising to a far higher pitch of grandeur, but also occasionally tamer: the story does not move on continuously; incidents occur without plausible motive, nor can we shut our eyes to evidences of incoherence and contradiction.

To a certain extent, the Iliad is open to all these remarks, though Wolf and William Müller, and above all Lachmann, exaggerate the case in degree. And from hence has been deduced the hypothesis which treats the parts in their original state as separate integers, independent of and unconnected with each other, and forced into unity only by the afterthought of a subsequent age; or sometimes not even themselves as integers, but as aggregates grouped together out of fragments still smaller—short epics formed by the coalescence of still shorter songs. Now there is some plausibility in these reasonings, so long as the discrepancies are looked upon as the whole of the case. But in point of fact they are not the whole of the

case: for it is not less true, that there are large portions of the Iliad which present positive and undeniable evidences of coherence as antecedent and consequent, though we are occasionally perplexed by inconsistencies of detail. To deal with these latter, is a portion of the duties of the critic: but he is not to treat the Iliad as if inconsistency prevailed everywhere throughout its parts; for coherence of parts—symmetrical antecedence and consequence—is discernible throughout the larger half of the poem.

Incoherence prevails only in parts of the poem—manifest coherence in other parts.

Now the Wolfian theory explains the gaps and contradictions throughout the narrative, but it explains nothing else. If (as Lachmann thinks) the Iliad originally consisted of sixteen songs or little substantive epics (Lachmann's sixteen songs cover the space only as far as the 22nd book or the death of Heotor, and two more songs would have to be admitted for the 23rd and 24th books)—not only composed by different authors, but by each[1] without any view to conjunction with the rest—we have then no right to expect any intrinsic continuity between them; and all that continuity which we now find must be of extraneous origin. Where are we to look for the origin? Lachmann

Wolfian theory explains the former but not the latter.

[1] Lachmann seems to admit one case in which the composer of one song manifests cognizance of another song, and a disposition to give what will form a sequel to it. His fifteenth song (the Patrokleia) lasts from xv. 592 down to the end of the 17th book: the sixteenth song (including the four next books, from 18 to 22 inclusive) is a continuation of the fifteenth, but by a different poet. (Fernere Betrachtungen über die Ilias, Abhandl. Berlin. Acad. 1841, sect. xxvi. xxviii. xxix. pp. 24, 34, 42.)

This admission of premeditated adaptation to a certain extent breaks up the integrity of the Wolfian hypothesis.

follows Wolf in ascribing the whole constructive process to Peisistratus and his associates, at a period when the creative epical faculty is admitted to have died out. But upon this supposition Peisistratus (or his associates) must have done much more than omit, transpose, and interpolate, here and there; he must have gone far to rewrite the whole poem. A great poet might have recast pre-existing separate songs into one comprehensive whole, but no mere arrangers or compilers would be competent to do so: and we are thus left without any means of accounting for that degree of continuity and consistence which runs through so large a portion of the Iliad, though not through the whole. The idea that the poem as we read it grew out of atoms not originally designed for the places which they now occupy, involves us in new and inextricable difficulties when we seek to elucidate either the mode of coalescence or the degree of existing unity[1].

[1] The advocates of the Wolfian theory appear to feel the difficulties which beset it; for their language is wavering in respect to these supposed primary constituent atoms. Sometimes Lachmann tells us, that the original pieces were much finer poetry than the Iliad as we now read it; at another time, that it cannot be now discovered what they originally were: nay, he further admits (as remarked in the preceding note) that the poet of the sixteenth song had cognizance of the fifteenth.

But if it be granted that the original constituent songs were so composed, though by different poets, as that the more recent were adapted to the earlier, with more or less of dexterity and success, this brings us into totally different conditions of the problem: it is a virtual surrender of the Wolfian hypothesis; which however Lachmann both means to defend, and does defend with ability; though his vindication of it has, to my mind, only the effect of exposing its inherent weakness, by carrying it out into something detailed and positive. I will add; in respect to his Dissertations, so instructive as a microscopic examination of the poem,—1. That I find myself constantly dissenting from

Admitting then premeditated adaptation of parts to a certain extent as essential to the Iliad, we may yet inquire whether it was produced all at once or gradually enlarged—whether by one author or by several; and if the parts be of different age, which is the primitive kernel, and which are the additions.

Theory of Welcker, Lange, and Nitzsch. Age of the Epos preparatory to that of the Epopee.

Welcker, Lange, and Nitzsch[1], treat the Homeric poems as representing a second step in advance, in the progress of popular poetry: first comes the age of short narrative songs; next, when these have become numerous, there arise constructive minds who recast and blend together many of them into a larger aggregate conceived upon some scheme of their own. The age of the epos is followed by that of the epopee: short spontaneous effusions prepare the way, and furnish materials, for the architectonic genius of the poet. It is farther presumed by the above-mentioned authors that the pre-Homeric epic included a great abundance of such smaller songs,—a fact which admits of no proof, but which seems countenanced by some passages in Homer, and is in itself noway improbable. But the transition from such songs, assuming them to be ever so numerous, to a combined and continuous poem, forms an epoch in the intellectual history of the nation, implying mental

that critical feeling, on the strength of which he cuts out parts as interpolations, and discovers traces of the hand of distinct poets; 2. that his objections against the continuity of the narrative are often founded upon lines which the ancient scholiasts and Mr. Payne Knight had already pronounced to be interpolations; 3. that such of his objections as are founded upon lines undisputed, admit in many cases of a complete and satisfactory reply.

[1] Lange, in his Letter to Goethe, Ueber die Einheit der Iliade, p. 33 (1826); Nitzsch, Historia Homeri, Fasciculus 2. Præfat. p. x.

qualities of a higher order than those upon which the songs themselves depend. Nor is it at all to be imagined that the materials pass unaltered from their first state of isolation into their second state of combination: they must of necessity be recast, and undergo an adapting process, in which the genius of the organising poet consists; and we cannot hope, by simply knowing them as they exist in the second stage, ever to divine how they stood in the first. Such, in my judgment, is the right conception of the Homeric epoch,—an organising poetical mind, still preserving that freshness of observation and vivacity of details which constitutes the charm of the ballad.

Iliad essentially an organised poem—but the original scheme does not comprehend the whole poem.

Nothing is gained by studying the Iliad as a congeries of fragments once independent of each other: no portion of the poem can be shown to have ever been so, and the supposition introduces difficulties greater than those which it removes. But it is not necessary to affirm that the whole poem as we now read it belonged to the original and preconceived plan[1]. In this respect the Iliad produces

[1] Even Aristotle, the great builder-up of the celebrity of Homer as to epical aggregation, found some occasions (it appears) on which he was obliged to be content with simply excusing, without admiring, the poet (Poet. 44. *τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὁ ποιητὴς ἡδύνων ἀφανίζει τὸ ἄτοπον*).

And Hermann observes justly, in his acute treatise De Interpolationibus Homeri (Opuscula, tom. v. p. 53),—"Nisi admirabilis illa Homericorum carminum suavitas lectorum animos quasi incantationibus quibusdam captos teneret, non tam facile delitescerent, quæ accuratius considerata, et multo minus apte quam quis jure postulet composita esse apparere necesse est."

This treatise contains many criticisms on the structure of the Iliad, some of them very well founded, though there are many from which I dissent.

upon my mind an impression totally different from the Odyssey. In the latter poem, the characters and incidents are fewer, and the whole plot appears of one projection, from the beginning down to the death of the suitors: none of the parts look as if they had been composed separately and inserted by way of addition into a pre-existing smaller poem. But the Iliad, on the contrary, presents the appearance of a house built upon a plan comparatively narrow and subsequently enlarged by successive additions. The first book, together with the eighth, and the books from the eleventh to the twenty-second inclusive, seem to form the primary organisation of the poem, then properly an Achillêis: the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books are additions at the tail of this primitive poem, which still leave it nothing more than an enlarged Achillêis: but the books from the second to the seventh inclusive, together with the tenth, are of a wider and more comprehensive character, and convert the poem from an Achillêis into an Iliad[1]. The primitive frontispiece, inscribed with the anger of Achilles and its direct consequences, yet remains, after it has ceased to be co-extensive with the poem. The parts added, however, are not necessarily inferior in merit to the original poem: so far is this from being the case, that amongst them are comprehended some of the noblest efforts of the Grecian epic. Nor are they more recent in date than the original; strictly speaking, they

Iliad—originally an Achillêis built upon a narrower plan, then enlarged.

[1] In reference to the books from the second to the seventh inclusive, I agree with the observations of William Müller, Homerische Vorschule, Abschnit. viii. p. 116–118.

must be a little more recent, but they belong to the same generation and state of society as the primitive Achillêis. These qualifications are necessary to keep apart different questions, which, in discussions of Homeric criticism, are but too often confounded.

Parts, which constitute the primitive Achillêis, exhibit a coherent sequence of events.

If we take those portions of the poem which may be imagined to have constituted the original Achillêis, it will be found that the sequence of events contained in them is more rapid, more unbroken, and more intimately knit together in the way of cause and effect, than in the other books. Lachmann indeed, and other objecting critics, complain of the action in them as being too much crowded and hurried, since one day lasts from the beginning of the eleventh book to the middle of the eighteenth, and there is no sensible halt in the march throughout so large a portion of the journey: he likewise admits that those separate songs, into which he imagines that the whole Iliad may be dissected, cannot be severed with the same sharpness in the books subsequent to the eleventh as in those before it[1]. There is only one real halting-place from the

[1] Lachmann, Fernere Betrachtungen über die Ilias, Abhandlungen Berlin. Acad. 1841, p. 4.

After having pointed out certain discrepancies which he maintains to prove different composing hands, he adds,—"Nevertheless we must be careful not to regard the single constituent songs in this part of the poem as being distinct and separable in a degree equal to those in the first half; for they all with one accord harmonise in one particular circumstance, which with reference to the story of the Iliad is not less important even than the anger of Achilles, viz. that the three most distinguished heroes, Agamemnôn, Odysseus, and Diomêdês, all become disabled throughout the whole duration of the battles."

Important for the story of the *Achillêis*, I should say, not for that

eleventh book to the twenty-second—the death of Patroclus; and this can never be conceived as the end of a separate poem, though it is a capital step in the development of the Achillêis, and brings about that entire revolution in the temper of Achilles which was essential for the purpose of the poet. It would be a mistake to imagine that there ever could have existed a separate poem called Patrocleia, though a part of the Iliad was designated by that name: for Patroclus has no substantive position: he is the attached friend and second of Achilles, but nothing else,—standing to the latter in a relation of dependence resembling that of Telemachus to Odysseus. And the way in which Patroclus is dealt with in the Iliad is (in my judgment) the most dextrous and artistical contrivance in the poem—that which approaches nearest to the neat tissue of the Odyssey[1].

of the *Iliad*. This remark of Lachmann is highly illustrative for the distinction between the original and the enlarged poem.

He appears as the mediator between the fierce Achilles and the Greeks, manifesting kindly sympathies for the latter without renouncing his fidelity to the former. The wounded Machaon, an object of interest to the whole camp, being carried off the field by Nestor, Achilles, looking on from his distant ship, sends Patroclus to inquire whether it be really Machaon, and this enables Nestor to lay before Patroclus the deplorable state of the Grecian host, as a motive to induce him and Achilles again to take arms. The compassionate feelings of Patroclus are powerfully touched, and he is hastening to enforce upon Achilles the urgent necessity of giving help, when he meets Eurypylus crawling out of the field, helpless with a severe wound, and imploring his succour. He supports the wounded warrior to his tent, and ministers to his suffering; but before this operation is fully completed, the Grecian host has been totally driven back, and the Trojans are on the point of setting fire to the ships: Patroclus then hastens to Achilles to proclaim the desperate peril which hangs over them all, and succeeds in obtaining his permission to take the field at the head of the Myrmidons. The way in which Patroclus is kept present to the hearer,

Disablement of Agamemnôn, Odysseus, and Diomêdês, all in the battle of the eleventh book.

The great and capital misfortune which prostrates the strength of the Greeks, and renders them incapable of defending themselves without Achilles, is the disablement by wounds of Agamemnôn, Diomêdês, and Odysseus; so that the defence of the wall and of the ships is left only to heroes of the second magnitude (Ajax alone excepted), such as Idomeneus, Leonteus, Polypœtês, Merionês, Menelaus, &c. Now it is remarkable that all these three first-rate chiefs are in full force at the beginning of the eleventh book: all three are wounded in the battle which that book describes, and at the commencement of which Agamemnôn is full of spirits and courage.

The first book concentrates attention upon Achilles, and upon the distress which the Greeks are to incur in consequence of the injury done to him.—Nothing done to realise this expectation until the eighth book.

Nothing can be more striking than the manner in which Homer concentrates our attention in the first book upon Achilles as the hero, his quarrel with Agamemnôn, and the calamities to the Greeks which are held out as about to ensue from it, through the intercession of Thetis with Zeus. But the incidents dwelt upon from the beginning of the second book down to the combat between Hector and Ajax in the seventh, animated and interesting as they are, do nothing to realise this promise: they are a splendid picture of the Trojan war generally, and eminently suitable to that larger title under which the poem has been immortalised, but the

as a prelude to his brilliant but short-lived display when he comes forth in arms,—the contrast between his characteristic gentleness and the ferocity of Achilles,—and the natural train of circumstances whereby he is made the vehicle of reconciliation on the part of his intractable friend, and rescue to his imperiled countrymen,—all these exhibit a degree of epical skill, in the author of the primitive Achillêis, to which nothing is found comparable in the added books of the Iliad.

consequences of the anger of Achilles do not appear until the eighth book. The tenth book, or Doloneia, is also a portion of the Iliad, but not of the Achillêis: while the ninth book appears to me a subsequent addition (I venture to say, an unworthy addition), nowise harmonising with that main stream of the Achillêis which flows from the eleventh book to the twenty-second. The eighth book ought to be read in immediate connection with the eleventh, in order to see the structure of what seems the primitive Achillêis; for there are several passages in the eleventh and the following books[1], which prove that

Primitive Achillêis includes books i. viii. xi. to xxii.

[1] Observe, for example, the following passages:—

1. Achilles, standing on the prow of his ship, sees the general army of Greeks undergoing defeat by the Trojans, and also sees Nestor conveying in his chariot a wounded warrior from the field; he sends Patroclus to find out who the wounded man is: in calling forth Patroclus, he says (xi. 607),—

> Δῖε Μενοιτιάδη, τῷ 'μῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,
> Νῦν οἷῳ περὶ γούνατ' ἐμὰ στήσεσθαι 'Αχαιοὺς
> Λισσομένους· χρείω γὰρ ἱκάνεται οὐκετ' ἀνεκτός.

Heyne, in his comment, asks the question, not unnaturally, "Pœnituerat igitur asperitatis erga priorem legationem, an homo arrogans expectaverat alteram ad se missam iri?" I answer, neither one nor the other: the words imply that he had received *no embassy* at all. He is still the same Achilles who in the first book paced alone by the seashore, devouring his own soul under a sense of bitter affront, and praying to Thetis to aid his revenge: this revenge is now about to be realised, and he hails its approach with delight. But if we admit the embassy of the ninth book to intervene, the passage becomes an absurdity; for that which Achilles anticipates as future, and even yet as contingent, *had actually occurred* on the previous evening: the Greeks *had* supplicated at his feet,—they *had proclaimed* their intolerable need,—and he had spurned them.

2. The speech of Poseidôn (xiii. 115) to encourage the dispirited Grecian heroes, in which, after having admitted the injury done to Achilles by Agamemnôn, he recommends an effort to heal the sore, and intimates "that the minds of good men admit of this healing process" (Ἀλλ' ἀκεώμεθα θᾶσσον· ἀκεσταί τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν), is certainly not very consistent with the supposition that this attempt to heal *had been made* in

the poet who composed them could not have had present to his mind the main event of the ninth

the best possible way, and that Achilles had manifested a mind implacable in the extreme on the evening before.

3. And what shall we say to the language of Achilles and Patroclus at the beginning of the sixteenth book, just at the moment when the danger has reached its maximum, and when Achilles is about to send forth his friend?

Patroclus, though in the extreme of anxiety to work upon the mind of Achilles, and reproaching him with hardness of heart, never calls to his remembrance the ample atonement which had been tendered to him; and Achilles himself repeats the original ground of quarrel, the wrong offered to him in taking away Brisêis, continuing the language of the first book; then without the least allusion to the atonement and restitution since tendered, he yields to his friend's proposition just like a man whose wrong remained unredressed, but who was nevertheless forced to take arms by necessity (xvi. 52-61):—

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν, οὔδ' ἄρα πως ἦν
Ἀσπερχὲς κεχολῶσθαι ἐνὶ φρεσίν.

Again, further on in the same speech, "The Trojans (Achilles says) now press boldly forward upon the ships, for they no longer see the blaze of my helmet: but if Agamemnôn *were favourably disposed towards me*, they would presently run away and fill the ditches with their dead bodies" (71):—

.....τάχα κεν φεύγοντες ἐναύλους
Πλήσειαν νεκύων, εἴ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
Ἤπια εἰδείη· νῦν δὲ στράτον ἀμφιμάχονται.

Now here again, if we take our start from the first book, omitting the ninth, the sentiment is perfectly just; but assume the ninth book, and it becomes false and misplaced; for Agamemnôn is then a prostrate and repentant man, not merely "favourably disposed" towards Achilles, but willing to pay any price for the purpose of appeasing him.

4. Again, a few lines further, in the same speech, Achilles permits Patroclus to go forth, in consideration of the extreme peril of the fleet, but restricts him simply to avert this peril and do nothing more: "Obey my words, so that you may procure *for me honour* and glory from *the body of Greeks*, and that they may send back to me the damsel, giving me ample presents besides: when you have driven the Trojans from the ships, come back again":—

Ὡς ἄν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο
Πρὸς πάντων Δαναῶν· ἀτὰρ οἱ περικαλλέα κούρην
Ἄψ ἀπονάσσωσι, πρὸτὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πόρωσιν·
Ἐκ νηῶν ἐλάσας, ἰέναι πάλιν (84-87).

How are we to reconcile this with the ninth book? In the mouth of

book,—the outpouring of profound humiliation by the Greeks, and from Agamemnôn especially, be-

the affronted Achilles of the first book such words are apt enough: he will grant succour, but only to the extent necessary for the emergency, and in such a way as to ensure redress for his own wrong,—which redress he has no reason as yet to conclude that Agamemnôn is willing to grant. But the ninth book *has actually* tendered to him everything which he here demands and even more (the daughter of Agamemnôn in marriage, &c.): Brisêis, whom now he is so anxious to re-possess, was then offered in restitution, and he disdained the offer.

5. We proceed a little farther to the address of Patroclus to the Myrmidons, as he is conducting them forth to the battle: "Fight bravely, Myrmidons, that we may bring honour to Achilles; and that the wide-ruling Agamemnôn may know the mad folly which he committed, when he dishonoured the bravest of the Greeks."

To impress this knowledge upon Agamemnôn was no longer necessary. The ninth book records his humiliating confession of it, accompanied by atonement and reparation. To teach him the lesson a second time is to break the bruised reed,—to slay the slain. But leave out the ninth book, and the motive is the natural one,—both for Patroclus to offer, and for the Myrmidons to obey: Achilles still remains a dishonoured man, and to humble the man who has dishonoured him is the first of all objects, as well with his friends as with himself.

6. Lastly, the time comes when Achilles, in deep anguish for the death of Patroclus, looks back with aversion and repentance to the past. To what point should we expect that his repentance would naturally turn? Not to his primary quarrel with Agamemnôn, in which he had been undeniably wronged, but to the scene in the ninth book, where the maximum of atonement for the previous wrong is tendered to him and scornfully rejected. Yet when we turn to xviii. 108, and xix. 55, 68, 270, we find him reverting to the primitive quarrel in the first book, just as if it had been the last incident in his relations with Agamemnôn: moreover Agamemnôn (xix. 86), in *his* speech of reconciliation, treats the past just in the same way,—deplores his original insanity in wronging Achilles.

7. When we look to the prayers of Achilles and Thetis, addressed to Zeus in the first book, we find that the consummation prayed for is,—honour to Achilles,—redress for the wrong offered to him,—victory to the Trojans until Agamemnôn and the Greeks shall be made bitterly sensible of the wrong which they have done to their bravest warrior (i. 409–509). Now this consummation is brought about in the ninth book. Achilles can get no more, nor does he ultimately get more, either in the way of redress to himself or remorseful humiliation of Agamemnôn, than what is there tendered. The defeat which the Greeks suffer

fore Achilles, coupled with formal offers to restore Brisêis and pay the amplest compensation for past

in the battle of the eighth book (Κόλος Μάχη) has brought about the consummation. The subsequent and much more destructive defeats which they undergo are thus causeless: yet Zeus is represented as inflicting them reluctantly, and only because they are necessary to honour Achilles (xiii. 350; compare also viii. 372 and 475).

If we reflect upon the constitution of the poem, we shall see that the fundamental sequence of ideas in it is, a series of misfortunes to the Greeks, brought on by Zeus for the special purpose of procuring atonement to Achilles and bringing humiliation on Agamemnôn: the introduction of Patroclus superadds new motives of the utmost interest, but it is most harmoniously worked into the fundamental sequence. Now the intrusion of the ninth book breaks up the scheme of the poem by disuniting this sequence: Agamemnôn is on his knees before Achilles, entreating pardon and proffering reparation, yet the calamities of the Greeks become more and more dreadful. The atonement of the ninth book comes at the wrong time and in the wrong manner; but I have shown, by the several passages quoted out of the subsequent books of the poem, that this mistake is not to be ascribed to the original genius who projected the Achillêis: for the Achilles whom *he* describes (in the eleventh and the subsequent books) is not the savage who coolly prolongs the sufferings of his countrymen after plenary atonement has been offered for his own wrong, but the affronted hero who can think of nothing else until his own dishonour has been effaced, and to whom the conception of the Greeks supplicating at his feet, even as prospective, is matter of delight,—instead of being (as in the ninth book) received with scornful indifference when actually realised. The author of the Embassy to Achilles has conceived only the immediate antecedent circumstances to which he attaches it, without giving himself the trouble of considering it in reference to the entire scheme of the poem.

That which sustains the dignity of the ninth book is the deportment of the envoys who are sent to solicit Achilles; their speeches are apt throughout and in many parts fine. But look to the replies of Achilles (the most important person of the whole poem), and they will be found to manifest a degree of ruthless indifference to the sufferings of the Greeks generally, which the poet could never have ventured to ascribe to his principal hero, besides other feelings unsuitable to his character. He *now* is no longer anxious to be honoured by the Greeks (605); he will go home forthwith,—his own life is most important to him,—what does he care for the common quarrel? (336, 340, 401.) But the idea of his going home is quite unsuitable to the poem: the first book excludes it.

There are three passages (and only three, so far as I am aware (in which

wrong. The words of Achilles (not less than those of Patroclus and Nestor) in the eleventh and in the following books, plainly imply that the humiliation of the Greeks before him, for which he thirsts, is as yet future and contingent; that no plenary apology has yet been tendered, nor any offer made of restoring Brisêis; while both Nestor and Patroclus, with all their wish to induce him to take arms, nevertheless view him as one whose ground for quarrel stands still the same as it did at the beginning. Moreover, if we look at the first

the embassy of the ninth book is alluded to in the subsequent books: one in xviii. 444–456, which was expunged as spurious by Aristarchus (see the Scholia and Knight's commentary *ad loc.*); and two others in the following book, wherein the gifts previously tendered by Odysseus as the envoy of Agamemnôn are noticed as identical with the gifts actually given in the nineteenth book. I feel persuaded that these two passages (vv. 140–141, and 192–195) are specially inserted for the purpose of establishing a connexion between the ninth book and the nineteenth. The last four lines (192–195) are decidedly better away; the first two lines (140–141) are noway necessary; and the word χθιζὸς (which occurs in both passages) is only rendered admissible by being stretched to mean *nudius tertius* (Heyne *ad loc.*).

I will only farther remark with respect to the ninth book, that the speech of Agamemnôn (17–28), the theme for the rebuke of Diomêdês and the obscure commonplace of Nestor, is taken verbatim from his speech in the second book, in which place the proposition of leaving the place and flying is made, not seriously, but as a stratagem (ii. 110, 118, 140).

The length of this note can only be excused by its direct bearing upon the structure of the Iliad. To show that the books from the eleventh downwards are composed by a poet who has no knowledge of the ninth book, is, in my judgment, a very important point of evidence in aiding us to understand what the original Achillêis was. The books from the second to the seventh inclusive are insertions into the Achillêis and lie apart from its plot, but do not violently contradict it, except in regard to the agora of the gods at the beginning of the fourth book, and the almost mortal wound of Sarpêdon in his battle with Tlepolemus. But the ninth book is far worse: it not only degrades the hero, but also overthrows the fundamental scheme of the poem.

book—the opening of the Achillêis—we shall see that this prostration of Agamemnôn and the chief Grecian heroes before Achilles would really be the termination of the whole poem; for Achilles asks nothing more from Thetis, nor Thetis anything more from Zeus, than that Agamemnôn and the Greeks may be brought to know the wrong that they have done to their capital warrior, and humbled in the dust in expiation of it. We may add, that the abject terror, in which Agamemnôn appears in the ninth book when he sends the supplicatory message to Achilles, as it is not adequately accounted for by the degree of calamity which the Greeks have experienced in the preceding (eighth) book, so it is inconsistent with the gallantry and high spirit with which he shines at the beginning of the eleventh. The situation of the Greeks only becomes desperate when the three great chiefs, Agamemnôn, Odysseus, and Diomêdês, are disabled by wounds[1]; this is the irreparable calamity which works upon Patroclus, and through him upon Achilles. The ninth book as it now stands seems to me an addition, by a different hand to the original Achillêis, framed so as both to forestal and to spoil the nineteenth book, which is the real reconciliation of the two inimical heroes: I will venture to add that it carries the ferocious pride and egotism of Achilles beyond all admissible limits, and is shocking to that sentiment of Nemesis which was so deeply seated in the Grecian mind. We forgive any excess of fury against the Trojans and Hector, after the death of Patroclus; but that he should re-

Ninth book an unsuitable addition.

[1] Iliad, xi. 659; xiv. 128; xvi. 25.

main unmoved by restitution, by abject supplications, and by the richest atoning presents, tendered from the Greeks, indicates an implacability more than human, and certainly such as neither the poet of the first book, nor the poet of the last twelve books, seeks to portray.

Transition from the Achillêis into the Iliad, in the beginning of the second book.

It is with the Grecian agora in the beginning of the second book that the Iliad (as distinguished from the Achillêis) commences,—continued through the Catalogue, the muster of the two armies, the single combat between Menelaus and Paris, the renewed promiscuous battle caused by the arrow of Pandarus, the (Epipôlêsis or) personal circuit of Agamemnôn round the army, the Aristeia or brilliant exploits of Diomêdês, the visit of Hector to Troy for purposes of sacrifice, his interview with Andromachê, and his combat with Ajax—down to the seventh book. All these are beautiful poetry, presenting to us the general Trojan war and its conspicuous individuals under different points of view, but leaving no room in the reader's mind for the thought of Achilles. Now the difficulty for an enlarging poet was, to pass from the Achillêis in the first book to the Iliad in the second, and it will accordingly be found that here is an awkwardness in the structure of the poem which counsel on the poet's behalf (ancient or modern) do not satisfactorily explain. In the first book, Zeus has promised Thetis that he will punish the Greeks for the wrong done to Achilles: in the beginning of the second book, he deliberates how he shall fulfil the promise, and sends down for that purpose "mischievous Oneirus" (the Dream-God) to visit

Agamemnôn in his sleep, to assure him that the gods have now with one accord consented to put Troy into his hands, and to exhort him forthwith to the assembling of his army for the attack. The ancient commentators were here perplexed by the circumstance that Zeus puts a falsehood into the mouth of Oneirus; but there seems no more difficulty in explaining this than in the narrative of the book of 1 Kings (chap. xxii. 20) where Jehovah is mentioned to have put a lying spirit into the mouth of Ahab's prophets—the real awkwardness is, that Oneirus and his falsehood produce no effect; for in the first place Agamemnôn takes a step very different from that which his dream recommends, and in the next place, when the Grecian army is at length armed and goes forth to battle, it does not experience defeat (which would be the case if the exhortation of Oneirus really proved mischievous), but carries on a successful day's battle, chiefly through the heroism of Diomêdês. Instead of arming the Greeks forthwith, Agamemnôn convokes first a council of chiefs, and next an agora of the host; and though himself in a temper of mind highly elate with the deceitful assurances of Oneirus, he deliberately assumes the language of despair in addressing the troops, having previously prepared Nestor and Odysseus for his doing so—merely in order to try the courage of the men, and with formal instructions given to these two other chiefs that they are to speak in opposition to him. Now this intervention of Zeus and Oneirus is one of the most unsatisfactory incidents in the whole structure of the poem, and it forms exactly the

joint between the Achillêis and the Iliad; the poet of the second book wishing to make Zeus do something which appears to realise his promise to Thetis in the first. The freak which Agamemnôn plays off upon the temper of his army, though in itself childish, serves a sufficient purpose, not only because it provides a special matter of interest to be submitted to the Greeks, but also because it calls forth the splendid description, so teeming with vivacious detail, of the sudden breaking up of the assembly after Agamemnôn's harangue, and of the decisive interference of Odysseus to bring the men back, as well as to put down Thersitês. This picture of the Greeks in agora, bringing out the two chief speaking and counselling heroes, was an important part of the general Trojan war, and the poet has permitted himself to introduce it by assuming an inexplicable folly on the part of Agamemnôn—just as he has ushered in another fine tableau in the third book,—the Teichoskopy or conversation of Priam and Helen on the walls of Troy—by admitting the supposition that the old king in the tenth year of the war did not know the persons of Agamemnôn and the other Grecian chiefs. This may serve as an explanation of the delusion practised by Agamemnôn towards his assembled host; but it does not at all explain the tame and empty intervention of Oneirus[1].

[1] O. Müller (History of Greek Literature, ch. v. § 8) doubts whether the beginning of the second book was written "by the ancient Homer, or by one of the later Homerids": he thinks the speech of Agamemnôn, wherein he plays off the deceit upon his army, is "a copious parody (of the same words used in the ninth book) composed by a later Homerid, and inserted in the room of an originally shorter account of the arming of the Greeks." He treats the scene in the Gre-

Transition from the Iliad back into the Achillêis at the end of the seventh book.

If the initial incident of the second book, whereby we pass out of the Achillêis into the Iliad, is awkward, so also the final incident of the seventh book, immediately before we come back into the Achillêis, is not less unsatisfactory—I mean the construction of the wall and ditch round the Greek camp. As the poem now stands, no plausible reason is assigned why this should be done. Nestor proposes it without any constraining necessity: for the Greeks are in a career of victory, and the Trojans are making offers of compromise which imply conscious weakness,—while Diomêdês is so confident of the approaching ruin of Troy, that he dissuades his comrades from receiving even Helen herself if the surrender should be tendered. "Many Greeks have been slain," it is true[1], as Nestor observes; but an equal or greater number of Trojans have been slain, and all the Grecian heroes are yet in full force: the absence of Achilles is not even

cian agora as "an entire mythical comedy, full of fine irony and with an amusing plot, in which the deceiving and deceived Agamemnôn is the chief character."

The comic or ironical character which is here ascribed to the second book appears to me fanciful and incorrect; but Müller evidently felt the awkwardness of the opening incident, though his way of accounting for it is not successful. The second book seems to my judgment just as serious as any part of the poem.

I think also that the words alluded to by O. Müller in the ninth book are a transcript of those in the second, instead of the reverse, as he believes—because it seems probable that the ninth book is an addition made to the poem after the books between the first and the eighth had been already inserted—it is certainly introduced after the account of the fortification, contained in the seventh book, had become a part of the poem: see ix. 349. The author of the Embassy to Achilles fancied that that hero had been too long out of sight and out of mind,—a supposition for which there was no room in the original Achillêis, when the eighth and eleventh books followed in immediate succession to the first, but which offers itself naturally to any one on reading our present Iliad.

[1] Iliad, vii. 327.

adverted to. Now this account of the building of the fortification seems to be an after-thought, arising out of the enlargement of the poem beyond its original scheme. The original Achillêis, passing at once from the first to the eighth[1], and from thence to the eleventh book, might well assume the fortification and talk of it as a thing existing, without adducing any special reason why it was erected. The hearer would naturally comprehend and follow the existence of a ditch and wall round the ships, as a matter of course, provided there was nothing in the previous narrative to make him believe that the Greeks had originally been without these bulwarks: and as the Achillêis, immediately after the promise of Zeus to Thetis at the close of the first book, went on to describe the fulfilment of that promise and the ensuing disasters of the Greeks, there was nothing to surprise any one in hearing that their camp was fortified. But the case was altered when a new poet parted asunder the first and the eighth books, in order to make room for

Fortification of the Grecian camp.

[1] Heyne treats the eighth book as decidedly a separate song or epic; a supposition which the language of Zeus and the agora of the gods at the beginning are alone sufficient to refute, in my judgment (Excursus 1. ad lib. xi. vol. vi. p. 269). This Excursus, in describing the sequence of events in the Iliad, passes at once and naturally from book viii. to book xi.

And Mr. Payne Knight, when he defends book xi. against Heyne, says, "Quæ in undecimâ rhapsodiâ Iliadis narrata sunt haud minus ex ante narratis pendent: neque rationem pugnæ commissæ, neque rerum in eâ gestarum nexum atque ordinem, quisquam intelligere posset, nisi *iram et secessum* Achillis, et *victoriam* quam Trojani inde consecuti erant, antea cognosset." (Prolegom. c. xxix.)

Perfectly true: to understand the eleventh book, we must have before us the first and the eighth (which are those that describe the anger and withdrawal of Achilles, and the defeat which the Greeks experience in consequence of it); we may dispense with the rest.

descriptions of temporary success and glory on the part of the besieging army. The brilliant scenes sketched in the books from the second to the seventh, mention no fortification and even imply its non-existence; but as notice of it occurs amidst the first description of Grecian disasters in the eighth book, the hearer who had the earlier books present to his memory might be surprised to find a fortification mentioned immediately afterwards, unless the construction of it were specially announced to have intervened. At least so thought the poet, who introduced that account which we now find at the end of the seventh book. But it will at once appear, that there was some difficulty in finding a good reason why the Greeks should begin to fortify at this juncture, and that the poet who discovered the gap might not be enabled to fill it up with success. As the Greeks have got on up to this moment without the wall, and as we have heard nothing but tales of their success, why should they now think farther laborious precautions for security necessary? we will not ask, why the Trojans should stand quietly by and permit a wall to be built, since the truce was concluded expressly for burying the dead[1].

[1] O. Müller (Hist. Greek Literat. ch. v. § 6) says about this wall,—"Nor is it until the Greeks are *taught by the experience of the first day's fighting*, that the Trojans *can* resist them in open battle, that the Greeks build the wall round their ships.....This appeared to Thucydidês so little conformable to historical probability, that without regard to the authority of Homer, he placed the building of these walls immediately after the landing."

It is to be lamented, I think, that Thucydidês took upon him to determine the point at all as a matter of history; but when he once undertook this, the account in the Iliad was not of a nature to give him much satisfaction, nor does the reason assigned by Müller make it

The tenth book (or Doloneia) was believed by some of the ancient scholiasts[1], and has been confidently set forth by the modern Wolfian critics, as originally a separate poem, and inserted by Peisistratus into the Iliad. How it can ever have been a separate poem I do not understand. It is framed with great specialty for the antecedent circumstances under which it occurs, and would suit for no other place; though capable of being separately recited, inasmuch

better. It is implied in Müller's reason that before the first day's battle, the Greeks did not believe that the Trojans *could* resist them in open battle: the Trojans (according to him) never had maintained the field so long as Achilles was up and fighting on the Grecian side, and therefore the Greeks were quite astonished to find now, for the first time, that they *could* do so.

Now nothing can be more at variance with the tenor of the second and following books than this supposition. The Trojans come forth readily and fight gallantly; neither Agamemnôn, nor Nestor, nor Odysseus consider them as enemies who cannot hold front; and the circuit of exhortation by Agamemnôn (Epipôlêsis), so strikingly described in the fourth book, proves that *he* does not anticipate a very easy victory. Nor does Nestor, in proposing the construction of the wall, give the smallest hint that the power of the Trojans to resist in the open field was to the Greeks an unexpected discovery.

The reason assigned by Müller, then, is a pure fancy of his own, proceeding from the same source of mistake as others among his remarks; because he tries to find, in the books between the first and eighth, a governing reference to Achilles (the point of view of the Achillêis), which those books distinctly refuse. The Achillêis was a poem of Grecian disasters up to the time when Achilles sent forth Patroclus; and during those disasters, it might suit the poet to refer by contrast to the past time when Achilles was active, and to say that *then* the Trojans did not dare even to present themselves in battle array in the field, whereas *now* they were assailing the ships. But the author of books ii. to vii. has no wish to glorify Achilles: he gives us a picture of the Trojan war generally, and describes the Trojans not only as brave and equal enemies, but well known by the Greeks themselves to be so.

The building of the Grecian wall, as it now stands described, is an unexplained proceeding which Müller's ingenuity does not render consistent.

[1] Schol. ad Iliad. x. 1.

as it has a definite beginning and end, like the story of Nisus and Euryalus in the Æneid. But while distinctly presupposing and resting upon the incidents in the eighth book, and in line 88 of the ninth (probably, the appointment of sentinels on the part of the Greeks as well as of the Trojans formed the close of the battle described in the eighth book), it has not the slightest bearing upon the events of the eleventh or the following books: it goes to make up the general picture of the Trojan war, but lies quite apart from the Achillêis. And this is one mark of a portion subsequently inserted—that though fitted on to the parts which precede, it has no influence on those which follow.

Zeus in the fourth book, or Iliad, different from Zeus in the first and eighth, or Achillêis.

If the proceedings of the combatants on the plain of Troy, between the first and the eighth book, have no reference either to Achilles or to an Achillêis, we find Zeus in Olympus still more completely putting that hero out of the question, at the beginning of the fourth book. He is in this last-mentioned passage the Zeus of the Iliad, not of the Achillêis. Forgetful of his promise to Thetis in the first book, he discusses nothing but the question of continuance or termination of the war, and manifests anxiety only for the salvation of Troy, in opposition to the miso-Trojan goddesses, who prevent him from giving effect to the victory of Menelaus over Paris and the stipulated restitution of Helen—in which case of course the wrong offered to Achilles would remain unexpiated. An attentive comparison will render it evident that the poet who composed the discussion among the gods, at the beginning of the fourth book, has

not been careful to put himself in harmony either with the Zeus of the first book or with the Zeus of the eighth.

Continuous Achillêis—from the eleventh book onward.

So soon as we enter upon the eleventh book, the march of the poem becomes quite different. We are then in a series of events, each paving the way for that which follows, and all conducing to the result promised in the first book—the re-appearance of Achilles, as the only means of saving the Greeks from ruin—preceded by ample atonement[1], and followed by the maximum both of glory and revenge. The intermediate career of Patroclus introduces new elements, which however are admirably woven into the scheme of the poem as disclosed in the first book. I shall not deny that there are perplexities in the detail of events, as described in the battles at the Grecian wall and before the ships, from the eleventh to the sixteenth books, but they appear only cases of partial confusion, such as may be reasonably ascribed to imperfections of text: the main sequence remains coherent and intelligible. We find no considerable events which could be left out without breaking the thread, nor any incongruity between one considerable event and another. There is nothing between the eleventh and twenty-second books which is at all comparable to the incongruity between the Zeus of the fourth book and the Zeus of the first and eighth. It may perhaps be true that the shield of Achilles is a superadded

[1] Agamemnôn, after deploring the misguiding influence of Atê, which induced him to do the original wrong to Achilles, says (xix. 88–137),—

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀασάμην καί μευ φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς,
Ἄψ ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι, δόμεναί τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα, &c.

amplification of that which was originally announced in general terms—because the poet, from the eleventh to the twenty-second books, has observed such good economy of his materials, that he is hardly likely to have introduced one particular description of such disproportionate length, and having so little connection with the series of events. But I see no reason for believing that it is an addition materially later than the rest of the poem.

Supposition of an enlarged Achillêis is the most consonant to all the parts of the poem as it stands.

It must be confessed that the supposition here advanced, in reference to the structure of the Iliad, is not altogether free from difficulties, because the parts constituting the original Achillêis[1] have been more or less altered or interpolated to suit the additions made to it, particularly in the eighth book. But it presents fewer difficulties than any other supposition, and it is the only means, so far as I know, of explaining the difference between one part of the Iliad and another; both the continuity of struc-

[1] The supposition of a smaller original Iliad, enlarged by successive additions to the present dimensions, and more or less interpolated (we must distinguish *enlargement* from *interpolation*,—the insertion of a new rhapsody from that of a new line), seems to be a sort of intermediate compromise, towards which the opposing views of Wolf, J. H. Voss, Nitzsch, Herrmann, and Boeckh all converge. Baumgarten-Crusius calls this smaller poem an Achillêis.

Wolf, Preface to the Göschen edit. of the Iliad, p. xii.–xxiii.; Voss, Anti-Symbolik, part ii. p. 234; Nitzsch, Histor. Homeri, Fasciculus i. p. 112; and Vorrede to the second volume of his Comments on the Odyssey, p. xxvi.: "In the Iliad (he there says) many single portions may very easily be imagined as parts of another whole, or as having been once separately sung." (See Baumgarten-Crusius, Preface to his edition of W. Müller's Homerische Vorschule, p. xlv.–xlix.)

Nitzsch distinguishes the Odyssey from the Iliad, and I think justly, in respect to this supposed enlargement. The reasons which warrant us in applying this theory to the Iliad have no bearing upon the Odyssey. If there ever was an Ur-Odyssee, we have no means of determining what it contained.

ture, and the conformity to the opening promise, which are manifest when we read the books in the order i. viii. xi. to xxii., as contrasted with the absence of these two qualities in books ii. to vii., ix. and x. An entire organisation, preconceived from the beginning, would not be likely to produce any such disparity, nor is any such visible in the Odyssey[1]; still less would the result be explained

[1] The remarks of O. Müller on the Iliad (in his History of Greek Literature) are highly deserving of perusal: with much of them I agree, but there is also much which seems to me unfounded. The range of combination, and the far-fetched narrative stratagem which he ascribes to the primitive author, are in my view inadmissible (chap. v. § 5–11):—

"The internal connexion of the Iliad (he observes, § 6) rests upon the union of certain parts; and neither the interesting introduction describing the defeat of the Greeks up to the burning of the ship of Protesilaus, nor the turn of affairs brought about by the death of Patroclus, nor the final pacification of the anger of Achilles, could be spared from the Iliad, when the fruitful seed of such a poem had once been sown in the soul of Homer and had begun to develope its growth. But the plan of the Iliad is certainly very much extended beyond what was actually necessary; and in particular, the preparatory part, consisting of the *attempts* on the part of *the other heroes to compensate for the absence of Achilles*, has, it must be owned, been drawn out to a disproportionate length, so that the suspicion that there were later insertions of importance applies with greater probability to the first than to the last books.....A design manifested itself at an early period to make this poem complete in itself, so that all the subjects, descriptions, and actions, which could alone give interest to a poem *on the entire war*, might find a place within the limits of its composition. For this purpose it is not improbable that many lays of earlier bards, who had sung single adventures of the Trojan war, were laid under contribution, and the finest parts of them incorporated in the new poem."

These remarks of O. Müller intimate what is (in my judgment) the right view, inasmuch as they recognise an extension of the plan of the poem beyond its original limit, manifested by insertions in the first half; and it is to be observed that in his enumeration of those parts, the union of which is necessary to the internal connexion of the Iliad, nothing is mentioned except what is comprised in books i. viii. xi. to xxii. or xxiv. But his description of "the *preparatory part*," as "*the attempts of the other heroes to compensate for the absence of Achilles*," is noway borne out by the poet himself. From the second to the seventh

by supposing integers originally separate and brought together without any designed organisa-

book, Achilles is scarcely alluded to; moreover the Greeks do perfectly well without him: this portion of the poem displays, not "the *insufficiency* of all the other heroes without Achilles," as Müller had observed in the preceding section, but the perfect sufficiency of the Greeks under Diomêdês, Agamemnôn, &c. to make head against Troy; it is only in the eighth book that their *insufficiency* begins to be manifested, and only in the eleventh book that it is consummated by the wounds of the three great heroes. Diomêdês is in fact exalted to a pitch of glory in regard to contests with the gods, which even Achilles himself never obtains afterwards, and Helenus the Trojan puts him above Achilles (vi. 99) in terrific prowess. Achilles is mentioned two or three times as absent, and Agamemnôn in his speech to the Grecian agora regrets the quarrel (ii. 377), but we never hear any such exhortation as, "Let us do our best to make up for the absence of Achilles,"—not even in the Epipôlêsis of Agamemnôn, where it would most naturally be found. "Attempts to compensate for the absence of Achilles" must therefore be treated as the idea of the critic, not of the poet.

Though O. Müller has glanced at the distinction between the two parts of the poem (an original part, having chief reference to *Achilles and the Greeks*; and a superinduced part, having reference to *the entire war*), he has not conceived it clearly, nor carried it out consistently. If we are to distinguish these two points of view at all, we ought to draw the lines at the end of the first book and at the beginning of the eighth, thus regarding the intermediate six books as belonging to the picture of *the entire war* (or the Iliad as distinguished from the Achillêis): the point of view of the Achillêis, dropt at the end of the first book, is resumed at the beginning of the eighth. The natural fitting together of these two parts is noticed in the Comment of Heyne ad viii. 1: "Cæterum *nunc* Jupiter aperte solvit Thetidi promissa, dum reddit causam Trojanorum bello superiorem, ut Achillis desiderium Achivos, et pœnitentia injuriæ ei illatæ Agamemnonem incessat (cf. i. 5). Nam quæ *adhuc* narrata sunt, partim continebantur in fortunâ belli utrinque tentatâ.....partim valebant ad narrationem variandam," &c. The first and the eighth books belong to one and the same point of view, while *all* the intermediate books belong to the other. But O. Müller seeks to prove that a portion of these intermediate books belongs to one common point of view with the first and eighth, though he admits that they have been enlarged by insertions. Here I think he is mistaken. Strike out anything which can be reasonably allowed for enlargement in the books between the first and eighth, and the same difficulty will still remain in respect to the remainder; for *all* the incidents between those two points are brought out in a spirit altogether indifferent to Achilles

tion. And it is between these three suppositions that our choice has to be made. A scheme, and a large

or his anger. The Zeus of the fourth book, as contrasted with Zeus in the first or eighth, marks the difference; and this description of Zeus is absolutely indispensable as the connecting link between book iii. on the one side and books iv. and v. on the other. Moreover the attempt of O. Müller, to force upon the larger portion of what is between the first and eighth books the point of view of the Achillêis, is never successful: the poet does not exhibit in those books "insufficient efforts of other heroes to compensate for the absence of Achilles," but a general and highly interesting picture of the Trojan war, with prominent reference to the original ground of quarrel. In this picture the duel between Paris and Menelaus forms naturally the foremost item—but how far-fetched is the reasoning whereby O. Müller brings that striking recital within the scheme of the Achillêis! "The Greeks and Trojans are for the first time struck by an idea, which might have occurred in the previous nine years, if the Greeks, *when assisted by Achilles*, had not, from *confidence in their superior strength*, considered every compromise as unworthy of them,—namely, to decide the war by a single combat between the authors of it." Here the causality of Achilles is dragged in by main force, and unsupported either by any actual statement in the poem or by any reasonable presumption; for it is the Trojans who propose the single combat, and we are not told that they had ever proposed it before, though they would have had stronger reasons for proposing it during the presence of Achilles than during his absence.

O. Müller himself remarks (§ 7), "that from the second to the seventh book Zeus appears as it were to have forgotten his resolution and his promise to Thetis." In other words, the poet during this part of the poem drops the point of view of the Achillêis to take up that of the more comprehensive Iliad: the Achillêis reappears in book viii.—again disappears in book x.—and is resumed from book xi. to the end of the poem.

Now, in my judgment, the most satisfactory way of explaining this double and alternating point of view, is to suppose an original premeditated Achillêis by one poet, enlarged by other poets of the same age into an Iliad.

But if the supposition of a plurality of composers be rejected, and if we are bound to admit only one poet from A to Ω, the next best hypothesis to adopt is, that the double point of view is a part of *his* deliberate design,—that after having stated the quarrel, and the prayer of Thetis, and the promise of Zeus, in the first book, he then deliberately chose for the space of six books to drop all reference to Achilles, and to amuse his readers with those splendid *tableaux* of the Trojan war for which we have so much reason to be grateful,—that he again takes

scheme too, must unquestionably be admitted as the basis of any sufficient hypothesis: but the Achillêis would have been a long poem, half the length of the present Iliad, and probably not less compact in its structure than the Odyssey: moreover being parted off only by an imaginary line from the boundless range of the Trojan war, it would admit of enlargement more easily, and with greater relish to hearers, than the adventures of one single hero; while the expansion would naturally take place by adding new Grecian victory, since the original poem arrived at the exaltation of Achilles only through a painful series of Grecian disasters. That the poem under these circumstances should have received additions, is no very violent hypothesis: in fact when we recollect that the integrity both of the Achillêis and of the Odyssey was neither guarded by printing nor writing, we shall perhaps think it less wonderful that the former was enlarged[1], than that the latter was not. Any relaxa-

up the thread of the Achillêis in the eighth book, at the point where it had been left in the first,—and then (after a second excursion into the Iliad during the tenth book) resumes it in the eleventh where he had left it at the end of the eighth (or ninth).

Either of these two suppositions is preferable to the adoption of any one point of view as necessary to be preserved throughout the whole poem—which only multiplies far-fetched and erroneous explanations of the connexion of particular incidents.

The adoption of the second supposition does indeed involve the admission, that Homer did not observe the laws of epical unity, which the first supposition presumes him to have observed in regard to the original Achillêis, thereby bringing the latter poem into analogy with the Odyssey. But it would be better to admit at once, that the poet of the Iliad recognised conditions of unity peculiar to himself, rather than to obtrude upon him, by forced constructions, conditions of unity which do not belong to him.

[1] This tendency to insert new homogeneous matter by new poets

tion of the laws of epical unity is a small price to pay for that splendid poetry, of which we find so much between the first and the eighth books of our Iliad.

Question of one or many authors—difficult to decide.

The question respecting unity of authorship is different, and more difficult to determine, than that respecting unity of structure. A poem conceived on a comparatively narrow scale may be enlarged afterwards by its original author, with greater or less coherence and success: the Faust of Goethe affords an example even in our own generation. On the other hand, a systematic poem may well have been conceived and executed by pre-arranged concert between several poets; among whom probably one will be the governing mind, though the rest may be effective, and perhaps equally effective, in respect to execution of the parts. And the age of the early Grecian epic was favourable to such fraternisation of poets, of which the Gens called

into poems already existing, is noticed by M. Fauriel in reference to the *Romans* of the Middle Ages:—

"C'est un phénomène remarquable dans l'histoire de la poésie épique, que cette disposition, cette tendance constante du goût populaire à amalgamer, à lier en une seule et même composition le plus possible des compositions diverses,—cette disposition persiste chez un peuple, tant que la poésie conserve un reste de vie; tant qu'elle s'y transmet par la tradition et qu'elle y circule à l'aide du chant ou des récitations publiques. Elle cesse partout où la poésie est une fois fixée dans les livres, et n'agit plus que par la lecture,—cette dernière époque est pour ainsi dire, celle de la propriété poétique—celle où chaque poëte prétend à une existence, à une gloire, personnelles; et où la poésie cesse d'être une espèce de trésor commun dont le peuple jouit et dispose à sa manière, sans s'inquiéter des individus qui le lui ont fait." (Fauriel, Sur les Romans Chevaleresques, leçon 5me, Revue des Deux Mondes, vol. xiii. p. 707.)

M. Fauriel thinks that the Shah Nameh of Ferdusi was an amalgamation of epic poems originally separate, and that probably the Mahabharat was so also (*ib.* p. 708).

Homerids probably exhibited many specimens: in the recital or singing of a long and unwritten poem, many bards must have conspired together, and in the earliest times the composer and the singer were one and the same person[1]. Now the individuals comprised in the Homerid Gens, though doubtless very different among themselves in respect of mental capacity, were yet homogeneous in respect of training, means of observation and instruction, social experience, religious feelings and theories, &c., to a degree much greater than individuals in modern times. Fallible as our inferences are on this point, where we have only internal evidence to guide us, without any contemporary points of comparison, or any species of collateral information respecting the age, the society, the poets, the hearers, or the language—we must nevertheless in the present case take coherence of structure, together with consistency in the tone of thought, feeling, language, customs, &c., as presumptions of one author; and the contrary as presumptions of

[1] The remarks of Boeckh, upon the possibility of such co-operation of poets towards one and the same scheme, are perfectly just:—

"Atqui quomodo componi a variis auctoribus successu temporum rhapsodiæ potuerint, quæ post prima initia directæ jam ad idem consilium et quam vocant unitatem carminis sint.....missis istorum declamationibus qui populi universi opus Homerum esse jactant.....tum potissimum intelligetur, ubi gentis civilis Homeridarum propriam et peculiarem Homericam poesin fuisse, veteribus ipsis si non testibus, at certe ducibus, concedetur.....Quæ quum ita sint, non erit adeo difficile ad intelligendum, quomodo, post prima initia ab egregio vate facta, in gente sacrorum et artis communione sociatâ, multæ rhapsodiæ ad unum potuerint consilium dirigi." (Index Lection. 1834, p. 12.)

I transcribe this passage from Giese (Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt, p. 157), not having been able to see the article of which it forms a part.

severalty: allowing as well as we can for that inequality of excellence which the same author may at different times present.

Now the case made out against single-headed authorship of the Odyssey appears to me very weak; and those who dispute it are guided more by their *a priori* rejection of ancient epical unity than by any positive evidence which the poem itself affords. It is otherwise with regard to the Iliad. Whatever presumptions a disjointed structure, and several apparent inconsistencies of parts, can sanction, may reasonably be indulged against the supposition that this poem all proceeds from a single author. There is a difference of opinion on the subject among the best critics which is probably not destined to be adjusted, since so much depends partly upon critical feeling, partly upon the general reasonings, in respect to ancient epical unity, with which a man sits down to the study: for the champions of unity, such as Mr. Payne Knight, are very ready to strike out numerous and often considerable passages as interpolations, and they thus meet the objections raised against unity of authorship on the ground of special inconsistencies. Hermann and Boeckh, though not going the length of Lachmann in maintaining the original theory of Wolf, agree with the latter in recognising diversity of authors in the poem, to an extent overpassing the limit of what can fairly be called interpolation. Payne Knight and Nitzsch are equally persuaded of the contrary. Here then is a decided contradiction among critics all of whom have minutely studied the poems since the Wolfian question was

Odyssey all by one author, Iliad probably not.

raised: and it is such critics alone who can be said to constitute authority; for the cursory reader, who dwells upon the parts simply long enough to relish their poetical beauty, is struck only by that general sameness of colouring which Wolf himself admits to pervade the poem[1].

Having already intimated that, in my judgment, no theory of the structure of the poem is admissible which does not admit an original and preconcerted Achillêis—a stream which begins at the first book and ends with the death of Hector in the twenty-second, although the higher parts of it now remain only in the condition of two detached lakes, the first book and the eighth—I reason upon the same basis with respect to the authorship. Assuming continuity of structure as a presumptive proof, the whole of this Achillêis must be treated as composed by one author. Wolf indeed affirmed, that he never read the poem continuously through without being painfully impressed with the inferiority[2] and altered style of the last six books—and Lachmann carries this feeling further back, so as to commence with the seventeenth book. If I could enter fully into this sentiment, I should then be compelled, not to

Difference of style in the last six books—may be explained without supposing difference of authorship.

[1] Wolf, Prolegom. p. cxxxviii. "Quippe *in universum* idem sonus est omnibus libris; idem habitus sententiarum, orationis, numerorum," &c.

[2] Wolf, Prolegomen. p. cxxxvii. "Equidem certe quoties in continenti lectione ad istas partes (*i. e.* the last six books) deveni, nunquam non in iis talia quædam sensi, quæ nisi illæ tam mature cum ceteris coaluissent, quovis pignore contendam, dudum ab eruditis detecta et animadversa fuisse, immo multa ejus generis, ut cum nunc Ὁμηρικώτατα habeantur, si tantummodo in Hymnis legerentur, ipsa sola eos suspicionibus *νοθείας* adspersura essent." Compare the sequel, p. cxxxviii, "ubi nervi deficiant et spiritus Homericus—jejunum et frigidum in locis multis," &c.

deny the existence of a preconceived scheme, but to imagine that the books from the eighteenth to the twenty-second, though forming part of that scheme or Achillêis, had yet been executed by another and an inferior poet. But it is to be remarked, first, that inferiority of poetical merit to a certain extent is quite reconcileable with unity of authorship; and secondly, that the very circumstances upon which Wolf's unfavourable judgment is built, seem to arise out of increased difficulty in the poet's task, when he came to the crowning cantoes of his designed Achillêis. For that which chiefly distinguishes these books is, the direct, incessant, and manual intervention of the gods and goddesses, formally permitted by Zeus—and the repetition of vast and fantastic conceptions, to which such superhuman agency gives occasion; not omitting the battle of Achilles against Scamander and Simois, and the burning up of these rivers by Hêphæstus. Now looking at this vein of ideas with the eyes of a modern reader, or even with those of a Grecian critic of the literary ages, it is certain that the effect is unpleasing: the gods, sublime elements of poetry when kept in due proportion, are here somewhat vulgarised. But though the poet here has not succeeded, and probably success was impossible, in the task which he has prescribed to himself—yet the mere fact of his undertaking it, and the manifest distinction between his employment of divine agency in these latter cantoes as compared with the preceding, seems explicable only on the supposition that they *are* the latter cantoes and come in designed sequence, as the con-

tinuance of a previous plan. The poet wishes to surround the coming forth of Achilles with the maximum of glorious and terrific circumstance: no Trojan enemy can for a moment hold out against him[1]: the gods must descend to the plain of Troy and fight in person, while Zeus, who at the beginning of the eighth book had forbidden them to take part, expressly encourages them to do so at the beginning of the twentieth. If then the nineteenth book (which contains the reconciliation between Achilles and Agamemnôn, a subject naturally somewhat tame) and the three following books (where we have before us only the gods, Achilles, and the Trojans without hope or courage) are inferior in execution and interest to the seven preceding books (which describe the long-disputed and often doubtful death-struggle between the Greeks and Trojans without Achilles), as Wolf and other critics affirm—we may explain the difference with-

[1] Iliad, xx. 25. Zeus addresses the agora of the gods,—

> Ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀρήγετ', ὅπη νόος ἐστὶν ἑκάστου·
> Εἰ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς οἷος ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μαχεῖται,
> Οὐδὲ μίνυνθ' ἕξουσι ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα.
> Καὶ δέ τέ μιν καὶ πρόσθεν ὑποτρομέεσκον ὁρῶντες·
> Νῦν δ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ θυμὸν ἐταίρου χώεται αἰνῶς,
> Δείδω μὴ καὶ τεῖχος ὑπὲρ μόρον ἐξαλαπάξῃ.

The formal restriction put upon the gods by Zeus at the beginning of the eighth book, and the removal of that restriction at the beginning of the twentieth, are evidently parts of one preconceived scheme.

It is difficult to determine whether the battle of the gods and goddesses in book xxi. (385–520) is to be expunged as spurious, or only to be blamed as of inferior merit ("improbanda tantum, non resecanda—hoc enim est illud, quo plerumque summa criseôs Homericæ redit," as Heyne observes in another place, Obss. Iliad. xviii. 444). The objections on the score of non-Homeric locution are not forcible (see P. Knight *ad loc.*), and the scene belongs to that vein of conception which animates the poet in the closing act of his Achillêis.

out supposing a new poet as composer; for the conditions of the poem had become essentially more difficult, and the subject more unpromising. The necessity of keeping Achilles above the level, even of heroic prowess, restricted the poet's means of acting upon the sympathy of his hearers[1].

Last two books—probably not parts of the original Achillêis.

The last two books of the Iliad may have formed part of the original Achillêis. But the probability rather is, that they are additions: for the death of Hector satisfies the exigencies of a coherent scheme, and we are not entitled to extend the oldest poem

[1] While admitting that these last books of the Iliad are not equal in interest to those between the eleventh and eighteenth, we may add that they exhibit many striking beauties, both of plan and execution, and one in particular may be noticed as an example of happy epical adaptation. The Trojans are on the point of ravishing from the Greeks the dead body of Patroclus, when Achilles (by the inspiration of Hêrê and Iris) shows himself unarmed on the Grecian mound, and by his mere figure and voice strikes such terror into the Trojans that they relinquish the dead body. As soon as night arrives, Polydamas proposes in the Trojan agora that the Trojans shall retire without farther delay from the ships to the town, and shelter themselves within the walls, without awaiting the assault of Achilles armed on the next morning. Hector repels this counsel of Polydamas with expressions, not merely of overweening confidence in his own force, even against Achilles, but also of extreme contempt and harshness towards the giver, whose wisdom however is proved by the utter discomfiture of the Trojans the next day. Now this angry deportment and mistake on the part of Hector is made to tell strikingly in the twenty-second book, just before his death. There yet remains a moment for him to retire within the walls, and thus obtain shelter against the near approach of his irresistible enemy,—but he is struck with the recollection of that fatal moment when he repelled the counsel which would have saved his countrymen: "If I enter the town, Polydamas will be the first to reproach me as having brought destruction upon Troy on that fatal night when Achilles came forth, and when I resisted his better counsel" (compare xviii. 250–315; xxii. 100–110; and Aristot. Ethic. iii. 8).

In a discussion respecting the structure of the Iliad, and in reference to arguments which deny all designed concatenation of parts, it is not out of place to notice this affecting touch of poetry, belonging to those books which are reproached as the feeblest.

beyond the limit which such necessity prescribes. It has been argued on one side by Nitzsch and O. Müller, that the mind could not leave off with satisfaction at the moment in which Achilles sates his revenge, and that the more merciful temper which he exhibits in the twenty-fourth book must always have been an indispensable sequel, in order to create proper sympathy with his triumph: while other critics, on the contrary, have taken special grounds of exception against this last book, and have endeavoured to set it aside as different from the other books both in tone and language. To a certain extent the peculiarities of the last book appear to me undeniable, though it is plainly a designed continuance and not a substantive poem. Nor is the reasoning of Nitzsch of much force to rebut the presumptions hence arising; for the Homeric man would enter fully into the thirst of revenge felt by Achilles, and would have no painful feeling, requiring to be relieved, in leaving off at the moment in which it is gratified. Some weight also is due to the remark about the twenty-third book, that Odysseus and Diomêdês, who have been wounded and disabled during the fight, now reappear in perfect force, and contend in the games: here is no case of miraculous healing, and the inconsistency is more likely to have been admitted by a separate enlarging poet than by the schemer of the Achillêis.

Books ii. to vii. inclusive.

The splendid books from the second to v. 322 of the seventh[1] are equal in most parts to any

[1] The latter portion of the seventh book is spoiled by the very unsatisfactory addition introduced to explain the construction of the wall

portions of the Achillêis, and are pointedly distinguished from the latter by the broad view which they exhibit of the general Trojan war, with all its principal personages, localities, and causes—yet without advancing the result promised in the first book, or indeed any final purpose whatever. Even the desperate wound inflicted by Tlepolemus on Sarpêdon is forgotten, when the latter hero is called forth in the subsequent Achillêis[1]. The arguments of Lachmann, who dissects these six books into three or four separate songs, carry no conviction to my mind; and I see no reason why we should not consider all of them to be by the same author, bound together by the common purpose of giving a great collective picture which may properly be termed an Iliad. I cannot Books VI think the same in regard to the ninth book, which is not worthy, either in conception or execution, of the author of the third, fourth, and fifth: the remark may be extended to that portion of the close of the seventh book, wherein the building of the Grecian wall is proposed and executed. The tenth book, or Doloneia, though adapted specially to the place in which it stands, agrees with the books between the first and eighth in belonging only to the general picture of the war, without helping forward the march of the Achillêis; yet it seems conceived in a

and ditch: all the other incidents the agora and embassy of the Trojans, the truce for burial, the arrival of wine-ships from Lemnos, &c. suit perfectly with the scheme of the poet of these books, I do not the Trojan war generally.

[1] Unless indeed we are to imagine the combat between Tlepolemus and Sarpêdon, and that between Glaukus and Diomêdês, to be separate songs; and they are among the very few passages in the Iliad which are completely separable, implying no special antecedents.

lower vein, and one is unwilling to believe that the author of the fifth book (or Aristeia of Diomêdês) would condescend to employ the hero whom he there so brightly glorifies—the victor even over Arês himself—in slaughtering newly-arrived Thracian sleepers, without any large purpose or necessity[1].

That the Odyssey is of later date than the Iliad, and by a different author, seems to be now the opinion of most critics, especially of Payne Knight[2].

[1] Subsequent poets thought that the naked story (of Diomêdês slaughtering Rhêsus and his companions in their sleep) as it now stands in the Iliad was too displeasing, and adopted different ways of dressing it up. Thus according to Pindar (ap. Schol. Iliad. x. 435) Rhêsus fought one day as the ally of Troy, and did such terrific damage, that the Greeks had no other means of averting total destruction from his hand on the next day, except by killing him during the night. And the Euripidean drama called *Rhêsus*, though representing the latter as a new-comer, yet puts into the mouth of Athênê the like overwhelming predictions of what he would do on the coming day, if suffered to live; so that to kill him in the night is the only way of saving the Greeks (Eurip. Rhes. 602): moreover Rhêsus himself is there brought forward as talking with such overweening insolence, that the sympathies of man, and the envy of the gods, are turned against him (*ib.* 458).

But the story is best known in the form and with the addition (equally unknown to the Iliad) which Virgil has adopted. It was decreed by fate that, if the splendid horses of Rhêsus were permitted once either to taste the Trojan provender, or to drink of the river Xanthus, nothing could preserve the Greeks from ruin (Æneid, i. 468, with Servius *ad loc.*):—

> "Nec procul hinc Rhesi niveis tentoria velis
> Agnoscit lacrymans: primo quæ prodita somno
> Tydides multâ vastabat cæde cruentus:
> Ardentesque avertit equos in castra, priusquam
> Pabula gustassent Trojæ, Xanthumque bibissent."

All these versions are certainly improvements upon the story as it stands in the Iliad.

[2] Mr. Knight places the Iliad about two centuries, and the Odyssey one century, anterior to Hesiod: a century between the two poems (Prolegg. c. lxi.).

and Nitzsch; though O. Müller leans to a contrary conclusion, at the same time adding that he thinks the arguments either way not very decisive. There are considerable differences of statement in the two poems in regard to some of the gods: Iris is messenger of the gods in the Iliad, and Hermês in the Odyssey: Æolus, the dispenser of the winds in the Odyssey, is not noticed in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, but on the contrary, Iris invites the winds as independent gods to come and kindle the funeral pile of Patroclus: and unless we are to expunge the song of Demodocus in the eighth book of the Odyssey as spurious, Aphroditê there appears as the wife of Hêphæstus—a relationship not known to the Iliad. There are also some other points of difference enumerated by Mr. Knight and others, which tend to justify the presumption that the author of the Odyssey is not identical either with the author of the Achillêis or his enlargers, which G. Hermann considers to be a point unquestionable[1]. Indeed, the difficulty of supposing a long coherent poem to have been conceived, composed, and retained, without any aid of writing, appears to many critics even now insurmountable, though the evidences on the other side are in my view sufficient to outweigh any negative presumption thus suggested. But it is highly improbable that the same person should have powers of memorial combination sufficient for two such poems, nor is there any proof to force upon us such a supposition.

Odyssey—probably by a different author from the Iliad—

Presuming a difference of authorship between the two poems, I feel less convinced about the supposed

[1] Hermann, Præfat. ad Odyss. p. vii.

juniority of the Odyssey. The discrepancies in manners and language in the one and the other are so little important, that two different persons, in the same age and society, might well be imagined to exhibit as great or even greater. It is to be recollected that the subjects of the two are heterogeneous, so as to conduct the poet, even were he the same man, into totally different veins of imagination and illustration. The pictures of the Odyssey seem to delineate the same heroic life as the Iliad, though looked at from a distinct point of view: and the circumstances surrounding the residence of Odysseus in Ithaka are just such as we may suppose him to have left in order to attack Troy. If the scenes presented to us are for the most part pacific, as contrasted with the incessant fighting of the Iliad, this is not to be ascribed to any greater sociality or civilization in the real hearers of the Odyssey, but to the circumstances of the hero whom the poet undertakes to adorn: nor can we doubt that the poems of Arktinus and Leschês, of a later date than the Odyssey, would have given us as much combat and bloodshed as the Iliad. I am not struck by those proofs of improved civilization which some critics affirm the Odyssey to present: Mr. Knight, who is of this opinion, nevertheless admits that the mutilation of Melanthius, and the hanging up of the female slaves by Odysseus, in that poem, indicate greater barbarity than any incidents in the fights before Troy[1]. The more skilful and compact structure of the Odyssey has been often considered as a proof

But, perhaps, of the same age.

[1] Knight, Prolegg. l. c. Odyss. xxii. 465–478.

of its juniority in age: but the argument will not appear convincing, if we recollect, first, that in all probability the Iliad (with which the comparison is taken) is not a primitive but an enlarged poem, and that the primitive Achillêis might well have been quite as coherent as the Odyssey;—secondly, that after all, superiority in structure is not a proof of subsequent composition, inasmuch as on that hypothesis we should be compelled to admit that the later poem of Arktinus would be an improvement upon the Odyssey;—thirdly, that even if it were so, we could only infer that the author of the Odyssey had *heard* the Achillêis or the Iliad; we could not infer that he lived one or two generations afterwards[1].

On the whole, the balance of probabilities seems in favour of distinct authorship for the two poems, but the same age—and that age a very early one, anterior to the first Olympiad. And they may thus be used as evidences, and contemporary evidences, for the phænomena of primitive Greek civilization;

[1] The arguments, upon the faith of which Payne Knight and other critics have maintained the Odyssey to be younger than the Iliad, are well stated and examined in Bernard Thiersch—Quæstio de Diversâ Iliadis et Odysseæ Ætate—in the Anhang (p. 306) to his work Uber das Zeitalter und Vaterland des Homer.

He shows all such arguments to be very inconclusive; though the grounds upon which he himself maintains identity of age between the two appear to me not at all more satisfactory (p. 327): we can infer nothing to the point from the mention of Telemachus in the Iliad.

Welcker thinks that there is a great difference of age, and an evident difference of authorship, between the two poems (Der Epische Kyklus, p. 295).

O. Müller admits the more recent date of the Odyssey, but considers it "difficult and hazardous to raise upon this foundation any definite conclusions as to the person and age of the poet" (History of the Literature of Ancient Greece, ch. v. s. 13).

while they also show that the power of constructing long premeditated epics, without the aid of writing, is to be taken as a characteristic of the earliest known Greek mind. This was the point controverted by Wolf, which a full review of the case (in my judgment) decides against him: it is moreover a valuable result for the historian of the Greeks, inasmuch as it marks out to him the ground from which he is to start in appreciating their ulterior progress[1].

Whatever there may be of truth in the different conjectures of critics respecting the authorship and structure of these unrivalled poems, we are not to imagine that it is the perfection of their epical symmetry which has given them their indissoluble

[1] Dr. Thirlwall has added to the second edition of his History of Greece a valuable Appendix, on the early history of the Homeric poems (vol. i. p. 500–516); which contains copious information respecting the discrepant opinions of German critics, with a brief comparative examination of their reasons. I could have wished that so excellent a judge had superadded, to his enumeration of the views of others, an ampler exposition of his own. Dr. Thirlwall seems decidedly convinced upon that which appears to me the most important point in the Homeric controversy: "That before the appearance of the earliest of the poems of the Epic Cycle, the Iliad and Odyssey, even if they did not exist precisely in their present form, had at least reached their present compass, and were regarded each as a complete and well-defined whole, not as a fluctuating aggregate of fugitive pieces" (p. 509).

This marks out the Homeric poems as ancient both in the items and in the total, and includes negation of the theory of Wolf and Lachmann, who contend that as a total they only date from the age of Peisistratus. It is then safe to treat the poems as unquestionable evidences of Grecian antiquity (meaning thereby 776 B.C.), which we could not do if we regarded all congruity of parts in the poems as brought about through alterations of Peisistratus and his friends.

There is also a very just admonition of Dr. Thirlwall (p. 516) as to the difficulty of measuring what degree of discrepancy or inaccuracy might or might not have escaped the poet's attention, in an age so imperfectly known to us.

hold upon the human mind, as well modern as ancient. There is some tendency in critics, from Aristotle downwards[1], to invert the order of attributes in respect to the Homeric poems, so as to dwell most on recondite excellences which escape the unaided reader, and which are even to a great degree disputable. But it is given to few minds (as Goethe has remarked[2]) to appreciate fully the mechanism of a long poem, and many feel the beauty of the separate parts who have no sentiment for the aggregate perfection of the whole. Nor were the Homeric poems originally addressed to minds of the rarer stamp. They are intended for those feelings which the critic has in common with the unlettered mass, not for that enlarged range of vision and peculiar standard which he has acquired to himself. They are of all poems the most absolutely and unreservedly popular: had they been otherwise, they could not have lived so long in the mouth of the rhapsodes, and the ear and memory of the people: and it was *then* that their influence was first acquired, never afterwards to be shaken. Their beauties belong to the parts taken separately, which revealed themselves spontaneously to the listening crowd at the festival—far more than to the whole poem taken together, which could

Real character of the Homeric poems essentially popular.

[1] There are just remarks on this point in Heyne's Excursus ii. sect. 2 and 4, ad Il. xxiv. vol. viii. p. 771–800.

[2] "Wenig Deutsche, und vielleicht nur wenige Menschen aller *neuern* Nationen, haben Gefühl für ein æsthetisches Ganzes: sie loben und tadeln nur stellenweise, sie entzücken sich nur stellenweise." (Goethe, Wilhelm Meister: I transcribe this from Welcker's Æschyl. Trilogie, p. 306.)

What ground there is for restricting this proposition to *modern* as contrasted with *ancient* nations, I am unable to conceive.

hardly be appreciated unless the parts were dwelt upon and suffered to expand in the mind. The most unlettered hearer of those times could readily seize, while the most instructed reader can still recognise, the characteristic excellence of Homeric narrative —its straightforward, unconscious, unstudied simplicity—its concrete forms of speech[1] and happy

[1] The *κινούμενα ὀνόματα* of Homer were extolled by Aristotle; see Schol. ad Iliad. i. 481; compare Dionys. Halicarn. De Compos. Verbor. c. 20. *ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμῖν διαφέρειν γινόμενα τὰ πράγματα ἢ λεγόμενα ὁρᾶν.* Respecting the undisguised bursts of feeling by the heroes, the Scholiast ad Iliad. i. 349 tells us—*ἕτοιμον τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν πρὸς δάκρυα*—compare the severe censures of Plato, Republ. ii. p. 388.

The Homeric poems were the best understood, and the most widely popular and appreciable of all Grecian composition, even among the least instructed persons, such (for example) as the semibarbarians who had acquired the Greek language in addition to their own mother tongue. (Dio Chrysost. Or. 18. p. 488, Or. 53. p. 277, Reiske.) Respecting the simplicity and perspicuity of the narrative style, implied in this extensive popularity, Porphyry made a singular remark: he said that the sentences of Homer *really* presented much difficulty and obscurity, but that ordinary readers fancied they understood him, "because of the general clearness *which appeared* to run through the poems." (See the Prolegomena of Villoison's edition of the Iliad, p. xli.) This remark affords the key to a good deal of the Homeric criticism. There doubtless were real obscurities in the poems, arising from altered associations, customs, religion, language, &c. as well as from corrupt text; but while the critics did good service in elucidating these difficulties, they also introduced artificially many others, altogether of their own creating. They refused to be satisfied with the plain and obvious meaning: they sought in Homer hidden purposes, elaborate innuendo, recondite motives even with regard to petty details, deep-laid rhetorical artifices (see a specimen in Dionys. Hal. Ars Rhetor. c. 15. p. 316, Reiske; nor is even Aristotle exempt from similar tendencies, Schol. ad Iliad. iii. 441, x. 198), or a substratum of philosophy allegorised. No wonder that passages, quite perspicuous to the vulgar reader, seemed difficult to them.

There could not be so sure a way of missing the real Homer as by searching for him in these devious recesses. He is essentially the poet of the broad highway and the market-place, touching the common sympathies and satisfying the mental appetencies of his countrymen with unrivalled effect, but exempt from ulterior views, either selfish or

alternation of action with dialogue its vivid pictures of living agents, always clearly and sharply individualised, whether in the commanding proportions of Achilles and Odysseus, in the graceful presence of Helen and Penelope, or in the more humble contrast of Eumæus and Melanthius; and always moreover animated by the frankness with which his heroes give utterance to all their transient emotions and even all their infirmities—its constant reference to those coarser veins of feeling and palpable motives which belong to all men in common—its fulness of graphic details, freshly drawn from the visible and audible world, and though often homely, never tame nor trenching upon that limit of satiety to which the Greek mind was so keenly alive—lastly, its perpetual junction of gods and men in the same picture, and familiar appeal to ever-present divine agency, in harmony with the interpretation of nature at that time universal. It is undoubtedly easier to feel than to describe the impressive influence of Homeric narrative: but the time and circumstances under which that influence was first, and most powerfully felt, preclude the possibility of explaining it by comprehensive and elaborate comparisons, such as are implied in Aristotle's remarks upon the structure of the poems. The critic who seeks the explanation in the right

Addressed to unlettered minds, but [illegible] those feelings which [illegible] have in common

didactic, and immersed in the same medium of practical life and experience religiously construed, as his auditors. No nation has ever yet had so perfect and touching an exposition of its early social mind as the Iliad and Odyssey exhibit.

In the verbal criticism of Homer the Alexandrine literati seem to have made a very great advance, as compared with the glossographers who preceded them. (See Lehrs, De Studiis Aristarchi, Dissert. ii. p. 42.

place will not depart widely from the point of view of those rude auditors to whom the poems were originally addressed, or from the susceptibilities and capacities common to the human bosom in every stage of progressive culture. And though the refinements and delicacies of the poems, as well as their general structure, are a subject of highly interesting criticism—yet it is not to these that Homer owes his wide-spread and imperishable popularity. Still less is it true, as the well-known observations of Horace would lead us to believe, that Homer is a teacher of ethical wisdom akin and superior to Chrysippus or Crantor[1]. No didactic purpose is

[1] Horat. Epist. i. 2. v. 1–26:—

"Sirenum voces, et Circes pocula nosti:
Quæ si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus."

Horace contrasts the folly and greediness of the companions of Ulysses in accepting the refreshments tendered to them by Circe, with the self-command of Ulysses himself in refusing them. But in the incident as described in the original poem, neither the praise, nor the blame, here implied, finds any countenance. The companions of Ulysses follow the universal practice in accepting hospitality tendered to strangers, the fatal consequences of which, in their particular case, they could have no ground for suspecting: while Ulysses is preserved from a similar fate, not by any self-command of his own, but by a previous divine warning and a special antidote, which had not been vouchsafed to the rest (see Odyss. x. 285). And the incident of the Sirens, if it is to be taken as evidence of anything, indicates rather the absence, than the presence, of self-command on the part of Ulysses.

Of the violent mutations of text, whereby the *Grammatici* or critics tried to efface from Homer bad ethical tendencies (we must remember that many of these men were lecturers to youth), a remarkable specimen is afforded by the Venet. Schol. ad Iliad. ix. 453; compare Plutarch, de Audiendis Poetis, p. 95. Phœnix describes the calamitous family tragedy in which he himself had been partly the agent, partly the victim. Now that an Homeric hero should confess guilty proceedings and still more guilty designs, without any expression of shame or contrition, was insupportable to the feelings of the critics. One of them, Aristodemus, thrust two negative particles into one of the lines; and

to be found in the Iliad and Odyssey: a philosopher may doubtless extract, from the incidents and strongly marked characters which it contains, much illustrative matter for his exhortations, but the ethical doctrine which he applies must emanate from his own reflection. The Homeric hero manifests virtues or infirmities, fierceness or compassion, with the same straightforward and simple-minded vivacity, unconscious of any ideal standard by which his conduct is to be tried[1]; nor can we trace in the poet any ulterior function beyond that of the inspired organ of the Muse, and the nameless, but eloquent, herald of lost adventures out of the darkness of the past.

No didactic purpose in Homer.

though he thereby ruined not only the sense but the metre, his emendation procured for him universal applause, because he had maintained the innocence of the hero (καὶ οὐ μόνον ηὐδοκίμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτιμήθη, ὡς εὐσεβῆ τηρήσας τὸν Ἥρωα). And Aristarchus thought the case so alarming, that he struck out from the text four lines which have only been preserved to us by Plutarch (Ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος ἔξειλε τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα, φοβηθείς).

[1] "C'est un tableau idéal, à coup sûr, que celui de la société Grecque dans les chants qui portent le nom d'Homère: et pourtant cette société y est toute entière reproduite, avec la rusticité, la férocité de ses mœurs, ses bonnes et ses mauvaises passions, sans dessein de faire particulièrement ressortir, de célébrer tel ou tel de ses mérites, de ses avantages, ou de laisser dans l'ombre ses vices et ses maux. Ce mélange du bien et du mal, du fort et du faible—cette simultanéité d'idées et de sentimens en apparence contraires—cette variété, cette incohérence, cet développement inégal de la nature et de la destinée humaine—c'est précisément là ce qu'il y a de plus poétique, car c'est le fond même des choses, c'est la vérité sur l'homme et le monde: et dans les peintures idéales qu'en veulent faire la poésie, le roman et même l'histoire, cet ensemble, si divers et pourtant si harmonieux, doit se retrouver: sans quoi l'idéal véritable y manque aussi bien que la réalité." (Guizot, Cours d'Histoire Moderne, Leçon 7me, vol. i. p. 285.)

HISTORY OF GREECE.

PART II.

HISTORICAL GREECE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY AND LIMITS OF GREECE.

Northern boundary of Greece—Olympus.

THE chain called Olympus and the Cambunian mountains, ranging from east and west and commencing with the Ægean Sea or the Gulf of Therma near the fortieth degree of north latitude, is prolonged under the name of Mount Lingon until it touches the Adriatic at the Akrokeraunian promontory. The country south of this chain comprehended all that in ancient times was regarded as Hellas proper, but it also comprehended something more. Hellas proper[1] (or continuous Hellas, to

[1] Dikæarch. 31. p. 460, ed. Fuhr:—

Ἡ δ' Ἑλλὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμβρακίας εἶναι δοκεῖ
Μάλιστα συνεχὴς τὸ πέρας· αὐτὴ δ' ἔρχεται
Ἐπὶ τὸν πόταμον Πηνειὸν, ὡς Φιλέας γράφει,
Ὄρος τε Μαγνήτων Ὁμόλην κεκλημένον.

Scylax, c. 35.—Ἀμβρακία—ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεται ἡ Ἑλλὰς συνεχὴς εἶναι μέχρι Πηνείου ποτάμου, καὶ Ὁμολίου Μαγνητικῆς πόλεως, ἥ ἐστι παρὰ τὸν πόταμον.

use the language of Scylax and Dicæarchus) was understood to begin with the town and Gulf of Ambracia: from thence to the Akrokeraunian promontory lay the land called by the Greeks Epirus, occupied by the Chaonians, Molossians, and Thesprotians, who were termed Epirots and were not esteemed to belong to the Hellenic aggregate. This at least was the general understanding, though Ætolians and Akarnanians in their more distant sections seem to have been not less widely removed from the full type of Hellenism than the Epirots were; while Herodotus is inclined to treat even Molossians and Thesprotians as Hellens[1].

Scardus and Pindus.

At a point about midway between the Ægean and Ionian seas, Olympus and Lingon are traversed nearly at right angles by the still longer and vaster chain called Pindus, which stretches in a line rather west of north from the northern side of the range of Olympus: the system to which these mountains belong seems to begin with the lofty masses of greenstone comprised under the name of Mount Scardus or Scordus (Schardagh)[2], which is divided

[1] Herod. i. 146; ii. 56. The Molossian Alkôn passes for a Hellen (Herod. vi. 127).

[2] The mountain systems in the ancient Macedonia and Illyricum, north of Olympus, have been yet but imperfectly examined: see Dr. Griesebach, Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa im Jahre 1839, vol. ii. ch. 13. p. 112 *seqq.* (Götting. 1841), which contains much instruction respecting the real relations of these mountains as compared with the different ideas and representations of them. The words of Strabo (lib. vii. Excerpt. 3, ed. Tzschuke), that Scardus, Orbêlus, Rhodopê, and Hæmus extend in a straight line from the Adriatic to the Euxine, are incorrect.

See Leake's Travels in Northern Greece, vol. i. p. 335: the pass of Tschangon near Castoria (through which the river Devol passes from the eastward to fall into the Adriatic on the westward) is the only cleft

only by the narrow valley containing the river Drin from the limestone of the Albanian Alps. From the southern face of Olympus, Pindus strikes off nearly southward, forming the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus, sending forth about the 39th degree of latitude the lateral chain of Othrys, which takes an easterly course, forming the southern boundary of Thessaly, and reaching the sea between Thessaly and the northern coast of Eubœa. Southward of Othrys, the chain of Pindus under the name of Tymphrêstus still continues, until another lateral chain, called Œta, projects from it again towards the east, terminating at the Eubœan strait and the pass of Thermopylæ. At the point of junction with Œta, the chain of Pindus forks into two branches, one striking to the westward of south, and reaching across Ætolia, under the names of Arakynthus, Kurius, Korax and Taphiassus, to the promontory called Antirrhion, situated on the northern side of the narrow entrance of the Corinthian Gulf, over against the corresponding promontory of Rhion in Peloponnesus—the other tending south-east, and forming Parnassus, Helicon, and Kithærôn, Ægaleus and Hymettus, even down to the southernmost cape of Attica, Sunium, may be treated as a continuance of this chain. From the eastern extremity of Œta, also, a range of hills, inferior in height to the preceding, takes its departure in a south-easterly direction, under the various names of Knêmis, Ptôon, and Teumêssus; it is joined with Kithærôn by the lateral communication, ranging

in this long chain from the river Drin northward down to the centre of Greece.

—their extension and dissemination through Southern Greece and Peloponnesus.

from west to east, called Parnês; and the celebrated Pentelikus, with its abundant marble quarries, constitutes its connecting link, to the south of Parnês, with the chain from Kithærôn to Sunium.

From the promontory of Antirrhion the line of mountains crosses into the Peloponnesus, and stretches in a southerly direction down to the extremity of that peninsula called Tænarus, now Cape Matapan. It forms the boundary between Elis with Messenia on one side, and Arcadia with Laconia on the other, and bears the successive names of Olenus, Panachaikus, Pholoê, Erymanthus, Lycæus, Parrhasius, and Taygetus. Another series of mountains strikes off from Kithærôn towards the south-west, constituting under the names of Oneia and Geraneia the rugged and lofty Isthmus of Corinth, and then spreading itself into the Peloponnesus. On entering the peninsula, one of its branches tends westward to the north of Arkadia, comprising the Akrokorinthus or citadel of Corinth, the high peak of Kyllênê, the mountains of Aroanii and Lampeia, and ultimately joining Erymanthus and Pholoê—while the other branch strikes southward towards the south-eastern cape of Peloponnesus, the formidable Cape Malea or St. Angelo,—and exhibits itself under the successive names of Apesas, Artemisium, Parthenium, Parnôn, Thornax, and Zarêx.

Ossa and Pelion—to the Cyclades.

From the eastern extremity of Olympus, in a direction rather to the eastward of south, stretches the range of mountains first called Ossa and afterwards Pelion, down to the south-eastern corner of Thessaly. The long, lofty, and naked backbone of the island of Eubœa may be viewed as a con-

tinuance both of this chain and of the chain of Othrys: the line is farther prolonged by a series of islands in the Archipelago, Andros, Tênos, Mykonos, and Naxos, belonging to the group called the Cyclades or islands encircling the sacred centre of Delos. Of these Cyclades others are in like manner a continuance of the chain which reaches to Cape Sunium—Keôs, Kythnos, Seriphos, and Siphnos join on to Attica, as Andros does to Eubœa. And we might even consider the great island of Crete as a prolongation of the system of mountains which breasts the winds and waves at Cape Malea, the island of Cythêra forming the intermediate link between them. Skiathus, Skopelus, and Skyrus, to the north-east of Eubœa, also mark themselves out as outlying peaks of the range comprehending Pelion and Eubœa[1].

By this brief sketch, which the reader will naturally compare with one of the recent maps of the country, it will be seen that Greece proper is among the most mountainous territories in Europe. For although it is convenient, in giving a systematic view of the face of the country, to group the multiplicity of mountains into certain chains or ranges, founded upon approximative uniformity of direction, yet in point of fact there are so many ramifications and dispersed peaks—so vast a number of hills and crags of different magnitude and

[1] For the general sketch of the mountain system of Hellas, see Kruse, Hellas, vol. i. ch. 4. p. 280–290; Dr. Cramer, Geography of Ancient Greece, vol. i. p. 3–8.

Respecting the northern regions, Epirus, Illyria, and Macedonia, O. Müller, in his short but valuable treatise Ueber die Makedoner, p. 7 (Berlin, 1825), may be consulted with advantage.

elevation—that a comparatively small proportion of the surface is left for level ground. Not only few continuous plains, but even few continuous valleys, exist throughout all Greece proper: the largest spaces of level ground are seen in Thessaly, in Ætolia, in the western portion of Peloponnesus, and in Bœotia; but irregular mountains, valleys frequent but isolated, landlocked basins and declivities, which often occur but seldom last long, form the character of the country[1].

Geological features.

The islands of the Cyclades, Eubœa, Attica, and Laconia, consist for the most part of micaceous schist, combined with and often covered by crystalline granular limestone[2]. The centre and west of Peloponnesus, as well as the country north of the Corinthian Gulf from the Gulf of Ambracia to

[1] Out of the 47,600,000 stremas (=12,000,000 English acres) included in the present kingdom of Greece, 26,500,000 go to mountains, rocks, rivers, lakes and forest—and 21,000,000 to arable land, vineyards, olive and currant grounds, &c. By arable land is meant, land fit for cultivation; for a comparatively small portion of it is actually cultivated at present. (Strong, Statistics of Greece, p. 2, London 1842.)

The modern kingdom of Greece does not include Thessaly. The epithet κοιλὸς (hollow) is applied to several of the chief Grecian states—κοιλὴ Ἦλις, κοιλὴ Λακεδαίμων, κοιλὸν Ἄργος, &c.

Κόρινθος ὀφρύᾳ τε καὶ κοιλαίνεται, Strabo, viii. p. 381.

The fertility of Bœotia is noticed in Strabo, ix. p. 400, and in the valuable fragment of Dicæarchus, Βίος Ἑλλάδος, p. 140, ed. Fuhr.

[2] For the geological and mineralogical character of Greece, see the survey undertaken by Dr. Fiedler, by orders of the present government of Greece, in 1834 and the following years (Reise durch alle Theile des Königreichs Griechenland in Auftrag der K. G. Regierung in den Jahren 1834 bis 1837, especially vol. ii. p. 512–530).

Professor Ross remarks upon the character of the Greek limestone—hard and intractable to the mason—jagged and irregular in its fracture—as having first determined in early times the polygonal style of architecture, which has been denominated (he observes) Cyclopian and Pelasgic, without the least reason for either denomination (Reise in den Griech. Inseln, vol. i. p. 15).

the strait of Eubœa, present a calcareous formation, varying in different localities in colour, consistency, and hardness, but generally belonging or approximating to the chalk: it is often very compact, but is distinguished in a marked manner from the crystalline limestone above mentioned. The two loftiest summits in Greece[1] (both however lower than Olympus, estimated at 9700 feet) exhibit this formation—Parnassus, which attains 8000 feet, and the point of St. Elias in Taygetus, which is not less than 7800 feet. Clay-slate and conglomerates of sand, lime and clay are found in many parts: a close and firm conglomerate of lime composes the Isthmus of Corinth: loose deposits of pebbles, and calcareous breccia, occupy also some portions of the territory. But the most important and essential elements of the Grecian soil consist of the diluvial and alluvial formations, with which the troughs and basins are filled up, resulting from the decomposition of the older adjoining rocks. In these reside the productive powers of the country, and upon these the grain and vegetables for the subsistence of the people depend. The mountain regions are to a great degree barren, destitute at present of wood or any useful vegetation, though there is reason to believe that they were better wooded in antiquity: in many parts, however, and especially in Ætolia and Akarnania, they afford plenty of timber, and in all parts, pasture for the cattle during summer, at a time when the plains are thoroughly burnt up[2]. For other articles of

[1] Griesebach, Reisen durch Rumelien, vol. ii. ch. 13. p. 124.

[2] In passing through the valley between Œta and Parnassus, going

food, dependence must be had on the valleys, which are occasionally of singular fertility. The low grounds of Thessaly, the valley of the Kephisus and the borders of the lake Kopaïs in Bœotia, the western portion of Elis, the plains of Stratus on the confines of Akarnania and Ætolia, and those near the river Pamisus in Messenia, both are now and were in ancient times remarkable for their abundant produce.

Irregularity of the Grecian waters—rivers dry in summer.

Besides the scarcity of wood for fuel, there is another serious inconvenience to which the low grounds of Greece are exposed,—the want of a supply of water at once adequate and regular[1]. Abundance of rain falls during the autumnal and winter months; little or none during the summer: the naked limestone of the numerous hills neither absorbs nor retains moisture, so that the rain runs off as rapidly as it falls, and springs are rare[2]. Most of the rivers of Greece are torrents in early spring and dry before the end of the summer: the copious

towards Elateia, Fiedler observes the striking change in the character of the country: "Romelia (i. e. Akarnania, Ætolia, Ozolian Lokris, &c.), woody, well-watered, and covered with a good soil, ceases at once and precipitously: while craggy limestone mountains of a white-grey colour, exhibit the cold character of Attica and the Morea." (Fiedler, Reise, i. p. 213.)

The Homeric Hymn to Apollo conceives even the *πέδιον πυρήφορον* of Thebes as having in its primitive state been covered with wood (v. 227).

The best timber used by the ancient Greeks came from Macedonia, the Euxine, and the Propontis: the timber of Mount Parnassus and of Eubœa was reckoned very bad; that of Arcadia better (Theophrast. v. 2, 1; iii. 9).

[1] See Fiedler, Reise, &c. vol. i. pp. 84, 219, 362, &c.

Both Fiedler and Strong (Statistics of Greece, p. 169) dwell with great reason upon the inestimable value of Artesian wells for the country.

[2] Ross, Reise auf den Griechischen Inseln, vol. i. letter 2. p. 12.

combinations of the ancient language designated the winter torrent by a special and separate word[1]. The most considerable rivers in the country are, the Peneius, which carries off all the waters of Thessaly, finding an exit into the Ægean through the narrow defile which parts Ossa from Olympus, —and the Achelôus, which flows from Pindus in a south-westerly direction, separating Ætolia from Akarnania and emptying itself into the Ionian Sea: the Euênus also takes its rise at a more southerly part of the same mountain chain and falls into the same sea more to the eastward. The rivers more to the southward are unequal and inferior; Kephisus and Asôpus in Bœotia, Alpheius in Elis and Arcadia, Pamisus in Messenia, maintain each a languid stream throughout the summer; while the Inachus near Argos, and the Kephisus and Ilissus near Athens, present a scanty reality which falls short still more of their great poetical celebrity. Of all those rivers which have been noticed, the Achelôus is by far the most important; the quantity of mud which its turbid stream brought down and deposited, occasioned a sensible increase of the land at its embouchure, within the observation of Thucydidês[2].

Frequent marshes and lakes.

But the disposition and properties of the Grecian territory, though not maintaining permanent rivers, are favourable to the multiplication of lakes and marshes. There are numerous hollows and enclosed basins, out of which the water can find no super-

[1] The Greek language seems to stand singular in the expression χειμαῤῥοῦς—the *Wadys* of Arabia manifest the like alternation of extreme temporary fulness and violence with absolute dryness (Kriegk, Schriften zur allgemeinen Erdkunde, p. 201, Leipzig 1840).

[2] Thucydid. ii. 102.

ficial escape, and where, unless it makes for itself a subterranean passage through rifts in the mountains, it remains either as a marsh or a lake according to the time of year. In Thessaly we find the lakes Nessônis and Bœbêis; in Ætolia, between the Achelôus and Euênus, Strabo mentions the lake of Trichônis, besides several other lakes, which it is difficult to identify individually, though the quantity of ground covered by lake and marsh is as a whole very considerable. In Bœotia are situated the lakes Kopaïs, Hylikê, and Harma: the first of the three formed chiefly by the river Kephisus, flowing from Parnassus on the north-west, and shaping for itself a sinuous course through the mountains of Phocis. On the north-east and east, the lake Kopaïs is bounded by the high land of Mount Ptôon, which intercepts its communication with the Strait of Eubœa. Through the limestone of this mountain, the water has either found or forced several subterraneous cavities, by which it obtains a partial egress on the other side of the rocky hill and then flows into the strait. The Katabothra, as they were termed in antiquity, yet exist, but in an imperfect and half-obstructed condition. Even in antiquity however they never fully sufficed to carry off the surplus waters of the Kephisus; for the remains are still found of an artificial tunnel, pierced through the whole breadth of the rock, and with perpendicular apertures at proper intervals to let in the air from above. This tunnel, one of the most interesting remnants of antiquity, since it must date from the prosperous days of the old Orchomenus, anterior to its absorption into the Bœotian league,

as well as to the preponderance of Thebes, is now choked up and rendered useless: it may perhaps have been designedly obstructed by the hand of an enemy, and the scheme of Alexander the Great, who commissioned an engineer from Chalkis to re-open it, was defeated first by discontents in Bœotia, and ultimately by his early death[1].

Subterranean course of rivers, out of land-locked basins.

The Katabothra of the Lake Kopaïs are a specimen of the phænomenon so frequent in Greece—lakes and rivers finding for themselves subterranean passages through the cavities in the limestone rocks, and even pursuing their unseen course for a considerable distance before they emerge to the light of day. In Arcadia, especially, several remarkable examples of subterranean water communication occur: this central region of Peloponnesus presents a cluster of such completely enclosed valleys or basins[2].

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 407.

[2] Colonel Leake observes (Travels in Morea, vol. iii. pp. 45, 153–155), "The plain of Tripolitza (anciently that of Tegea and Mantineia) is by far the greatest of that cluster of valleys in the centre of Peloponnesus, each of which is so closely shut in by the intersecting mountains, that no outlet is afforded to the waters except through the mountains themselves," &c. Respecting the Arcadian Orchomenus and its enclosed lake with Katabothra, see the same work, p. 103; and the mountain plains near Corinth, p. 263.

This temporary disappearance of the rivers was familiar to the ancient observers—*οἱ καταπινόμενοι τῶν ποταμῶν* (Aristot. Meteorolog. i. 13. Diodôr. xv. 49. Strabo, vi. p. 271; viii. p. 389, &c.).

Their familiarity with this phænomenon was in part the source of some geographical suppositions, which now appear to us extravagant, respecting the long subterranean and submarine course of certain rivers, and their reappearance at very distant points. Sophocles said that the Inachus of Akarnania joined the Inachus of Argolis: Ibykus the poet affirmed that the Asôpus near Sicyon had its source in Phrygia; the river Inôpus of the little island of Delos was alleged by others to be an effluent from the mighty Nile; and the rhetor Zôilus, in a panegyrical

It will be seen from these circumstances, that Greece, considering its limited total extent, offers

oration to the inhabitants of Tenedos, went the length of assuring them that the Alpheius in Elis had its source in their island (Strabo, vi. p. 271). Not only Pindar and other poets (Antigon. Caryst. c. 155), but also the historian Timæus (Timæi Frag. 127, ed. Gölles), and Pausanias also with the greatest confidence (v. 7, 2), believed that the fountain Arethusa at Syracuse was nothing else but the reappearance of the river Alpheius from Peloponnesus: this was attested by the actual fact that a goblet or cup (φιάλη) thrown into the Alpheius had come up at the Syracusan fountain, which Timæus professed to have verified,—but even the arguments by which Strabo justifies his disbelief of this tale, show how powerfully the phænomena of the Grecian rivers acted upon his mind. "If (says he, *l. c.*) the Alpheius, instead of flowing into the sea, fell into some chasm in the earth, there would be some plausibility in supposing that it continued its subterranean course as far as Sicily without mixing with the sea: but since its junction with the sea is matter of observation, and since there is no aperture visible near the shore to absorb the water of the river (στόμα τὸ καταπῖνον τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποτάμου), so it is plain that the water cannot maintain its separation and its sweetness, whereas the spring Arethusa is perfectly good to drink." I have translated here the sense rather than the words of Strabo; but the phænomena of "rivers falling into chasms and being drunk up" for a time is exactly what happens in Greece. It did not appear to Strabo impossible that the Alpheius might traverse this great distance underground; nor do we wonder at this when we learn that a more able geographer than he (Eratosthenês) supposed that the marshes of Rhinokolura, between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, were formed by the Euphrates and Tigris, which flowed underground for the length of 6000 stadia or furlongs (Strabo, xvi. p. 741; Seidel, Fragm. Eratosth. p. 194): compare the story about the Euphrates passing underground and reappearing in Ethiopia as the river Nile (Pausan. ii. 5, 3). This disappearance and reappearance of rivers connected itself, in the minds of ancient physical philosophers, with the supposition of vast reservoirs of water in the interior of the earth, which were protruded upwards to the surface by some gaseous force (see Seneca, Nat. Quæst. vi. 8). Pomponius Mela mentions an idea of some writers, that the source of the Nile was to be found, not in our (οἰκουμένη) habitable section of the globe, but in the Antichthon, or southern continent, and that it flowed under the ocean to rise up in Ethiopia (Mela, i. 9, 55).

These views of the ancients, evidently based upon the analogy of Grecian rivers, are well set forth by M. Letronne in a paper on the situation of the Terrestrial Paradise as represented by the Fathers of the Church; cited in A. von Humboldt, Examen Critique de l'Histoire de la Géographie, &c., vol. iii. p. 118–130.

but little motive and still less of convenient means, for internal communication among its various inhabitants[1]. Each village or township, occupying its plain with the enclosing mountains[2], supplied its own main wants, whilst the transport of commodities by land was sufficiently difficult to discourage greatly any regular commerce with neighbours. In so far as the face of the interior country was concerned, it seemed as if nature had been disposed from the beginning to keep the population of Greece socially and politically disunited, by providing so many hedges of separation, and so many boundaries generally hard, sometimes impossible to

Difficulty of land communication and transport in Greece.

[1] "Upon the arrival of the king and regency in 1833 (observes Mr. Strong), no carriage roads existed in Greece; nor were they indeed much wanted previously, as down to that period not a carriage, waggon, or cart, or any other description of vehicles, was to be found in the whole country. The traffic in general was carried on by means of boats, to which the long indented line of the Grecian coast and its numerous islands afforded every facility. Between the seaports and the interior of the kingdom, the communication was effected by means of beasts of burden, such as mules, horses, and camels." (Statistics of Greece, p. 33.)

This exhibits a retrograde march to a point lower than the description of the Odyssey, where Telemachus and Peisistratus drive their chariot from Pylus to Sparta. The remains of the ancient roads are still seen in many parts of Greece (Strong, p. 34).

[2] Dr. Clarke's description deserves to be noticed, though his warm eulogies on the fertility of the soil, taken generally, are not borne out by later observers:—"The physical phænomena of Greece, differing from those of any other country, present a series of beautiful plains, successively surrounded by mountains of limestone; resembling, although upon a larger scale, and rarely accompanied by volcanic products, the craters of the Phlegræan fields. Everywhere their level surfaces seem to have been deposited by water, gradually retired or evaporated: they consist for the most part of the richest soil, and their produce is yet proverbially abundant. In this manner stood the cities of Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, Eleusis, Athens, Thebes, Amphissa, Orchomenus, Chæronea, Lebadea, Larissa, Pella, and many others." (Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. ch. 4. p. 74.)

overleap. One special motive to intercourse, however, arose out of this very geographical constitution of the country, and its endless alternation of mountain and valley. The difference of climate and temperature between the high and low grounds is very great; the harvest is secured in one place before it is ripe in another, and the cattle find during the heat of summer shelter and pasture on the hills, at a time when the plains are burnt up[1]: the practice of transferring them from the mountains to the plain according to the change of season, which subsists still as it did in ancient times, is intimately connected with the structure of the country, and must from the earliest period have brought about communication among the otherwise disunited villages[2].

Such difficulties, however, in the internal transit by land were to a great extent counteracted by the large proportion of coast and the accessibility of

[1] Sir W. Gell found, in the month of March, summer in the low plains of Messenia, spring in Laconia, winter in Arcadia (Journey in Greece, p. 355–359).

[2] The cold central region (or mountain plain—ὀροπέδιον) of Tripolitza differs in climate from the maritime regions of Peloponnesus, as much as the south of England from the south of France.....No appearance of spring on the trees near Tegea, though not more than twenty-four miles from Argos.....Cattle are sent from thence every winter to the maritime plains of Elos in Laconia (Leake, Trav. in Morea, vol. i. pp. 88, 98, 197). The pasture on Mount Olono (boundary of Elis, Arcadia, and Achaia) is not healthy until June (Leake, vol. ii. p. 119); compare p. 348, and Fiedler, Reise, i. p. 314.

See also the instructive Inscription of Orchomenus, in Boeckh, Staatshaushaltung der Athener, t. ii. p. 380.

The transference of cattle, belonging to proprietors in one state, for temporary pasturage in another, is as old as the Odyssey, and is marked by various illustrative incidents: see the cause of the first Messenian war (Diodor. viii. p. 23, ed. Wess; Pausan. iv. 4, 2).

the country by sea. The prominences and indentations in the line of Grecian coast are hardly less remarkable than the multiplicity of elevations and depressions which everywhere mark the surface[1]. The shape of Peloponnesus, with its three southern gulfs (the Argolic, Laconian and Messenian), was compared by the ancient geographers to the leaf of a plane-tree: the Pagasæan Gulf on the eastern side of Greece, and the Ambracian Gulf on the western, with their narrow entrances and considerable area, are equivalent to internal lakes: Xenophon boasts of the double sea which embraces so large a proportion of Attica, Ephorus of the triple sea by which Bœotia was accessible from west, north and south—the Eubœan Strait opening a long line of country on both sides to coasting navigation[2]. But the most important of all Grecian gulfs are the Corinthian and the Saronic, washing the northern and north-eastern shores of Peloponnesus and separated by the narrow barrier of the Isthmus of Corinth. The former, especially, lays open Ætolia, Phocis, and Bœotia, as well as the

Indentations in the line of coast—universal accessibility by sea.

[1] "Universa autem (Peloponnesus), velut pensante æquorum incursus naturâ, in montes 76 extollitur." (Plin. H. N. iv. 6.)

Strabo touches, in a striking passage (ii. p. 121–122), on the influence of the sea in determining the shape and boundaries of the land: his observations upon the great superiority of Europe over Asia and Africa in respect of intersection and interpenetration of land by the sea-water are remarkable: ἡ μὲν οὖν Εὐρώπη πολυσχημονεστάτη πασῶν ἐστι, &c. He does not especially name the coast of Greece, though his remarks have a more exact bearing upon Greece than upon any other country. And we may copy a passage out of Tacitus (Agricol. c. 10), written in reference to Britain, which applies far more precisely to Greece: "nusquam latius dominari mare.....nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus et ambire, *et jugis etiam atque montibus inseri velut in suo.*"

[2] Xenophon, De Vectigal. c. 1; Ephor. Frag. 67. ed. Marx; Stephan. Byz. Βοιωτία.

whole northern coast of Peloponnesus, to water approach; and Corinth in ancient times served as an entrepôt for the trade between Italy and Asia Minor—goods being unshipped at Lechæum, the port on the Corinthian Gulf, and carried by land across to Cenchreæ, the port on the Saronic; even the merchant-vessels themselves, when not very large[1], were conveyed across by the same route. It was accounted a prodigious advantage to escape the necessity of sailing round Cape Malea: and the violent winds and currents which modern experience attests to prevail around that formidable promontory, are quite sufficient to justify the apprehensions of the ancient Greek merchant, with his imperfect apparatus for navigation[2].

It will thus appear that there was no part of Greece Proper which could be considered as out of reach of the sea, while most parts of it were con-

[1] Pliny, H. N. iv. 5, about the Isthmus of Corinth: "Lechææ hinc, Cenchreæ illinc, angustiarum termini, longo et ancipiti navium ambitu (*i. e.* round Cape Malea), quas *magnitudo plaustris transvehi prohibet*: quam ob causam perfodere navigabili alveo angustias eas tentavere Demetrius rex, dictator Cæsar, Caius princeps, Domitius Nero—infausto (ut omnium exitu patuit) incepto."

The *διολκὸς*, less than four miles across, where ships were drawn across, if their size permitted, stretched from Lechæum on the Corinthian Gulf, to Schœnus, a little eastward of Cenchreæ, on the Sarônic Gulf (Strabo, viii. p. 380). Strabo (viii. p. 335) reckons the breadth of the *διολκὸς* at forty stadia (five English miles); the reality, according to Leake, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ English miles (Travels in Morea, vol. iii. ch. xxix. p. 297).

[2] The north wind, the Etesian wind of the ancients, blows strong in the Ægean nearly the whole summer, and with especially dangerous violence at three points,—under Karystos, the southern cape of Eubœa, near Cape Malea, and in the narrow strait between the islands of Tênos, Mykonos, and Dêlos (Ross, Reisen auf den Griechischen Inseln, vol. i. p. 20). See also Colonel Leake's account of the terror of the Greek boatmen from the gales and currents round Mount Athos: the canal cut by Xerxes through the isthmus was justified by sound reasons (Travels in Northern Greece, vol. iii. c. 24. p. 145).

venient and easy of access: in fact, the Arcadians were the only large section of the Hellenic name (we may add the Doric Tetrapolis and the mountaineers along the chain of Pindus and Tymphrêstus) who were altogether without a seaport[1]. But Greece Proper constituted only a fraction of the entire Hellenic world, during the historical age: there were the numerous islands, and still more numerous continental colonies, all located as independent intruders on distinct points of the coast[2], in the Euxine, the Ægean, the Mediterranean and the Adriatic; and distant from each other by the space which separates Trebizond from Marseilles. All these various cities were comprised in the name Hellas, which implied no geographical continuity:

Sea communication essential for the islands and colonies.

[1] The Periplus of Scylax enumerates every section of the Greek name, with the insignificant exceptions noticed in the text, as partaking of the line of coast; it even mentions Arcadia (c. 45), because at that time Lepreum had shaken off the supremacy of Elis, and was confederated with the Arcadians (about 360 B.C.): Lepreum possessed about twelve miles of coast, which therefore count as Arcadian.

[2] Cicero (De Republicâ, ii. 2–4, in the Fragments of that lost treatise, ed. Maii) notices emphatically both the general maritime accessibility of Grecian towns, and the effects of that circumstance on Grecian character:—"Quod de Corintho dixi, id haud scio an liceat de cunctâ Græciâ verissime dicere. Nam et ipsa Peloponnesus fere tota in mari est: nec præter Phliuntios ulli sunt, quorum agri non contingant mare: et extra Peloponnesum Ænianes et Dores et Dolopes soli absunt a mari. Quid dicam insulas Græciæ, quæ fluctibus cinctæ natant pæne ipsæ simul cum civitatium institutis et moribus? Atque hæc quidem ut supra, dixi, veteris sunt Græciæ. Coloniarum vero quæ est deducta a Graiis in Asiam, Thraciam, Italiam, Siciliam, Africam, præter unam Magnesiam, quam unda non alluat? Ita barbarorum agris quasi adtexta quædam videtur ora esse Græciæ."

Compare Cicero, Epistol. ad Attic. vi. 2, with the reference to Dicæarchus, who agreed to a great extent in Plato's objections against a maritime site (De Legg. iv. p. 705; also Aristot. Politic. vii. 5–6). The sea (says Plato) is indeed a salt and bitter neighbour (*μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἁλμυρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα*), though convenient for purposes of daily use.

all prided themselves on Hellenic blood, name, religion and mythical ancestry: the only communication between them was maritime; and the sea, important even if we look to Greece Proper exclusively, was the sole channel for transmitting ideas and improvements, as well as for maintaining sympathies, social, political, religious, and literary, throughout the dispersed members of the Hellenic aggregate.

Views of the ancient philosophers on the influence of maritime habits and commerce.

The ancient philosophers and legislators were deeply impressed with the contrast between an inland and a maritime city: in the former, simplicity and uniformity of life, tenacity of ancient habits and dislike of what is new or foreign, great force of exclusive sympathy and narrow range both of objects and ideas; in the latter, variety and novelty of sensations, expansive imagination, toleration and occasional preference for extraneous customs, greater activity of the individual and corresponding mutability of the state. This distinction stands prominent in the many comparisons instituted between the Athens of Pericles and the Athens of the earlier times down to Solôn; both Plato and Aristotle dwell upon it emphatically—and the former especially, whose genius conceived the comprehensive scheme of prescribing beforehand and ensuring in practice the whole course of individual thought and feeling in his imaginary community, treats maritime communication, if pushed beyond the narrowest limits, as fatal to the success and permanence of any wise scheme of education. Certain it is that a great difference of character existed between those Greeks who mingled much in maritime affairs,

and those who did not. The Arcadian may stand as a type of the pure Grecian landsman, with his rustic and illiterate habits[1], his diet of sweet chestnuts, barley-cakes and pork (as contrasted with the fish which formed the chief seasoning for the bread of an Athenian), his superior courage and endurance, his reverence for Lacedæmonian headship as an old and customary influence, his sterility of intellect and imagination as well as his slackness in enterprise, his unchangeable rudeness of relations with the gods, which led him to scourge and prick Pan if he came back empty-handed from the chase; while the inhabitant of Phôkæa or Miletus exemplifies the Grecian mariner, eager in search of gain, active, skilful, and daring at sea, but inferior in steadfast bravery on land; more excitable in imagination as well as more mutable in character; full of pomp and expense in religious manifestations towards the Ephesian Artemis or the Apollo of Branchidæ; with a mind more open to the varieties of Grecian energy and to the refining influences of Grecian civilization. The Peloponnesians generally and the Lacedæmonians in particular approached to the Arcadian type, while the Athenians of the fifth century B.C. stood foremost in the other, superadding to it however a delicacy of taste, and a

Difference between the land-states and the sea-states in Greece.

[1] Hecatæus, Fragm. Ἀρκαδικὸν δεῖπνον.....μάζας καὶ ὕεια κρέα. Herodot. i. 66. Βαλανήφαγοι ἄνδρες. Theocrit. Id. vii. 106.—

Κἦν μὲν ταῦθ' ἑρδῇς, ὦ Πὰν φίλε, μή τί τυ παῖδες
Ἀρκαδικοὶ σκίλλαισιν ὑπὸ πλευράς τε καὶ ὤμους
Τανίκα μαστίσδοιεν ὅτε κρέα τυτθὰ παρείη·
Εἰ δ' ἄλλως νεύσαις κατὰ μὲν χρόα πάντ' ὀνύχεσσι
Δακνόμενος κνάσαιο, &c.

The alteration of Χῖοι, which is obviously out of place, in the scholia on this passage, to ἔνιοι, appears unquestionable.

predominance of intellectual sympathy and enjoyments, which seem to have been peculiar to themselves.

Effects of the configuration of Greece upon the political relations of the inhabitants.

The configuration of the Grecian territory, so like in many respects to that of Switzerland, produced two effects of great moment upon the character and history of the people. In the first place, it materially strengthened their powers of defence: it shut up the country against those invasions from the interior which successively subjugated all their continental colonies; and it at the same time rendered each fraction more difficult to be attacked by the rest, so as to exercise a certain conservative influence in assuring the tenure of actual possessors: for the pass of Thermopylæ between Thessaly and Phocis, that of Kithærôn between Bœotia and Attica, or the mountainous range of Oneion and Geraneia along the Isthmus of Corinth, were positions which an inferior number of brave men could hold against a much greater force of assailants. But, in the next place, while it tended to protect each section of Greeks from being conquered, it also kept them politically disunited and perpetuated their separate autonomy. It fostered that powerful principle of repulsion, which disposed even the smallest township to constitute itself a political unit apart from the rest, and to resist all idea of coalescence with others, either amicable or compulsory. To a modern reader, accustomed to large political aggregations, and securities for good government through the representative system, it requires a certain mental effort to transport himself back to a time when even the smallest town clung so tena-

ciously to its right of self-legislation. Nevertheless such was the general habit and feeling of the ancient world, throughout Italy, Sicily, Spain, and Gaul: among the Hellenes it stands out more conspicuously, for several reasons—first, because they seem to have pushed the multiplication of autonomous units to an extreme point, seeing that even islands not larger than Peparêthos and Amorgos had two or three separate city-communities[1]; secondly, because they produced, for the first time in the history of mankind, acute systematic thinkers on matters of government, amongst all of whom the idea of the autonomous city was accepted as the indispensable basis of political speculation; thirdly, because this incurable subdivision proved finally the cause of their ruin, in spite of pronounced intellectual superiority over their conquerors; and lastly, because incapacity of political coalescence did not preclude a powerful and extensive sympathy between the inhabitants of all the separate cities, with a constant tendency to fraternise for numerous purposes, social, religious, recreative, intellectual and æsthetical. For these reasons, the indefinite multiplication of self-governing towns, though in truth a phænomenon common to ancient Europe as contrasted with the large monarchies of Asia, appears more marked among the ancient Greeks than elsewhere: and there cannot be any doubt that they owe it, in a considerable degree, to the multitude of insulating boundaries which the configuration of their country presented.

Nor is it rash to suppose that the same causes

[1] Scylax, Peripl. 59.

may have tended to promote that unborrowed intellectual development for which they stand so conspicuous. General propositions respecting the working of climate and physical agencies upon character are indeed treacherous; for our knowledge of the globe is now sufficient to teach us that heat and cold, mountain and plain, sea and land, moist and dry atmosphere, are all consistent with the greatest diversities of resident men: moreover the contrast between the population of Greece itself, for the seven centuries preceding the Christian æra, and the Greeks of more modern times, is alone enough to inculcate reserve in such speculations. Nevertheless we may venture to note certain improving influences, connected with their geographical position, at a time when they had no books to study, and no more advanced predecessors to imitate. We may remark, first, that their position made them at once mountaineers and mariners, thus supplying them with great variety of objects, sensations, and adventures; next, that each petty community, nestled apart amidst its own rocks[1], was sufficiently severed from the rest to possess an individual life and attributes of its own, yet not so far as to subtract it from the sympathies of the remainder; so that an observant Greek, commercing with a great diversity of half-countrymen, whose language he understood, and whose idiosyncrasies he could appreciate, had access to a larger mass of social and political experience than any other man in so unadvanced an age could personally obtain.

Effects upon their intellectual development.

[1] Cicero, de Orator. i. 44. "Ithacam illam in asperrimis saxulis, sicut nidulum, affixam."

The Phœnician, superior to the Greek on shipboard, traversed wider distances and saw a greater number of strangers, but he had not the same means of intimate communion with a multiplicity of fellows in blood and language; his relations, confined to purchase and sale, did not comprise that mutuality of action and reaction which pervaded the crowd at a Grecian festival. The scene which here presented itself was a mixture of uniformity and variety highly stimulating to the observant faculties of a man of genius,—who at the same time, if he sought to communicate his own impressions, or to act upon this mingled and diverse audience, was forced to shake off what was peculiar to his own town or community, and to put forth matter in harmony with the feelings of all. It is thus that we may explain in part that penetrating apprehension of human life and character, and that power of touching sympathies common to all ages and nations, which surprises us so much in the unlettered authors of the old epic. Such periodical intercommunion, of brethren habitually isolated from each other, was the only means then open of procuring for the bard a diversified range of experience and a many-coloured audience; and it was to a great degree the result of geographical causes. Perhaps among other nations such facilitating causes might have been found, yet without producing any result comparable to the Iliad and Odyssey; but Homer was nevertheless dependent upon the conditions of his age, and we can at least point out those peculiarities in early Grecian society without which Homeric excellence would never have ex-

isted,—the geographical position is one, the language another.

Limits of Greece.

Greece Proper lies between the 36th and 40th parallels of north latitude, and between the 21st and 26th degrees of east longitude. Its greatest length from Mount Olympus to Cape Tænarus may be stated at 250 English miles; its greatest breadth, from the western coast of Akarnania to Marathon in Attica, at 180 miles; and the distance eastward from Ambrakia across Pindus to the Magnesian mountain Homolê and the mouth of the Peneius is about 120 miles. Altogether its area is somewhat less than that of Portugal[1]. In regard however to all attempts at determining the exact limits of Greece Proper, we may remark, first, that these limits seem not to have been very precisely defined even among the Greeks themselves; and next, that so large a proportion of the Hellens were distributed among islands and colonies, and so much of their influence upon the world in general produced through their colonies, as to render the extent of their original domicile a matter of comparatively little moment to verify.

Situated under the same parallels of latitude as the coast of Asia Minor, and the southernmost regions of Italy and Spain, Greece produced wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil, in the earliest times of which we have any knowledge: in the age of Pausanias, and perhaps earlier, cotton also was grown in the territory of Elis[2]; but the currants, Indian

[1] Compare Strong, Statistics of the Kingdom of Greece, p. 2; and Kruse, Hellas, vol. i. ch. 3. p. 196.

[2] At least if it be correct to suppose that the *byssus* mentioned by

corn, silk, and tobacco, which the country now exhibits, are an addition of more recent times. Theophrastus and other authors amply attest the observant and industrious agriculture prevalent among the ancient Greeks, as well as the care with which its various natural productions, comprehending a great diversity of plants, herbs, and trees, were turned to account. The cultivation of the vine and the olive—the latter indispensable to ancient life not merely for the purposes which it serves at present, but also from the constant habit then prevalent of anointing the body—appears to have been particularly elaborate; and the many different accidents of soil, level, and exposure, which were to be found, not only in Hellas Proper, but also among the scattered Greek settlements, afforded to observant planters materials for study and comparison. The barley-cake seems to have been more generally eaten than the wheaten loaf[1]; but one or other of them, together with vegetables and fish (sometimes fresh, but more frequently salt), was the common food of the population; the Arcadians fed much upon pork, and the Spartans also consumed animal food, but by the Greeks generally fresh meat seems to have been little eaten, except at festivals and sacrifices. The Athenians, the most commercial

Its chief productions.

Pausanias as growing in Elis, but nowhere else in Greece, was cotton (Pausan. v. 5, 2; vi. 26, 4; vii. 21, 7).

[1] At the repast provided at the public cost for those who dined in the Prytaneium of Athens, Solôn directed barley-cakes for ordinary days, wheaten bread for festivals (Athenæus, iv. p. 137).

The milk of ewes and goats was in ancient Greece preferred to that of cows (Aristot. Hist. Animal. iii. 15, 5–7); at present also cow's-milk and butter is considered unwholesome in Greece, and is seldom or never eaten (Kruse, Hellas, vol. i. ch. 4. p. 368).

people in Greece Proper, though their light, dry, and comparatively poor soil produced excellent barley, nevertheless did not grow enough corn for their own consumption: they imported considerable supplies of corn from Sicily, from the coasts of the Euxine, and the Tauric Chersonese, and salt-fish both from the Propontis and even from Gades[1]: the distance from whence these supplies came, when we take into consideration the extent of fine corn-land in Bœotia and Thessaly, proves how little internal trade existed between the various regions of Greece Proper. The exports of Athens consisted in her figs and other fruit, olives, oil—for all of which she was distinguished—together with pottery, ornamental manufactures, and the silver from her mines at Laureium. Salt-fish doubtless found its way more or less throughout all Greece[2]; but the population of other states in Greece lived more exclusively upon their own produce than the Athenians, with less of purchase and sale[3]—a mode of

[1] Theophrast. Caus. Pl. ix. 2; Demosthen. adv. Leptin. c. 9. That salt-fish from the Propontis and from Gades was sold in the markets of Athens during the Peloponnesian war, appears from a fragment of the Marikas of Eupolis (Fr. 23. ed. Meincke; Stephan. Byz. v. Γάδειρα):—

Πότερ' ἦν τὸ τάριχος, Φρύγιον ἢ Γαδειρικόν;

The Phœnician merchants who brought the salt-fish from Gades, took back with them Attic pottery for sale among the African tribes of the coast of Morocco (Scylax, Peripl. c. 109).

[2] Simonides, Fragm. 109, Gaisford.—

Πρόσθε μὲν ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων τρηχεῖαν ἄσιλλαν
Ἰχθῦς ἐξ Ἄργους εἰς Τεγέαν ἔφερον, &c.

The Odyssey mentions certain inland people who knew nothing either of the sea, or of ships, or the taste of salt: Pausanias looks for them in Epirus (Odyss. xi. 121; Pausan. i. 12, 3).

[3] Αὐτουργοί τε γάρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι (says Pericles in his speech to

life assisted by the simple domestic economy universally prevalent, in which the women not only carded and spun all the wool, but also wove out of it the clothing and bedding employed in the family. Weaving was then considered as much a woman's business as spinning, and the same feeling and habits still prevail to the present day in modern Greece, where the loom is constantly seen in the peasants' cottages, and always worked by the women[1]. In metallic wealth ancient Greece was not distinguished: there was copper near Chalkis in Eubœa and iron mines in the Laconian Taygetus; but the most abundant remains of ancient metallurgy now to be seen are in the island of Seriphos[2].

Climate—better and more healthy in ancient times than it is now.

The climate of Greece appears to be generally described by modern travellers in more favourable terms than it was by the ancients, which is easily explicable from the classical interest, picturesque beauties, and transparent atmosphere, so vividly appreciated by an English or a German eye. Herodotus[3], Hippocrates, and Aristotle, treat the climate of Asia as far more genial and favourable both to animal and vegetable life, but at the

the Athenians at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, Thucyd. i. 141) καὶ οὔτε ἰδίᾳ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, &c.—ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι, &c. (ib. c. 142.)

[1] In Egypt the men sat at home and wove, while the women did outdoor business: both the one and the other excite the surprise of Herodotus and Sophocles (Herod. ii. 35; Soph. Œd. Col. 340).

For the spinning and weaving of the modern Greek peasant women, see Leake, Trav. Morea, vol. i. pp. 13, 18, 223, &c.; Strong, Stat. p. 185.

[2] Fiedler, Reisen, vol. ii. p. 118–559; Strabo, x. p. 447; Stephan. Byz. v. Λακεδαίμων.

[3] Herodot. i. 142; Hippocrat. De Aëre, Loc. et Aq. c. 12–13; Aristot. Polit. vii. 6, 1.

same time more enervating than that of Greece: the latter they speak of chiefly in reference to its changeful character and diversities of local temperature, which they consider as highly stimulant to the energies of the inhabitants. There is reason to conclude that ancient Greece was much more healthy than the same territory is at present, inasmuch as it was more industriously cultivated, and the towns both more carefully administered and better supplied with water. But the differences in respect of healthiness, between one portion of Greece and another, appear always to have been considerable, and this, as well as the diversities of climate, affected the local habits and character of the particular sections. Not merely were there great differences between the mountaineers and the inhabitants of the plains[1]—between Lokrians, Ætolians, Phocians, Dorians, Œtæans and Arcadians, on one hand, and the inhabitants of Attica, Bœotia, and Elis, on the other—but each of the various tribes which went to compose these categories had its peculiarities; and the marked contrast between Athenians and Bœotians was supposed to be represented by the light and heavy atmosphere which they respectively breathed. Nor was this all: for even among the Bœotian aggregate, every town had its own separate attributes, physical as well as moral and political[2]: Orôpus, Tanagra, Thespiæ,

Great difference between one part of Greece and another.

[1] The mountaineers of Ætolia are, at this time, unable to come down into the marshy plain of Wrachōri, without being taken ill after a few days (Fiedler, Reise in Griech. i. p. 184).

[2] Dikæarch. Fragm. p. 145, ed. Fuhr—*Βίος Ἑλλάδος. Ἱστοροῦσι δ' οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντα ἴδια ἀκληρήματα λέγοντες ταῦτα—Τὴν μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν κατοικεῖν ἐν Ὠρώπῳ, τὸν δὲ φθόνον ἐν Τανάγρᾳ, τὴν*

Thebes, Anthêdôn, Haliartus, Korôneia, Onchêstus, and Platæa, were known to Bœotians each by its own characteristic epithet: and Dikæarchus even notices a marked distinction between the inhabitants of the city of Athens and those in the country of Attica. Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and Sicyôn, though all called Doric, had each its own dialect and peculiarities. All these differences, depending in part upon climate, site, and other physical considerations, contributed to nourish antipathies, and to perpetuate that imperfect cohesion, which has already been noticed as an indelible feature in Hellas.

Epirots, Macedonians, &c.

The Epirotic tribes, neighbours of the Ætolians and Akarnanians, filled the space between Pindus and the Ionian Sea until they joined to the northward the territory inhabited by the powerful and barbarous Illyrians. Of these Illyrians the native Macedonian tribes appear to have been an outlying section: they dwelt to the northward of Thessaly and Mount Olympus, eastward of the chain by which Pindus is continued, and westward of the river Axius. The Epirots were comprehended under the various denominations of Chaonians, Molossians, Thesprotians, Kassopæans, Amphilochians, Athamānes, the Æthikes, Tymphæi, Orestæ, Paroræi, and Atintānes[1]—most of the latter being small

φιλονεικίαν ἐν Θεσπίαις, τὴν ὕβριν ἐν Θήβαις, τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν Ἀνθήδονι, τὴν περιεργίαν ἐν Κορωνείᾳ, ἐν Πλαταίαις τὴν ἀλαζόνειαν, τὸν πυρετὸν ἐν Ὀγχήστῳ, τὴν ἀναισθησίαν ἐν Ἁλιάρτῳ.

[1] About the distinction between Ἀθηναῖοι and Ἀττικοί, see the same work, p. 141.

[1] Strabo, vii. pp. 323, 324, 326; Thucydid. ii. 68. Theopompus (ap. Strab. l. c.) reckoned 14 Epirotic ἔθνη.

communities dispersed about the mountainous region of Pindus. There was however much confusion in the application of the comprehensive name *Epirot*, which was a title given altogether by the Greeks, and given purely upon geographical, not upon ethnical considerations. Epirus seems at first to have stood opposed to Peloponnesus, and to have signified the general region northward of the Gulf of Corinth; and in this primitive sense it comprehended the Ætolians and Akarnanians, portions of whom spoke a dialect difficult to understand, and were not less widely removed than the Epirots from Hellenic habits[1]. The oracle of Dodona forms the point of ancient union between Greeks and Epirots, which was superseded by Delphi as the civilization of Hellas developed itself. Nor is it less difficult to distinguish Epirots from Macedonians on the one hand than from Hellenes on the other: the language, the dress, and the fashion of wearing the hair being often analogous, while the boundaries, amidst rude men and untravelled tracts, were very inaccurately understood[2].

In describing the limits occupied by the Hellens in 776 B.C., we cannot yet take account of the important colonies of Leukas and Ambracia, established by the Corinthians subsequently on the western coast of Epirus. The Greeks of that early

[1] Herodot. i. 146, ii. 56, vi. 127.

[2] Strabo, vii. p. 327.

Several of the Epirotic tribes were δίγλωσσοι,—spoke Greek in addition to their native tongue.

See, on all the inhabitants of these regions, the excellent dissertation of O. Müller above quoted, Ueber die Makedoner.

time seem to comprise the islands of Cephallenia, Zakynthus, Ithaka, and Dulichium, but no settlement, either inland or insular, farther northward.

They include farther, confining ourselves to 776 B.C., the great mass of islands between the coast of Greece and that of Asia Minor, from Tenedos northward to Rhodes, Crete, and Cythêra southward; and the great islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Eubœa, as well as the groups called the Sporades and the Cyclades. Respecting the four considerable islands nearer to the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace—Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Thasos—it may be doubted whether they were at that time hellenised. The Catalogue of the Iliad includes under Agamemnon contingents from Ægina, Eubœa, Crete, Karpathus, Kasus, Kôs, and Rhodes: in the oldest epical testimony which we possess, these islands thus appear inhabited by Greeks; but the others do not occur in the Catalogue, and are never mentioned in such manner as to enable us to draw any inference. Eubœa ought perhaps rather to be looked upon as a portion of Grecian mainland (from which it was only separated by a strait narrow enough to be bridged over) than as an island: but the last five islands named in the Catalogue are all either wholly or partially Doric: no Ionic or Æolic island appears in it: these latter, though it was among them that the poet sung, appear to be represented by their ancestral heroes who come from Greece Proper.

Islands in the Ægean.

The last element to be included, as going to make up the Greece of 776 B.C., is the long string of Doric, Ionic and Æolic settlements on the coast of Asia Minor—occupying a space bounded on the

Greeks on the coast of Asia Minor.

north by the Troad and the region of Ida, and extending southward as far as the peninsula of Knidus. Twelve continental cities, over and above the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos, are reckoned by Herodotus as ancient Æolic foundations—Smyrna, Kymê, Larissa, Neon-Teichos, Têmnos, Killa, Notium, Ægirœssa, Pitana, Ægæ, Myrina, and Gryneia. Smyrna having been at first Æolic, though it afterwards was acquired through a stratagem by Ionic inhabitants, remained permanently Ionic. Phokæa, the northernmost of the Ionic settlements, bounded upon Æolis: Klazomenæ, Erythræ, Teôs, Lebedos, Kolophôn, Priênê, Myus, and Milêtus, continued the Ionic name to the southward: these, together with Samos and Chios, formed the Panionic federation[1]. To the south of Milêtus, after a considerable interval, lay the Doric establishments of Myndus, Halikarnassus, and Knidus: the two latter, together with the island of Kôs and the three townships in Rhodes, constituted the Doric Hexapolis, or communion of six cities, concerted primarily with a view to religious purposes, but producing a secondary effect analogous to political federation.

Such then is the extent of Hellas, as it stood at the commencement of the recorded Olympiads: even to draw a picture for this date, we possess no authentic materials, and are obliged to ante-date statements which belong to a later age: and this consideration might alone suffice to show how uncertified are all delineations of the Greece of 1183 B.C., the supposed epoch of the Trojan war, four centuries earlier.

[1] Herodot. i. 143–150.

CHAPTER II.

THE HELLENIC PEOPLE GENERALLY, IN THE EARLY HISTORICAL TIMES.

THE territory indicated in the last chapter—south of Mount Olympus, and also of the line which connects the city of Ambracia with Mount Pindus—was occupied during the historical period by the central stock of the Hellens or Greeks, from which their numerous outlying colonies were planted out.

Both metropolitans and colonists styled themselves Hellens, and were recognised as such by each other; all glorying in the name as the prominent symbol of fraternity,—all describing non-Hellenic men or cities by a word which involved associations of repugnance. Our term *barbarian*, borrowed from this latter word, does not express the same idea; for the Greeks spoke thus indiscriminately of the extra-Hellenic world with all its inhabitants[1], whatever might be the gentleness of their character, and whatever might be their degree of civilization: the rulers and people of Egyptian Thebes with their ancient and gigantic monuments, the wealthy Tyrians and Carthaginians, the phil-Hellene Arganthonius of Tartêssus, and the well-disciplined patricians of Rome (to the indignation

The Hellens generally.—Barbarians—the word used as antithesis to Hellens.

[1] See the protest of Eratosthenes against the continuance of the classification into Greek and Barbarian, after the latter word had come to imply rudeness (ap. Strabo. ii. p. 66; Eratosth. Fragm. Seidel. p. 85).

of old Cato[1]), were all comprised in it. At first it seemed to have expressed more of repugnance than of contempt, and repugnance especially towards the sound of a foreign language[2]; afterwards a feeling of their own superior intelligence (in part well-justified) arose among the Greeks, and their term *barbarian* was used so as to imply a low state of the temper and intelligence; in which sense it was retained by the semi-hellenised Romans, as the proper antithesis to their state of civilization. The want of a suitable word, corresponding to *barbarian* as the Greeks originally used it, is inconvenient in the description of Grecian phænomena and sentiments, and I shall be obliged occasionally to use the word in its primitive sense.

The Hellens were all of common blood and parentage,—were all descendants of the common patriarch Hellen. In treating of the historical Greeks, we have to accept this as a datum: it represents the sentiment under the influence of which they

[1] Cato, Fragment. ed. Lion. p. 46; ap. Plin. H. N. xxii. 1. A remarkable extract from Cato's letter to his son, intimating his strong antipathy to the Greeks; he proscribes their medicine altogether, and admits only a slight taste of their literature:—"quod bonum sit eorum literas inspicere, non perdiscere.....Juvarunt inter se, Barbaros necare omnes medicinâ, sed hoc ipsum mercede faciunt, ut fides iis sit et facile disperdant. Nos quoque dictitant Barbaros et spurios, nosque magis quam alios, Opicos appellatione fœdant."

[2] Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων, Homer, Iliad, ii. 867. Homer does not use the word βάρβαροι, or any words signifying either a Hellen generally or a non-Hellen generally (Thucyd. i. 3). Compare Strabo, viii. p. 370; and xiv. p. 662.

Ovid reproduces the primitive sense of the word βάρβαρος when he speaks of himself as an exile at Tomi (Trist. v. 10–37):—

"Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor ulli."

The Egyptians had a word in their language the exact correlative of βάρβαρος in this sense (Herod. ii. 158).

moved and acted. It is placed by Herodotus in the front rank, as the chief of those four ties which bound together the Hellenic aggregate: 1. Fellowship of blood; 2. Fellowship of language; 3. Fixed domiciles of gods, and sacrifices, common to all; 4. Like manners and dispositions.

Hellenic aggregate —how held together. 1. Fellowship of blood.

These (say the Athenians in their reply to the Spartan envoys, in the very crisis of the Persian invasion) "Athens will never disgrace herself by betraying." And Zeus Hellenius was recognised as the god watching over and enforcing the fraternity thus constituted[1].

Hekatæus, Herodotus, and Thucydides[2], all believed that there had been an ante-Hellenic period, when different languages, mutually unintelligible, were spoken between Mount Olympus and Cape Malea. However this may be, during the historical times the Greek language was universal throughout these limits, branching out however into a great variety of dialects, which were roughly classified by later literary men into Ionic, Doric, Æolic, and Attic. But the classification presents a semblance

[1] Herod. viii. 144. ...τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον, καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι, ἤθεα τε ὁμότροπα· τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. (Ib. ix. 7.) Ἡμεῖς δέ, Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλαδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι, &c.

Compare Dikæarch. Fragm. p. 147, ed. Fuhr; and Thucyd. iii. 59—τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα.....θεοὺς τοὺς ὁμοβωμίους καὶ κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων: also the provision about the κοινὰ ἱερὰ in the treaty between Sparta and Athens (Thuc. v. 18; Strabo, ix. p. 419).

It was a part of the proclamation solemnly made by the Eumolpidæ, prior to the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, "All non-Hellens to keep away"—εἴργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν (Isocrates, Orat. iv. Panegyr. p. 74).

[2] Hekatæ. Fragm. 356, ed. Klausen: compare Strabo, vii. p. 321; Herod. i. 57; Thucyd. i. 3—κατὰ πόλεις τε, ὅσοι ἀλλήλων συνίεσαν, &c.

2. Common language.

of regularity, which in point of fact does not seem to have been realised; each town, each smaller subdivision of the Hellenic name, having peculiarities of dialect belonging to itself. Now the lettered men who framed the quadruple division took notice chiefly, if not exclusively, of the written dialects,—those which had been ennobled by poets or other authors; the mere spoken idioms were for the most part neglected[1]. That there was no such thing as one Ionic dialect in the speech of the people called Ionic Greeks, we know from the indisputable testimony of Herodotus[2], who tells us that there were four capital varieties of speech among the twelve Asiatic towns especially known as Ionic: of course the varieties would have been much more numerous if he had given us the impressions of his ear in Eubœa, the Cyclades, Massalia, Rhegium, and Olbia,—all numbered as Greeks and as Ionians. The Ionic dialect of the grammarians was an extract from Homer, Hekatæus, Herodotus, Hippocrates, &c.; to what living speech it made the nearest approach, amidst those divergences which the historian has made known to us, we cannot tell. Sapphô and Alkæus in Lesbos, Myrtis and Corinna in Bœotia, were the great sources of reference for the Lesbian and Bœotian varieties of the Æolic dialect, of which there was a third variety, untouched by the poets, in Thessaly[3]. The analogy

[1] "Antiqui grammatici eas tantum dialectos spectabant, quibus scriptores usi essent: ceteras, quæ non vigebant nisi in ore populi, non notabant." (Ahrens, De Dialecto Æolicâ, p. 2.)

[2] Herod. i. 142.

[3] Respecting the three varieties of the Æolic dialect, differing considerably from each other, see the valuable work of Ahrens, De Dial. Æol. sect. 2, 32, 50.

between the different manifestations of Doric and Æolic, as well as that between the Doric generally and the Æolic generally, contrasted with the Attic, is only to be taken as rough and approximative. But all these different dialects are nothing more than dialects, distinguished as modifications of one and the same language, and exhibiting evidence of certain laws and principles pervading them all. They seem capable of being traced back to a certain ideal mother-language, peculiar in itself, and distinguishable from, though cognate with, the Latin; a substantive member of what has been called the Indo-European family of languages. This truth has been brought out in recent times by the comparative examination applied to the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, German, and Lithuanian languages, as well as by the more accurate analysis of the Greek language itself to which such studies have given rise, in a manner much more clear than could have been imagined by the ancients themselves[1]. It is needless to dwell upon the importance of this uniformity of language in holding together the race, and in rendering the genius of its most favoured members available to the civilization of all. Except in the rarest cases, the divergences of dialect were not such as to prevent every Greek from understanding, and being understood by, every other Greek; and this is remarkable when we consider how many of their outlying colonists, not having taken out women in their emigration, intermarried

Greek language essentially one with a variety of dialects.

[1] The work of Albert Giese, Ueber den Æolischen Dialekt (unhappily not finished, on account of the early death of the author), presents an ingenious specimen of such analysis.

with non-Hellenic wives. And the perfection and popularity of their early epic poems was here of inestimable value for the diffusion of a common type of language, and for thus keeping together the sympathies of the Hellenic world[1]. The Homeric dialect became the standard followed by all Greek poets for the Hexameter, as may be seen particularly from the example of Hesiod, who adheres to it in the main, though his father was a native of the Æolic Kymê, and he himself resident at Askra in the Æolic Bœotia, and the early Iambic and Elegiac compositions are framed on the same model. Intellectual Greeks in all cities, even the most distant outcasts from the central hearth, became early accustomed to one type of literary speech, and possessors of a common stock of legends, maxims, and metaphors.

3. Common religious sentiments, localities and sacrifices.

That community of religious sentiments, localities, and sacrifices, which Herodotus names as the third bond of union among the Greeks, was a phænomenon not (like the race and the language) interwoven with their primitive constitution, but of gradual growth. In the time of Herodotus, and even a century earlier, it was at its full maturity; but there had been a period when no religious meetings common to the whole Hellenic body existed. What are called the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games (the four most conspicuous amidst many others analogous), were in

[1] See the interesting remarks of Dio Chrysostom on the attachment of the inhabitants of Olbia (or Borysthenes) to the Homeric poems: most of them, he says, could repeat the Iliad by heart, though their dialect was partially barbarised, and the city in a sad state of ruin (Dio Chrysost. Orat. xxxvi. p. 78, Reisk).

reality great religious festivals—for the gods then gave their special sanction, name, and presence, to recreative meetings—the closest association then prevailed between the feelings of common worship and the sympathy in common amusement[1]. Though this association is now no longer recognised, it is nevertheless essential that we should keep it fully before us, if we desire to understand the life and proceedings of the Greeks. To Herodotus and his contemporaries these great festivals, then frequented by crowds from every part of Greece, were of overwhelming importance and interest: yet they had once been purely local, attracting no visitors except from a very narrow neighbourhood. In the Homeric poems much is said about the common gods, and about special places consecrated to and occupied by several of them; the chiefs celebrate funeral games in honour of a deceased father, which are visited by competitors from different parts of Greece, but nothing appears to manifest public or town festivals open to Grecian visitors generally[2]. The

[1] Plato, Legg. ii. 1. p. 653; Kratylus, p. 406; and Dionys. Hal. Ars Rhetoric. c. 1–2. p. 226—*Θεὸς μὲν γέ που πάντως πάσης ἡστινοσοῦν πανηγύρεως ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἐπώνυμος· οἷον Ὀλυμπίων μέν, Ὀλύμπιος Ζεύς· τοῦ δ' ἐν Πυθοῖ, Ἀπολλών.*

Apollo, the Muses, and Dionysus are *ξυνεορτασταὶ καὶ ξυγχορευταί* (Homer, Hymn to Apoll. 146). The same view of the sacred games is given by Livy in reference to the Romans and the Volsci (ii. 36–37): —"Se, ut consceleratos contaminatosque, ab *ludis, festis diebus, cœtu quodammodo hominum Deorumque*, abactos esse.....ideo nos ab sede piorum, cœtu, concilioque abigi." It is curious to contrast this with the dislike and repugnance of Tertullian:—"Idololatria omnium ludorum mater est—quod enim spectaculum sine idolo, quis ludus sine sacrificio?" (De Spectaculis, p. 369.)

[2] Iliad, xxiii. 630–679. The games celebrated by Akastus in honour of Pelias were famed in the old epic (Pausan. v. 17, 4; Apollodôr. i. 9, 28).

rocky Pytho with its temple stands out in the Iliad as a place both venerated and rich; but the Pythian games, under the superintendence of the Amphictyons, with continuous enrolment of victors and a Pan-Hellenic reputation, do not begin until after the Sacred War, in the 49th Olympiad, or 586 B.C.[1]

Olympic and other sacred games.

The Olympic games, more conspicuous than the Pythian as well as considerably older, are farther remarkable on the score of chronology, because they supplied the historical computers with the oldest backward record of continuous time. It was in the year 776 B.C. that the Eleians inscribed the name of their countryman Korœbus as victor in the competition of runners, and that they began the practice of inscribing in like manner, in each Olympic or fifth recurring year, the name of the runner who won the prize. Even for a long time after this, however, the Olympic games seem to have remained a local festival; the prize being uniformly carried off, at the first twelve Olympiads, by some competitor either of Elis or its immediate neighbourhood. The Nemean and Isthmian games did not become notorious or frequented until later

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 421; Pausan. x. 7, 3. The first Pythian games celebrated by the Amphictyons after the Sacred War carried with them a substantial reward to the victor (an ἀγὼν χρηματίτης); but in the next or second Pythian games nothing was given but an honorary reward or garland of laurel leaves (ἀγὼν στεφανίτης): the first coincide with Olympiad 48, 3, the second with Olympiad 49, 3.

Compare Schol. ad Pindar. Pyth. Argument.; Pausan. x. 37, 4-5; Krause, Die Pythien, Nemeen, und Isthmien, sect. 3, 4, 5.

The Homeric Hymn to Apollo is composed at a time earlier than the Sacred War, when Krissa is flourishing; earlier than the Pythian games as celebrated by the Amphictyons.

even than the Pythian. Solôn[1] in his legislation proclaimed the large reward of 500 drachms for every Athenian who gained an Olympic prize, and the lower sum of 100 drachms for an Isthmiac prize: he counts the former as Pan-Hellenic rank and renown, an ornament even to the city of which the victor was a member—the latter as partial and confined to the neighbourhood.

Of the beginnings of these great solemnities we cannot presume to speak, except in mythical language: we know them only in their comparative maturity. But the habit of common sacrifice, on a small scale and between near neighbours, is a part of the earliest habits of Greece: the sentiment of fraternity, between two tribes or villages, first manifested itself by sending a sacred legation or The-

Habit of common sacrifice an early feature of the Hellenic mind—began on a small scale.

[1] Plutarch, Solôn, 23. The Isthmian Agon was to a certain extent a festival of old Athenian origin; for among the many legends respecting its first institution, one of the most notorious represented it as having been founded by Theseus after his victory over Sinis at the Isthmus (see Schol. ad Pindar. Isthm. Argument.; Pausan. ii. 1, 4), or over Skeirôn (Plutarch, Theseus, c. 25). Plutarch says that they were first established by Theseus as funeral games for Skeirôn, and Pliny gives the same story (H. N. vii. 57). According to Hellanicus, the Athenian Theôrs at the Isthmian games had a privileged place (Plutarch, *l. c.*).

There is therefore good reason why Solôn should single out the Isthmionikæ as persons to be specially rewarded, not mentioning the Pythionikæ and Nemeonikæ,—the Nemean and Pythian games not having then acquired Hellenic importance. Diogenes Laërt. (i. 55) says that Solon provided rewards, not only for victories at the Olympic and Isthmian, but also *ἀνάλογον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων*, which Krause (Pythien, Nemeen, und Isthmien, sect. 3. p. 13) supposes to be the truth: I think, very improbably. The sharp invective of Timokreon against Themistocles, charging him among other things with providing nothing but cold meat at the Isthmian games (*Ἰσθμοῖ δ' ἐπανδόκευε γελοίως ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχων*, Plutarch. Themistoc. c. 21), seems to imply that the Athenian visitors, whom the Theôrs were called upon to take care of at those games, were numerous.

ôria[1] to offer sacrifice at each other's festivals and to partake in the recreations which followed: thus establishing a truce with solemn guarantee, and bringing themselves into direct connection each with the god of the other under his appropriate local surname. The pacific communion so fostered, and the increased assurance of intercourse, as Greece gradually emerged from the turbulence and pugnacity of the heroic age, operated especially in extending the range of this ancient habit: the village festivals became town festivals, largely frequented by the citizens of other towns, and sometimes with special invitations sent round to attract Theôrs from every Hellenic community,—and thus these once humble assemblages gradually swelled into the pomp and immense confluence of the Olympic and Pythian games. The city administering these holy ceremonies enjoyed inviolability of territory during the month of their occurrence, being itself under obligation at that time to refrain from all aggression, as well as to notify by heralds[2] the commencement of the truce to all other cities not in avowed hostility with it. Elis imposed heavy

[1] In many Grecian states (as at Ægina, Mantineia, Trœzen, Thasos, &c.) these Theôrs formed a permanent college, and seem to have been invested with extensive functions in reference to religious ceremonies: at Athens they were chosen for the special occasion (see Thucyd. v. 47; Aristotel. Polit. v. 8, 3; O. Müller, Æginetica, p. 135; Demosthen. de Fals. Leg. p. 380).

[2] About the sacred truce, Olympian, Isthmian, &c., formally announced by two heralds crowned with garlands sent from the administering city, and with respect to which many tricks were played, see Thucyd. v. 49; Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 7, 1–7; Plutarch, Lycurg. 23; Pindar, Isthm. ii. 35.—*σπονδόφοροι—κάρυκες ὡρᾶν*—Thucyd. viii. 9–10 is also peculiarly instructive in regard to the practice and the feeling.

fines upon other towns, even on the powerful Lacedæmon, for violation of the Olympic truce, on pain of exclusion from the festival in case of non-payment.

Sometimes this tendency to religious fraternity took a form called an Amphiktyony, different from the common festival. A certain number of towns entered into an exclusive religious partnership, for the celebration of sacrifices periodically to the god of a particular temple, which was supposed to be the common property and under the common protection of all, though one of the number was often named as permanent administrator; but all other Greeks were excluded. That there were many religious partnerships of this sort, which have never acquired a place in history, among the early Grecian villages, we may perhaps gather from the etymology of the word (Amphiktyons[1] designates residents around, or neighbours, considered in the point of view of fellow-religionists), as well as from the indications preserved to us in reference to various parts of the country. Thus there was an Amphiktyony[2] of seven cities at the holy island of Kalauria, close to the harbour of Trœzen: Hermionê, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, Prasiæ, Nauplia, and Orchomenus, jointly maintained the temple and sanctuary of Poseidôn in that island (with which it would seem that the city of Trœzen, though close at hand, had no connection), meeting there at stated periods to offer formal sacrifices. These seven cities indeed were not immediate neighbours, but the speciality

Amphiktyonies—exclusive religious partnerships.

[1] Pindar, Isthm. iii. 26 (iv. 14); Nem. vi. 40.
[2] Strabo, viii. p. 374.

and exclusiveness of their interest in the temple is seen from the fact, that when the Argeians took Nauplia, they adopted and fulfilled these religious obligations on behalf of the prior inhabitants: so also did the Lacedæmonians when they had captured Prasiæ. Again in Triphylia[1], situated between the Pisatid and Messenia in the western part of Peloponnesus, there was a similar religious meeting and partnership of the Triphylians on Cape Samikon, at the temple of the Samian Poseidôn: the inhabitants of Makiston were entrusted with the details of superintendence, as well as with the duty of notifying beforehand the exact time of meeting (a precaution essential amidst the diversities and irregularities of the Greek calendar), and also of proclaiming what was called the Samian truce—a temporary abstinence from hostilities which bound all Triphylians during the holy period. This latter custom discloses the salutary influence of such institutions in presenting to men's minds a common object of reverence, common duties, and common enjoyments; thus generating sympathies and feelings of mutual obligation amidst petty communities not less fierce than suspicious[2]. So too, the twelve

Their beneficial influence in creating sympathies.

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 343; Pausan. v. 6, 1.

[2] At Iolkos, on the north coast of the Gulf of Pagasæ, and at the borders of the Magnêtes, Thessalians, and Achæans of Phthiôtis, was celebrated a periodical religious festival or panegyris, the title of which we are prevented from making out by the imperfection of Strabo's text (Strabo, ix. 436). It stands in the text as printed in Tzschuke's edition, Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὴν Πυλαϊκὴν πανήγυριν συνετέλουν. The mention of Πυλαϊκὴ πανήγυρις, which conducts us only to the Amphiktyonic convocations of Thermopylæ and Delphi, is here unsuitable; and the best or Parisian MS. of Strabo presents a gap (one among the many which embarrass the ninth book) in the place of the word Πυλαϊκήν. Dutneil conjectures τὴν Πελϊακὴν πανήγυριν, deriving the name from the

chief Ionic cities in and near Asia Minor had their Pan-Ionic Amphiktyony peculiar to themselves: the six Doric cities, in and near the southern corner of that peninsula, combined for the like purpose at the temple of the Triopian Apollo; and the feeling of special partnership is here particularly illustrated by the fact, that Halikarnassus, one of the six, was formally extruded by the remaining five in consequence of a violation of the rules[1]. There was also an Amphiktyonic union at Onchêstus in Bœotia, in the venerated grove and temple of Poseidôn[2]: of whom it consisted we are not informed. These are some specimens of the sort of special religious conventions and assemblies which seem to have been common throughout Greece. Nor ought we to omit those religious meetings and sacrifices which were common to all the members of one Hellenic subdivision, such as the Pam-Bœotia to all the Bœotians, celebrated at the temple of the Itonian Athênê near Korôneia[3]—the common observances, rendered to the temple of Apollo Pythaëus at Argos, by all those neighbouring towns which had once been attached by this religious thread to the Argeians—the similar periodical ceremonies, frequented by all who bore the Achæan or Ætolian

celebrated funeral games of the old epic celebrated by Akastus in honour of his father Pelias. Grosskurd (in his note on the passage) approves the conjecture, but it seems to me not probable that a Grecian panegyris would be named after Pelias. Πηλίακὴν, in reference to the neighbouring mountain and town of Pelion, might perhaps be less objectionable (see Dikæarch. Fragm. p. 407–409, ed. Fuhr.), but we cannot determine with certainty.

[1] Herod. i.; Dionys. Hal. iv. 25.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 412; Homer, Hymn. Apoll. 232.

[3] Strabo, ix. p. 411.

name—and the splendid and exhilarating festivals, so favourable to the diffusion of the early Grecian poetry, which brought all Ionians at stated intervals to the sacred island of Delos[1]. This latter class of festivals agreed with the Amphiktyony in being of a special and exclusive character, not open to all Greeks.

What was called the Amphiktyonic Council.

But there was one amongst these many Amphiktyonies, which though starting from the smallest beginnings, gradually expanded into so comprehensive a character, and acquired so marked a predominance over the rest, as to be called The Amphiktyonic assembly, and even to have been mistaken by some authors for a sort of federal Hellenic Diet. Twelve sub-races, out of the number which made up entire Hellas, belonged to this ancient Amphiktyony, the meetings of which were held twice in every year: in spring at the temple of Apollo at Delphi; in autumn at Thermopylæ, in the sacred precinct of Dêmêtêr Amphiktyonis. Sacred deputies, including a chief called the Hieromnêmôn and subordinates called the Pylagoræ, attended at these meetings from each of the twelve races: a crowd of volunteers seem to have accompanied them, for purposes of sacrifice, trade, or enjoyment. Their special, and most important function, consisted in

[1] Thucyd. iii. 104; v. 55. Pausan. vii. 7, 1; 24, 3. Polyb. v. 8; ii. 54. Homer, Hymn. Apoll. 146.

According to what seems to have been the ancient and sacred tradition, the whole of the month Karneius was a time of peace among the Dorians; though this was often neglected in practice at the time of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. v. 54). But it may be doubted whether there was any festival of Karneia common to all the Dorians: the Karneia at Sparta seems to have been a Lacedæmonian festival.

watching over the Delphian temple, in which all the twelve sub-races had a joint interest, and it was the immense wealth and national ascendency of this temple which enhanced to so great a pitch the dignity of its acknowledged administrators.

Its twelve constituent members and their mutual position.

The twelve constituent members were as follow:— Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Lokrians, Œtæans, Achæans, Phocians, Dolopes, and Malians[1]. All are counted as *races* (if we treat the Hellenes as a race, we must call these *sub-races*), no mention being made of cities[2]: all count equally in respect to voting, two votes being given by the deputies from each of the twelve: moreover, we are told that in determining the deputies to be sent, or the manner in which the votes of each race should be given, the powerful Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had no more influence than the humblest Ionian, Dorian, or Bœotian city. This latter fact is distinctly stated by Æschines, himself a Pylagore sent to Delphi by Athens. And so, doubtless, the theory of the case stood: the votes of the Ionic races counted for neither more nor less than two, whether given by deputies from Athens, or from the small towns of Erythræ and Priênê; and in like manner the Dorian votes were as good in the division, when given by

[1] The list of the Amphiktyonic constituency is differently given by Æschines, by Harpocration, and by Pausanias. Pittmann (Ueber den Amphiktyonischen Bund, sect. 3, 4, 5) analyses and compares their various statements, and elicits the catalogue given in the text.

[2] Æschines, De Fals. Legat. p. 280. c. 36.—*Κατηριθμησάμην δὲ ἔθνη δώδεκα, τὰ μετέχοντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ.....καὶ τούτων ἔδειξα ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἰσόψηφον γενόμενον, τὸ μέγιστον τῷ ἐλάττονι*, &c.

deputies from Bœon and Kytinion in the little territory of Doris, as if the men delivering them had been Spartans. But there can be as little question that in practice the little Ionic cities and the little Doric cities pretended to no share in the Amphiktyonic deliberations: the Ionic vote came to be substantially the vote of Athens, and if Sparta was ever obstructed in the management of the Doric vote, it must have been by powerful Doric cities like Argos or Corinth, not by the insignificant towns of Doris. But the theory of Amphiktyonic suffrage as laid down by Æschines, however little realised in practice during his day, is important inasmuch as it shows in full evidence the primitive and original constitution. The first establishment of the Amphiktyonic convocation dates from a time when all the twelve members were on a footing of equal independence, and when there were no overwhelming cities (such as Sparta and Athens) to cast in the shade the humbler members—when Sparta was only one Doric city, and Athens only one Ionic city, among various others of consideration not much inferior.

Antiquity of the Council—simplicity of the old oath.

There are also other proofs which show the high antiquity of this Amphiktyonic convocation. Æschines gives us an extract from the oath which had been taken by the sacred deputies who attended on behalf of their respective races, ever since its first establishment, and which still apparently continued to be taken in his day. The antique simplicity of this oath, and of the conditions to which the members bind themselves, betrays the early age in

which it originated, as well as the humble resources of those towns to which it was applied[1]. "We will not destroy any Amphiktyonic town—we will not cut off any Amphiktyonic town from running water"—such are the two prominent obligations which Æschines specifies out of the old oath. The second of the two carries us back to the simplest state of society, and to towns of the smallest size, when the maidens went out with their basins to fetch water from the spring, like the daughters of Keleos at Eleusis, or those of Athens from the fountain Kallirrhoê[2]. We may even conceive that the special mention of this detail, in the covenant between the twelve races, is borrowed literally from agreements still earlier, among the villages or little towns in which the members of each race were distributed. At any rate, it proves satisfactorily the very ancient date to which the commencement of the Amphiktyonic convocation must be referred. The belief of Æschines (perhaps also the belief general in his time) was, that it commenced simultaneously with the first foundation of the Delphian temple—an event of which we have no historical knowledge; but there seems reason to suppose that its original establishment is connected with Thermopylæ and Dêmêtêr Amphiktyonis, rather than with Delphi and Apollo. The special surname by which Dêmêtêr

[1] Æschin. Fals. Legat. p. 279. c. 35:—*Ἅμα δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διεξῆλθον τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καὶ τὴν πρώτην σύνοδον γενομένην τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτῶν ἀνέγνων, ἐν οἷς ἔνορκον ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μηδεμίαν πόλιν τῶν Ἀμφικτυονίδων ἀνάστατον ποιήσειν μηδ' ὑδάτων ναμαΐαίων εἴρξειν*, &c.

[2] Homer, Iliad, vi. 457. Homer, Hymn to Dêmêtêr, 100, 107, 170. Herodot. vi. 137; Thucyd. ii. 15.

Amphiktyonic meeting originally at Thermopylæ.

and her temple at Thermopylæ was known[1]—the temple of the hero Amphiktyon which stood at its side—the word Pylæa, which obtained footing in the language to designate the half-yearly meeting of the deputies both at Thermopylæ and at Delphi—these indications point to Thermopylæ (the real central point for all the twelve) as the primary place of meeting, and to the Delphian semestre as something secondary and superadded. On such a matter, however, we cannot go beyond a conjecture.

Valuable influence of these Amphiktyonies and festivals in promoting Hellenic union.

The hero Amphiktyon, whose temple stood at Thermopylæ, passed in mythical genealogy for the brother of Hellên. And it may be affirmed, with truth, that the habit of forming Amphiktyonic unions, and of frequenting each other's religious festivals, was the great means of creating and fostering the primitive feeling of brotherhood among the children of Hellên, in those early times when rudeness, insecurity, and pugnacity did so much to isolate them. A certain number of salutary habits and sentiments, such as that which the Amphiktyonic oath embodies, in regard to abstinence from injury as well as to mutual protection[2], gradually found their way into men's minds: the obligations thus brought into play acquired a substantive efficacy of their own, and the religious feeling which

[1] Herodot. vii. 200; Livy, xxxi. 32.

[2] The festival of the Amarynthia in Eubœa, held at the temple of Artemis of Amarynthus, was frequented by the Ionic Chalcis and Eretria as well as by the Dryopic Karystus. In a combat proclaimed between Chalcis and Eretria, to settle the question about the possession of the plain of Lelantum, it was stipulated that no missile weapons should be used by either party: this agreement was inscribed and recorded in the temple of Artemis (Strabo, x. p. 448; Livy, xxxv. 38).

always remained connected with them, came afterwards to be only one out of many complex agencies by which the later historical Greek was moved. Athens and Sparta in the days of their might, and the inferior cities in relation to them, played each their own political game, in which religious considerations will be found to bear only a subordinate part.

Amphiktyons had the superintendence of the temple of Delphi.

The special function of the Amphiktyonic council, so far as we know it, consisted in watching over the safety, the interests, and the treasures of the Delphian temple. "If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in the temple, we will punish him with foot, and hand, and voice, and by every means in our power." So ran the old Amphiktyonic oath, with an energetic imprecation attached to it[1]. And there are some examples in which the council[2] construes its functions so largely as to receive and adjudicate upon complaints against entire cities, for offences against the religious and patriotic sentiment of the Greeks generally. But for the most part its inter-

[1] Æschin. De Fals. Legat. c. 35. p. 279: compare adv. Ktesiphont. c. 36. p. 406.

[2] See the charge which Æschines alleges to have been brought by the Lokrians of Amphissa against Athens in the Amphiktyonic Council (adv. Ktesiphont. c. 38. p. 409). Demosthenes contradicts his rival as to the fact of the charge having been brought, saying that the Amphisseans had not given the notice, customary and required, of their intention to bring it: a reply which admits that the charge *might* be brought (Demosth. de Coronâ, c. 43. p. 277).

The Amphiktyons offer a reward for the life of Ephialtes, the betrayer of the Greeks at Thermopylæ; they also erect columns to the memory of the fallen Greeks in that memorable strait, the place of their half-yearly meeting (Herod. vii. 213–228).

ference relates directly to the Delphian temple. The earliest case in which it is brought to our view, is the Sacred War against Kirrha, in the 46th Olympiad or 595 B.C., conducted by Eurylochus the Thessalian and Kleisthenes of Sicyon, and proposed by Solôn of Athens[1]: we find the Amphiktyons also about half a century afterwards undertaking the duty of collecting subscriptions throughout the Hellenic world, and making the contract with the Alkmæonids for rebuilding the temple after a conflagration[2]. But the influence of this council is essentially of a fluctuating and intermittent character. Sometimes it appears forward to decide, and its decisions command respect; but such occasions are rare, taking the general course of known Grecian history: while there are other occasions, and those too especially affecting the Delphian temple, on which we are surprised to find nothing said about it. In the long and perturbed period which Thucydides describes, he never once mentions the Amphiktyons, though the temple and the safety of its treasures form the repeated subject[3] as well of dispute as of express stipulation between Athens and Sparta: moreover, among the twelve

But their interference in Grecian affairs is only rare and occasional.

[1] Æschin. adv. Ktesiph. l. c. Plutarch, Solôn. c. xi., who refers to Aristotle ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ—Pausan. x. 37, 4; Schol. ad Pindar. Nem. ix. 2. Τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας, ὅσαι πόλεσι πρὸς πόλεις εἰσίν (Strabo, ix. p. 420). These Amphiktyonic arbitrations, however, are of rare occurrence in history, and very commonly abused.

[2] Herodot. ii. 180, v. 62.

[3] Thucyd. i. 112, iv. 118, v. 18. The Phocians in the Sacred War (B.C. 354) pretended that they had an ancient and prescriptive right to the administration of the Delphian temple, under accountability to the general body of Greeks for the proper employment of its possessions—thus setting aside the Amphiktyons altogether (Diodor. xvi. 27).

constituent members of the council we find three—the Perrhæbians, the Magnêtes, and the Achæans of Phthia—who were not even independent, but subject to the Thessalians, so that its meetings, when they were not matters of mere form, probably expressed only the feelings of the three or four leading members. When one or more of these great powers had a party purpose to accomplish against others—when Philip of Macedon wished to extrude one of the members in order to procure admission for himself—it became convenient to turn this ancient form into a serious reality, and we shall see the Athenian Æschines providing a pretext for Philip to meddle in favour of the minor Bœotian cities against Thebes, by alleging that these cities were under the protection of the old Amphiktyonic oath[1]. And it is thus that we have to consider the council as an element in Grecian affairs—an ancient institution, one amongst many instances of the primitive habit of religious fraternisation, but wider and more comprehensive than the rest—at first purely religious, then religious and political at once, lastly more the latter than the former—highly valuable in the infancy, but unsuited to the maturity of Greece, and called into real working only on rare occasions when its efficiency happened to fall in with the views of Athens, Thebes, or the king of Macedon. In such special moments it shines with a transient light which affords a partial pretence for the imposing title

[1] Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 280. c. 36. The party intrigues which moved the council in regard to the Sacred War against the Phocians (B.C. 355) may be seen in Diodorus, xvi. 23–28 *seq.*

bestowed on it by Cicero—"commune Græciæ concilium[1]:" but we should completely misinterpret Grecian history if we regarded it as a federal council habitually directing or habitually obeyed. Had there existed any such "commune concilium" of tolerable wisdom and patriotism, and had the tendencies of the Hellenic mind been capable of adapting themselves to it, the whole course of later Grecian history would probably have been altered; the Macedonian kings would have remained only as respectable neighbours, borrowing civilization from Greece and expending their military energies upon Thracians and Illyrians; and united Hellas might even have maintained her own territory against the conquering legions of Rome.

The twelve constituent Amphiktyonic races remained unchanged until the Sacred War against the Phocians (B.C. 355): even then the number twelve was continued, but the Phocians were disfranchised, and their votes transferred to Philip of Macedon. It has been already mentioned that these twelve did not exhaust the whole of Hellas. Arcadians, Eleans, Pisans, Minyæ, Dryopes, Ætolians, all genuine Hellens, are not comprehended in it: but all of them had a right to make use of the temple of Delphi, and to contend in the Pythian and Olympic games. The Pythian games, celebrated near Delphi, were under the superintendence of the

Many Hellenic states had no participation in it.

[1] Cicero, De Invention. ii. 23. The representation of Dionysius of Halikarnassus (Ant. Rom. iv. 25) overshoots the reality still more.

About the common festivals and Amphiktyonies of the Hellenic world generally, see Wachsmuth, Hellenische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. sect. 22, 24, 25; also C. F. Hermann, Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterthümer, sect. 11–13.

Amphiktyons[1], or of some acting magistrate chosen by and presumed to represent them: like the Olympic games, they came round every four years (the interval between one celebration and another being four complete years, which the Greeks called a Pentaetêris): the Isthmian and Nemean games recurred every two years. In its first humble form of a competition among bards to sing a hymn in praise of Apollo, this festival was doubtless of immemorial antiquity[2]; but the first extension of it into Pan-Hellenic notoriety (as I have already remarked), the first multiplication of the subjects of competition, and the first introduction of a continuous record of the conquerors, dates only from the time when it came under the presidency of the

[1] Plutarch, Sympos. vii. 5, 1.

[2] In this early phase of the Pythian festival, it is said to have been celebrated every eight years, marking what we should call an Octaetêris, and what the early Greeks called an Ennaetêris (Censorinus, De Die Natali, c. 18). This period is one of considerable importance in reference to the principle of the Grecian calendar, for 99 lunar months coincide very nearly with eight solar years. The discovery of this coincidence is ascribed by Censorinus to Kleostratus of Tenedos, whose age is not directly known; he must be anterior to Meton, who discovered the cycle of nineteen solar years, but (I imagine) not much anterior. In spite of the authority of Ideler, it seems to me not proved, nor can I believe, that this octennial period with its solar and lunar coincidence was known to the Greeks in the earliest times of their mythical antiquity, or before the year 600 B.C. See Ideler, Handbuch der Chronologie, vol. i. p. 366; vol. ii. p. 607. The practice of the Eleians to celebrate the Olympic games alternately after forty-nine and fifty lunar months, though attested for a later time by the Scholiast on Pindar, is not proved to be old. The fact that there were ancient octennial recurring festivals does not establish a knowledge of the properties of the octaeteric or enneateric period: nor does it seem to be that the details of the Bœotian δαφνηφορία, described in Proclus ap. Photium, sect. 239, are very ancient. See on the old mythical Octaeteris, O. Müller, Orchomenos, p. 218 *seqq.*, and Krause, Die Pythien, Nemeen, und Isthmien, sect. 4. p. 22.

Amphiktyons, at the close of the Sacred War against Kirrha. What is called the first Pythian contest coincides with the third year of the 48th Olympiad, or 585 B.C. From that period forward the games become crowded and celebrated: but the date just named, nearly two centuries after the first Olympiad, is a proof that the habit of periodical frequentation of festivals, by numbers and from distant parts, grew up but slowly in the Grecian world.

Temple of Delphi.

The foundation of the temple of Delphi itself reaches far beyond all historical knowledge: it forms one of the aboriginal institutions of Hellas. It is a sanctified and wealthy place even in the Iliad: the legislation of Lycurgus at Sparta is introduced under its auspices, and the earliest Grecian colonies, those of Sicily and Italy in the eighth century B.C., are established in consonance with its mandate. Delphi and Dodona appear, in the most ancient circumstances of Greece, as universally venerated oracles and sanctuaries: and Delphi not only receives honours and donations, but also answers questions, from Lydians, Phrygians, Etruscans, Romans, &c.: it is not exclusively Hellenic. One of the valuable services which a Greek looked for from this and other great religious establishments was, that it should resolve his doubts in cases of perplexity—that it should advise him whether to begin a new, or to persist in an old project—that it should foretell what would be his fate under given circumstances, and inform him, if suffering under distress, on what conditions the gods would grant him relief. The three priestesses of Dodona

with their venerable oak, and the priestess of Delphi sitting on her tripod under the influence of a certain gas or vapour exhaling from the rock, were alike competent to determine these difficult points: and we shall have constant occasion to notice in this history, with what complete faith both the question was put and the answer treasured up—what serious influence it often exercised both upon public and private proceeding[1]. The hexameter verses in which the Pythian priestess delivered herself were indeed often so equivocal or unintelligible, that the most serious believer, with all anxiety to interpret and obey them, often found himself ruined by the result; but the general faith in the oracle was noway shaken by such painful experience. For as the unfortunate issue always admitted of being explained upon two hypotheses—either that the god had spoken falsely, or that his meaning had not

[1] See the argument of Cicero in favour of divination, in the first book of his valuable treatise De Divinatione. Chrysippus and the ablest of the Stoic philosophers both set forth a plausible theory demonstrating *a priori* the probability of prophetic warnings deduced from the existence and attributes of the gods: if you deny altogether the occurrence of such warnings, so essential to the welfare of man, you must deny either the existence, or the foreknowledge, or the beneficence, of the gods (c. 38). Then the veracity of the Delphian oracle had been demonstrated in innumerable instances, of which Chrysippus had made a large collection: and upon what other supposition could the immense credit of the oracle be explained (c. 19)? "Collegit innumerabilia oracula Chrysippus, et nullum sine locuplete teste et auctore: quæ quia nota tibi sunt, relinquo. Defendo unum hoc: nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre clarumque fuisset, neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum et regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta.....Maneat id, quod negari non potest, nisi omnem historiam perverterimus, multis sæculis verax fuisse id oraculum." Cicero admits that it had become less trustworthy in his time, and tries to explain this decline of prophetic power: compare Plutarch, De Defect. Oracul.

Oracles generally—habit of the Greek mind to consult them.

been correctly understood—no man of genuine piety ever hesitated to adopt the latter. There were many other oracles throughout Greece besides Delphi and Dodona: Apollo was open to the inquiries of the faithful at Ptôon in Bœotia, at Abæ in Phocis, at Branchidæ near Miletus, at Patara in Lycia, and other places: in like manner Zeus gave answers at Olympia, Poseidôn at Tænarus, Amphiaraus at Thebes, Amphilochus at Mallus, &c. And this habit of consulting the oracle formed part of the still more general tendency of the Greek mind to undertake no enterprise without having first ascertained how the gods viewed it, and what measures they were likely to take. Sacrifices were offered, and the interior of the victim carefully examined, with the same intent: omens, prodigies, unlooked-for coincidences, casual expressions, &c. were all construed as significant of the divine will. To sacrifice with a view to this or that undertaking, or to consult the oracle with the same view, are familiar expressions[1] embodied in the language: no man could set about a scheme with comfort until he had satisfied himself in some manner or other that the gods were favourable to it.

The disposition here adverted to is one of those mental analogies pervading the whole Hellenic nation, which Herodotus indicates. And the common habit among all Greeks of respectfully listening to the oracle of Delphi will be found on many occa-

[1] Xenophon, Anabas. vii. 8, 20:—Ὁ δὲ Ἀσιδάτης ἀκούσας, ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἴη Ξενοφῶν, ἐξαυλίζεται, &c. Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 2, 22:—μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ—compare Iliad, vii. 450.

sions useful in maintaining unanimity among men not accustomed to obey the same political superior. In the numerous colonies especially, founded by mixed multitudes from distant parts of Greece, the minds of the emigrants were greatly determined towards cordial cooperation by their knowledge that the expedition had been directed, the Œkist indicated, and the spot either chosen or approved, by Apollo of Delphi. Such in most cases was the fact: that god, according to the conception of the Greeks, "takes delight always in the foundation of new cities, and himself in person lays the first stone[1]."

These are the elements of union—over and above the common territory, described in the last chapter—with which the historical Hellens take their start: community of blood, language, religious point of view, legends, sacrifices, festivals[2], and also (with certain allowances) of manners and character. The analogy of manners and character between the rude inhabitants of the Arcadian Kynætha[3], and the polite Athens, was indeed accompanied with wide differences: yet if we compare the two with foreign contemporaries, we shall find certain negative characteristics of much importance common to both. In no city of historical Greece did there prevail either human sacrifices—or deliberate mutilation, such as cutting off the nose, ears, hands,

General analogy of manners among the Greeks.

[1] Callimach. Hymn. Apoll. 55, with Spanheim's note; Cicero, De Divinat. i. 1.

[2] See this point strikingly illustrated by Plato, Repub. v. p. 470–471 (c. 16), and Isocrates, and Panegyr. p. 102.

[3] Respecting the Arcadian Kynætha, see the remarkable observations of Polybius, iv. 17–23.

feet, &c.—or castration—or selling of children into slavery—or polygamy—or the feeling of unlimited obedience towards one man: all customs which might be pointed out as existing among the contemporary Carthaginians, Egyptians, Persians, Thracians[1], &c. The habit of running, wrestling, boxing, &c. in gymnastic contests with the body perfectly naked, was common to all Greeks, having been first adopted as a Lacedæmonian fashion in the fourteenth Olympiad: Thucydides and Herodotus remark, that it was not only not practised, but even regarded as unseemly, among Non-Hellens[2]. Of such customs, indeed, at once common to all the Greeks, and peculiar to them as distinguished from others, we cannot specify a great number; but we may see enough to convince ourselves that there did really exist, in spite of local differences,

[1] For examples and evidences of these practices, see Herodot. ii. 162; the amputation of the nose and ears of Patarbêmis by Apries king of Egypt (Xenophon, Anab. i. 9-13). The number of men deprived of hands, feet, or eyesight; in the satrapy of Cyrus the younger, who had inflicted all these severe punishments for the prevention of crime—he did not (says Xenophon) suffer criminals to scoff at him (εἶα καταγελᾶν). The ἐκτομὴ at Sardis (Herodot. iii. 49)—500 παῖδες ἐκτόμαι formed a portion of the yearly tribute paid by the Babylonians to the court of Susa (Herod. iii. 92). Selling of children for exportation by the Thracians (Herod. v. 6); there is some trace of this at Athens prior to the Solonian legislation (Plutarch, Solon, 23), arising probably out of the cruel state of the law between debtor and creditor. For the sacrifice of children to Kronus by the Carthaginians, in troubled times, (according to the language of Ennius, "Pœni soliti suos sacrificare puellos,") Diodor. xx. 14; xiii. 86. Porphyr. de Abstinent. ii. 56: the practice is abundantly illustrated in Möver's Die Religion der Phönizier, p. 298-304.

Arrian blames Alexander for cutting off the nose and ears of the Satrap Bêssus, saying that it was an act altogether *barbaric* (*i. e.* non-Hellenic), (Exp. Al. iv. 7. 6). About the σεβασμὸς θεοπρεπὴς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα in Asia, see Strabo, xi. p. 526.

[2] Thucyd. i. 6; Herodot. i. 10.

a general Hellenic sentiment and character, which counted among the cementing causes of an union apparently so little assured.

For we must recollect, that in respect to political sovereignty, complete disunion was among their most cherished principles. The only source of supreme authority to which a Greek felt respect and attachment, was to be sought within the walls of his own city. Authority seated in another city might operate upon his fears—might procure for him increased security and advantages, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show with regard to Athens and her subject allies—might even be mildly exercised, and inspire no special aversion: but still the principle of it was repugnant to the rooted sentiment of his mind, and he is always found gravitating towards the distinct sovereignty of his own Boulê or Ekklesia. This is a disposition common both to democracies and oligarchies, and operative even among the different towns belonging to the same subdivision of the Hellenic name—Achæans, Phocians, Bœotians, &c. The twelve Achæan cities are harmonious allies, with a periodical festival which partakes of the character of a congress,—but equal and independent political communities: the Bœotian towns, under the presidency of Thebes, their reputed metropolis, recognise certain common obligations, and obey, on various particular matters, chosen officers named Bœotarchs,—but we shall see, in this as in other cases, the centrifugal tendencies constantly manifesting themselves, and resisted chiefly by the interests and power of Thebes. That great, successful, and fortunate revolution which

Political sovereignty attached to each separate city—essential to the Hellenic mind.

merged the several independent political communities of Attica into the single unity of Athens, took place before the time of authentic history: it is connected with the name of the hero Theseus, but we know not how it was effected, and it forms a signal exception to Hellenic tendencies generally.

Political disunion—sovereign authority within the city-walls—thus formed a settled maxim in the Greek mind. The relation between one city and another was an international relation, not a relation subsisting between members of a common political aggregate. Within a few miles from his own city-walls, an Athenian found himself in the territory of another city, wherein he was nothing more than an alien,—where he could not acquire property in house or land, nor contract a legal marriage with any native woman, nor sue for legal protection against injury except through the mediation of some friendly citizen. The right of intermarriage and of acquiring landed property was occasionally granted by a city to some individual non-freeman, as matter of special favour, and sometimes (though very rarely) reciprocrated generally between two separate cities[1]. But the obligations between one city and another, or between the citizen of the one and the citizen of the other, are all matters of special covenant, agreed to by the sovereign authority in each. Such coexistence of entire political severance with so much fellowship in other ways, is perplexing in modern ideas, and

Each city stood to the rest in an international relation.

[1] Aristot. Polit. iii. 6, 12. It is unnecessary to refer to the many inscriptions which confer upon some individual non-freeman the right of ἐπιγαμία and ἔγκτησις.

modern language is not well furnished with expressions to describe Greek political phænomena. We may say that an Athenian citizen was an *alien* when he arrived as a visitor in Corinth, but we can hardly say that he was a *foreigner*: and though the relations between Corinth and Athens were in principle *international*, yet that word would be obviously unsuitable to the numerous petty autonomies of Hellas, besides that we require it for describing the relations of Hellenes generally with Persians or Carthaginians. We are compelled to use a word such as *interpolitical*, to describe the transactions between separate Greek cities, so numerous in the course of this history.

But city government is essential—village residence is looked upon as an inferior scale of living.

As, on the one hand, a Greek will not consent to look for sovereign authority beyond the limits of his own city, so, on the other hand, he must have a city to look to: scattered villages will not satisfy in his mind the exigences of social order, security, and dignity. Though the coalescence of smaller towns into a larger is repugnant to his feelings, that of villages into a town appears to him a manifest advance in the scale of civilization. Such at least is the governing sentiment of Greece throughout the historical period; for there was always a certain portion of the Hellenic aggregate —the rudest and least advanced among them—who dwelt in unfortified villages, and upon whom the citizen of Athens, Corinth, or Thebes looked down as inferiors. Such village residence was the character of the Epirots[1] universally, and prevailed throughout Hellas itself in those very early and

[1] Scylax, Peripl. c. 28–33; Thucyd. ii. 80.

even ante-Homeric times upon which Thucydides looked back as deplorably barbarous;—times of universal poverty and insecurity,—absence of pacific intercourse,—petty warfare and plunder, compelling every man to pass his life armed,—endless migration and no local attachments. Many of the considerable cities of Greece are mentioned as aggregations of pre-existing villages, some of them in times comparatively recent. Tegea and Mantineia in Arcadia represent in this way the confluence of eight villages and five villages respectively; Dymê in Achaia was brought together out of eight villages, and Elis in the same manner, at a period even later than the Persian invasion[1]; the like seems to have happened with Megara and Tanagra. A large proportion of the Arcadians continued their village life down to the time of the battle of Leuktra, and it suited the purposes of Sparta to keep them thus disunited; a policy which we shall see hereafter illustrated by the dismemberment of Mantineia (into its primitive component villages) which Agesilaus carried into effect, but which was reversed as soon as the power of Sparta was no longer paramount,—as well as by the foundation of Megalopolis out of a large number of petty Arcadian towns and villages, one of the capital measures of Epameinondas[2]. As this measure was an

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 337, 342, 386; Pausan. viii. 45, 1; Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 17–37.

[2] Pausan. viii. 27, 2–5; Diod. xv. 72: compare Arist. Polit. ii. 1, 5. The description of the διοίκισις of Mantineia is in Xenophon, Hellen. v. 2, 6–8: it is a flagrant example of his philo-Laconian bias. We see by the case of the Phocians after the Sacred War (Diodor. xvi. 60; Pausan. x. 3, 2) how heavy a punishment this διοίκισις was. Compare also the instructive speech of the Akanthian envoy Kleigenês

elevation of Arcadian importance, so the reverse proceeding—the breaking up of a city into its elementary villages—was not only a sentence of privation and suffering, but also a complete extinction of Grecian rank and dignity.

Village residents—numerous in early Greece—many of them coalesced into cities.

The Ozolian Locrians, the Ætolians, and the Akarnanians maintained their separate village residence down to a still later period, preserving along with it their primitive rudeness and disorderly pugnacity[1]. Their villages were unfortified, and defended only by comparative inaccessibility; in case of need they fled for safety with their cattle into the woods and mountains. Amidst such inauspicious circumstances, there was no room for that expansion of the social and political feelings to which protected intra-mural residence and increased numbers gave birth; there was no consecrated acropolis or agora—no ornamented temples and porticos, exhibiting the continued offerings of successive generations[2]—no theatre for music or

at Sparta, when he invoked the Lacedæmonian interference for the purpose of crushing the incipient federation, or junction of towns into a common political aggregate, which was growing up round Olynthus (Xen. Hellen. v. 2, 11-2). The wise and admirable conduct of Olynthus, and the reluctance of the lesser neighbouring cities to merge themselves in this union, are forcibly set forth; also the interest of Sparta in keeping all the Greek towns disunited. Compare the description of the treatment of Capua by the Romans (Livy, xxvi. 16).

[1] Thucyd. i. 5; iii. 94. Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 6, 5.

[2] Pausanias, x. 4, 1; his remarks on the Phocian *πόλις* Panopeus indicate what he included in the idea of a *πόλις*:—*εἴγε ὀνομάσαι τις πόλιν καὶ τούτους, οἷς γε οὐκ ἀρχεῖα, οὐ γυμνάσιόν ἐστιν· οὐ θέατρον, οὐκ ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην· ἀλλὰ ἐν στέγαις κοίλαις κατὰ τὰς καλύβας μάλιστα τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ. ὅμως δὲ ὅροι γε τῆς χώρας εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς εἰς τοὺς ὁμόρους, καὶ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον συνέδρους καὶ οὗτοι πέμπουσι τὸν Φωκικόν.*

The *μικρὰ πολίσματα* of the Pelasgians on the peninsula of Mount

recitation, no gymnasium for athletic exercises—none of those fixed arrangements, for transacting public business with regularity and decorum, which the Greek citizen, with his powerful organ of locality, deemed essential to a dignified existence. The village was nothing more than a fraction and a subordinate, appertaining as a limb to the organised body called the City. But the City and the State are in his mind and in his language one and the same: while no organisation less than the City can satisfy the exigences[1] of an intelligent freeman, the City is itself a perfect and self-sufficient whole, admitting no incorporation into any higher political unity. It deserves notice that Sparta even in the days of her greatest power was not (properly speaking) a city, but a mere agglutination of five adjacent villages, retaining unchanged its old-fashioned trim: the extreme defensibility of its frontier and the military prowess of its inhabitants supplied the absence of walls, while the discipline imposed upon the Spartan exceeded in rigour and minuteness anything known in Greece. And thus Sparta, though less than a city in respect to external appearance, was more than a city in respect to perfection of drilling and fixity of political routine: the contrast between the humble appear-

Sparta—retained its old village trim even at the height of its power.

Athôs (Thucyd. iv. 109) seem to have been something between villages and cities. When the Phocians, after the Sacred War, were deprived of their cities and forced into villages by the Amphiktyons, the order was that no village should contain more than fifty houses, and that no village should be within the distance of a furlong of any other (Diodor. xvi. 60).

[1] Aristot. Polit. i. 1, 8. ἡ δ' ἐκ πλειόνων κωμῶν κοινωνία τέλειος πόλις, ἡ δὴ πάσης ἔχουσα πέρας τῆς αὐταρκείας. Compare also iii. 6, 14; and Plato, Legg. viii. p. 848.

ance and the mighty reality is pointed out by Thucydides[1]. The inhabitants of the small territory of Pisa, wherein Olympia is situated, had once enjoyed the honourable privilege of administering the Olympic festival; they had been robbed of it and subjected by the more powerful Eleians, but they took advantage of various movements and tendencies among the larger Grecian powers to try and regain it; and on one of these occasions we find their claim repudiated because they were villagers, and unworthy of so great a distinction[2]. There was nothing to be called a city in the Pisatid territory.

In going through historical Greece, we are compelled to accept the Hellenic aggregate with its constituent elements as a primary fact to start from, because the state of our information does not enable us to ascend any higher. By what circumstances, or out of what pre-existing elements, this aggregate was brought together and modified, we find no evidence entitled to credit. There are indeed various names which are affirmed to designate ante-Hellenic inhabitants of many parts of Greece,—the Pelasgi, the Leleges, the Kurêtes, the Kaukônes, the Aones, the Temmikes, the Hyantes, the Telchines, the Bœotian Thracians, the Teleboæ, the Ephyri, the Phlegyæ, &c. These are names belonging to legendary, not to historical Greece: they are extracted out of a variety of conflicting

Hellenic aggregate accepted as a primary fact—its pre-existing elements untraceable.

[1] Thucyd. i. 10. *οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως, οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτέλεσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα.*

[2] Xenophon, Hellen. iii. 2, 31.

legends, by the logographers and subsequent historians, who strung together out of them a supposed history of the past, at a time when the conditions of historical evidence were very little understood. That these names designated real people, may be true, but here our knowledge ends: we have no well-informed witness to tell us their times, their limits of residence, their acts, or their character: nor do we know how far they are identical with or diverse from the historical Hellens—whom we are warranted in calling, not indeed the first inhabitants of the country, but the first known to us upon any tolerable evidence. If any man is inclined to call the unknown ante-Hellenic period of Greece by the name of Pelasgic, it is open to him to do so; but this is a name carrying with it no assured predicates, noway enlarging our insight into real history, nor enabling us to explain—what would be the real historical problem—how or from whom the Hellens acquired that stock of dispositions, aptitudes, arts, &c. with which they begin their career. Whoever has examined the many conflicting systems respecting the Pelasgi,—from the literal belief of Clavier, Larcher, and Raoul Rochette (which appears to me at least the most consistent way of proceeding), to the interpretative and half-incredulous processes applied by abler men, such as Niebuhr, or O. Müller, or Dr. Thirlwall[1]—

[1] Larcher, Chronologie d'Hérodote, ch. viii. p. 215, 274; Raoul Rochette, Histoire des Colonies Grecques, book i. ch. 5; Niebuhr, Römische Geschichte, vol. i. p. 26–64, 2nd ed. (the section entitled Die Oenotrer und Pelasger); O. Müller, Die Etrusker, vol. i. (Einleitung, ch. ii. p. 75–100); Dr. Thirlwall, History of Greece, vol. i. ch. ii. p. 36–64. The dissentient opinions of Kruse and Mannert may be

will not be displeased with my resolution to decline so insoluble a problem. No attested facts are now present to us—none were present to Herodotus and Thucydides even in their age—on which to build trustworthy affirmations respecting the ante-Hellenic Pelasgians: and where such is the case, we may without impropriety apply the remark of Herodotus respecting one of the theories which he had heard for explaining the inundation of the Nile by a supposed connection with the Ocean—that "the man who carries up his story into the invisible world, passes out of the range of criticism[1]."

Ancient Pelasgians not knowable.

As far as our knowledge extends, there were no towns or villages called Pelasgian, in Greece Proper, since 776 B.C. But there still existed in two different places, even in the age of Herodotus, people whom he believed to be Pelasgians. One portion of these occupied the towns of Plakia and Skylakê near Cyzicus, on the Propontis; another dwelt in

found in Kruse, Hellas, vol. i. p. 398–425; Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, Part viii. introduct. p. 4 *seqq.*

Niebuhr puts together all the mythical and genealogical traces, many of them in the highest degree vague and equivocal, of the existence of Pelasgi in various localities; and then, summing up their cumulative effect, asserts ("not as an hypothesis, but with full historical conviction," p. 54) "that there was a time when the Pelasgians, perhaps the most extended people in all Europe, were spread from the Po and the Arno to the Rhyndakus" (near Cyzicus), with only an interruption in Thrace. What is perhaps the most remarkable of all, is the contrast between his feeling of disgust, despair, and aversion to the subject, when he begins the inquiry (*"the name Pelasgi,"* he says, *"is odious to the historian, who hates the spurious philology out of which the pretences to knowledge on the subject of such extinct people arise,"* (p. 28), and the full confidence and satisfaction with which he concludes it.

[1] Herodotus. ii. 23:—Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεάνου εἴπας, ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας, οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον.

a town called Krêstôn, near the Thermaic Gulf[1]; and there were also certain other Pelasgian townships which he does not specify—it seems, indeed, from Thucydides, that there were some little Pelasgian townships on the peninsula of Athos[2]. Now Herodotus acquaints us with the remarkable fact, that the people of Krêstôn, those of Plakia and Skylakê, and those of the other unnamed Pelasgian townships, all spoke the same language, and each of them respectively a different language from their neighbours around them. He informs us, moreover, that their language was a barbarous (*i. e.* a non-Hellenic) language; and this fact he quotes as an evidence to prove that the ancient Pelasgian language was a barbarous language, or distinct from the Hellenic. He at the same time states expressly that he has no positive knowledge what language the ancient Pelasgians spoke—one proof, among others, that no memorials nor means of distinct information concerning that people could have been open to him.

Historical Pelasgians —spoke a barbarous language.

This is the one single fact, amidst so many conjectures concerning the Pelasgians, which we can be said to know upon the testimony of a competent and contemporary witness: the few townships—scattered and inconsiderable, but all that Herodotus in his day knew as Pelasgian—spoke a barbarous

[1] That Krêstôn is the proper reading in Herodotus there seems every reason to believe—not Krotôn, as Dionys. Hal. represents it (Ant. Rom. i. 26)—in spite of the authority of Niebuhr in favour of the latter.

[2] Thucyd. iv. 109. Compare the new Fragmenta of Strabo, lib. vii. edited from the Vatican MS. by Kramer, and since by Tafel (Tübingen, 1844), sect. 34. p. 26,—ᾤκησαν δὲ τὴν Χερρόνησον ταύτην τῶν ἐκ Λήμνου Πελασγῶν τινες, εἰς πέντε διηρήμενοι πολίσματα· Κλεωνὰς, Ὀλόφυξον, Ἀκροθώους, Δῖον, Θύσσον.

language. And upon such a point he must be regarded as an excellent judge. If then (infers the historian) all the early Pelasgians spoke the same language as those of Krêstôn and Plakia, they must have changed their language at the time when they passed into the Hellenic aggregate, or became Hellens. Now Herodotus conceives that aggregate to have been gradually enlarged to its great actual size by incorporating with itself not only the Pelasgians, but several other nations once barbarians[1]; the Hellens having been originally an inconsiderable people. Among those other nations once barbarian whom Herodotus supposes to have become hellenised, we may probably number the Leleges; and with respect to them as well as to the Pelasgians, we have contemporary testimony proving the existence of barbarian Leleges in later times. Philippus the Carian historian attested the present existence, and believed in the past existence, of Leleges in his country as serfs or dependent cultivators under the Carians, analogous to the Helots in Laconia or the Penestæ in Thessaly[2]. We may be very sure that there were no Hellens—no men speaking the Hellenic tongue—standing in such a relation to the Carians. Among those many barbaric-speaking nations whom Herodotus believed to have changed their language and passed into Hellens, we may therefore fairly consider the

Historical Leleges—barbarians in language also.

[1] Herod. i. 57. προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν.

[2] Athenæ. vi. p. 271. Φίλιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λελέγων συγγράμματι, καταλέξας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων Εἵλωτας καὶ τοὺς Θετταλικοὺς πενέστας, καὶ Κᾶράς φησι τοῖς Λέλεξιν ὡς οἰκέταις χρήσασθαι πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν.

Leleges to have been included. For next to the Pelasgians and Pelasgus, the Leleges and Lelex figure most conspicuously in the legendary genealogies; and both together cover the larger portion of the Hellenic soil.

The wider range of experience now acquired teaches us that adoption of a new language is not so easy as Herodotus supposed it to be; and that what takes place when two nations differing in speech come to dwell together, is, not effacement of the one language and substitution of the other, but confluence and corruption of both; the result presenting more or less of either element according to the numbers, intelligence, and ascendency of one or other people. The transition therefore from Pelasgian into Hellenic will not be accepted by modern inquirers in the manner in which Herodotus conceived it, though we must believe it to have taken place if we venture to apply our knowledge of the Pelasgians and Leleges of history, to the Pelasgians and Leleges of legend—and if we treat these barbarians as predecessors and progenitors of the larger portion of the Hellenic aggregate. There is nothing in the Greek language, as far as we are cognizant of its varieties, to countenance the supposition that any portion of the population between Olympus and Cape Malea were barbarians with whom it was an adoptive tongue. We know it only as one language—with diversity of dialect indeed, but with an organic structure, and a symmetrical evolution of inherent rules, such as to prevent our looking upon it as a medley of different tongues, pre-existing and barbaric.

Statements of good witnesses regarding the historical Pelasgians and Leleges are to be admitted,—whether they fit the legendary Pelasgians and Leleges or not.

Confining myself to historical evidence, and believing that no assured results can be derived from the attempt to transform legend into history, I accept the statement of Herodotus with confidence as to the barbaric language spoken by the Pelasgians of his day, and I believe the same with regard to the historical Leleges—but without presuming to determine anything in regard to the legendary Pelasgians and Leleges, the supposed ante-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece. And I think this course more consonant to the laws of historical inquiry than that which comes recommended by the high authority of Dr. Thirlwall, who softens and explains away the statement of Herodotus until it is made to mean only that the Pelasgians of Plakia and Krêstôn spoke a very bad Greek. The affirmation of Herodotus is distinct, and twice repeated, that the Pelasgians of these towns and of his own time spoke a barbaric language; and that word appears to me to admit of but one interpretation[1]. To suppose that a man who, like Herodotus,

[1] Herod. i. 57. Ἥντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεών ἐστι τεκμαιρομένοις λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων.....καὶ τὴν Πλακιήν τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ..... καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τουτοῖσι δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. Εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε· καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδάμοισι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί· σφίσι δὲ, ὁμόγλωσσοι. δηλοῦσι δὲ, ὅτι τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χώρια, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

In the next chapter Herodotus again calls the Pelasgian nation βάρβαρον.

Respecting this language heard by Herodotus at Krêstôn and Plakia, Dr. Thirlwall observes (chap. ii. p. 60), "This language Herodotus

had heard almost every variety of Greek, in the course of his long travels, as well as Egyptian, Phœnician, Assyrian, Lydian and other languages, did not know how to distinguish bad Hellenic from

describes as barbarous, and it is on this fact he grounds his general conclusion as to the ancient Pelasgian tongue. But he has not entered into any details that might have served to ascertain the manner or degree in which it differed from the Greek. Still the expressions he uses would have appeared to imply that it was essentially foreign, had he not spoken quite as strongly in another passage, where it is impossible to ascribe a similar meaning to his words. When he is enumerating the dialects that prevailed among the Ionian Greeks, he observes that the Ionian cities in Lydia agree not at all in their tongue with those of Caria; and he applies the very same term to these dialects, which he had before used in speaking of the remains of the Pelasgian language. This passage affords a measure by which we may estimate the force of the word *barbarian* in the former. Nothing more can be safely inferred from it, than that the Pelasgian language which Herodotus heard on the Hellespont, and elsewhere, sounded to him a strange jargon; as did the dialect of Ephesus to a Milesian, and as the Bolognese does to a Florentine. This fact leaves its real nature and relation to the Greek quite uncertain; and we are the less justified in building on it, as the history of Pelasgian settlements is extremely obscure, and the traditions which Herodotus reports on that subject have by no means equal weight with statements made from his personal observation." (Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, ch. ii. p. 60, 2nd edit.)

In the statement delivered by Herodotus (to which Dr. Thirlwall here refers) about the language spoken in the Ionic Greek cities, the historian had said (i. 142),—Γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Miletus, Myus, and Priêne,—ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταὐτὰ διαλεγόμεναί σφι. Ephesus, Kolophon, &c.—αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείσῃσι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφὶ δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. The Chians and Erythræans,—κατὰ τώυτὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μοῦνοι. Οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίγνονται.

The words γλώσσης χαρακτὴρ ("distinctive mode of speech") are common to both these passages, but their meaning in the one and in the other is to be measured by reference to the subject-matter of which the author is speaking, as well as to the words which accompany them, —especially the word βάρβαρος in the first passage. Nor can I think (with Dr. Thirlwall) that the meaning of βάρβαρος is to be determined by reference to the other two words: the reverse is in my judgment correct. Βάρβαρος is a term definite and unequivocal, but γλώσσης χαρακτὴρ varies according to the comparison which you happen at the

non-Hellenic, is in my judgment inadmissible; at any rate the supposition is not to be adopted without more cogent evidence than any which is here found.

As I do not presume to determine what were the antecedent internal elements out of which the Hellenic aggregate was formed, so I confess myself equally uninformed with regard to its external constituents. Cadmus, Danaus, Cecrops—the eponyms of the Cadmeians, of the Danaans, and of the Attic Cecropia—present themselves to my vision as creatures of legend, and in that character I have

Alleged ante-Hellenic colonies from Phœnicia and Egypt —neither verifiable nor probable.

moment to be making, and its meaning is here determined by its conjunction with *βάρβαρος*.

When Herodotus was speaking of the twelve Ionic cities in Asia, he might properly point out the differences of speech among them as so many different *χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης*: the limits of difference were fixed by the knowledge which his hearers possessed of the persons about whom he was speaking; the Ionians being all notoriously Hellens. So too an author describing Italy might say that Bolognese, Romans, Neapolitans, Genoese, &c. had different *χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης*; it being understood that the difference was such as might subsist among persons all Italians.

But there is also a *χαρακτὴρ γλώσσης* of Greek generally (abstraction made of its various dialects and diversities) as contrasted with Persian, Phœnician, or Latin—and of Italian generally, as contrasted with German or English. It is this comparison which Herodotus is taking when he describes the language spoken by the people of Krêstôn and Plakia, and which he notes by the word *βάρβαρον* as opposed to *Ἑλληνικόν*: it is with reference to this comparison that *χαρακτὴρ γλώσσης* in the fifty-seventh chapter is to be construed. The word *βάρβαρος* is the usual and recognised antithesis of *Ἕλλην* or *Ἑλληνικός*.

It is not the least remarkable part of the statement of Herodotus, that the language spoken at Krêstôn and at Plakia was the same, though the places were so far apart from each other. This identity of itself shows that he meant to speak of a substantive language, not of a "strange jargon." c

I think it therefore certain that Herodotus pronounces the Pelasgians of his day to speak a substantive language different from Greek; but whether differing from it in a greater or less degree (*e. g.* in the degree of Latin or of Phœnician) we have no means of deciding.

already adverted to them. That there may have been very early settlements in continental Greece from Phœnicia and Egypt, is nowise impossible; but I see neither positive proof, nor ground for probable inference that there were any such, though traces of Phœnician settlements in some of the islands may doubtless be pointed out. And if we examine the character and aptitudes of Greeks, as compared either with Egyptians or Phœnicians, it will appear that there is not only no analogy, but an obvious and fundamental contrast: the Greek may occasionally be found as a borrower from these ultramarine contemporaries, but he cannot be looked upon as their offspring or derivative. Nor can I bring myself to accept an hypothesis which implies (unless we are to regard the supposed foreign immigrants as very few in number, in which case the question loses most of its importance) that the Hellenic language—the noblest among the many varieties of human speech, and possessing within itself a pervading symmetry and organisation—is a mere confluence of two foreign barbaric languages (Phœnician and Egyptian) with two or more internal barbaric languages—Pelasgian, Lelegian, &c. In the mode of investigation pursued by different historians into this question of early foreign colonies, there is great difference (as in the case of the Pelasgi) between different authors—from the acquiescent Euemerism of Raoul Rochette to the refined distillation of Dr. Thirlwall in the third chapter of his History. It will be found that the amount of positive knowledge which Dr. Thirlwall guarantees to his readers in that chapter is ex-

tremely inconsiderable; for though he proceeds upon the general theory (different from that which I hold) that historical matter may be distinguished and elicited from the legends, yet when the question arises respecting any definite historical result, his canon of credibility is too just to permit him to overlook the absence of positive evidence, even when all intrinsic incredibility is removed. That which I note as Terra Incognita, is in his view a land which may be known up to a certain point; but the map which he draws of it contains so few ascertained places as to differ very little from absolute vacuity.

Most ancient Hellas—Græci.

The most ancient district called Hellas is affirmed by Aristotle to have been near Dôdôna and the river Achelôus, which would have been an unintelligible description (since the river does not flow near Dôdôna) if it had not been qualified by the remark, that the river had often in former times changed its course. He states moreover that the deluge of Deukaliôn took place chiefly in this district, which was in those early days inhabited by the Selli, and by the people then called Græci, but now Hellenes[1]. The Selli (called by Pindar Helli) are mentioned in the Iliad as the ministers of the Dodonæan Zeus—"men who slept in the ground and never washed their feet," and Hesiod in one of the lost poems (the Eœæ) speaks of the fat land and rich pastures of the land called Hellopia wherein Dôdôna was situated[2]. On what authority

[1] Aristotel. Meteorol. i. 14.

[2] Homer, Iliad, xvi. 234; Hesiod, Fragm. 149, ed. Marktscheffel; Sophocl. Trachin. 1174; Strabo, vii. p. 328.

Aristotle made his statement, we do not know; but the general feeling of the Greeks was different, —connecting Deukaliôn, Hellen, and the Hellenes, primarily and specially with the territory called Achaia Phthiôtis, between Mount Othrys and Œta. Nor can we either affirm or deny his assertion that the people in the neighbourhood of Dôdôna were called Græci before they were called Hellênes. There is no ascertained instance of the mention of a people called Græci in any author earlier than this Aristotelian treatise; for the allusions to Alkman and Sophocles prove nothing to the point[1]. Nor can we explain how it came to pass that the Hellenes were known to the Romans only under the name of Græci or Graii. But the name by which a people is known to foreigners is often completely different from its own domestic name, and we are not less at a loss to assign the reason, how the Rasena of Etruria came to be known to the Romans by the name of Tuscans or Etruscans.

[1] Stephan. Byz. v. *Γραικός*.—*Γραῖκες δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ἀλκμᾶνι αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μητέρες, καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Ποίμεσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ μεταπλασμὸς, ἢ τῆς Γραὶξ εὐθείας κλίσις ἐστίν.*

The word *Γραῖκες* in Alkman, meaning "the mothers of the Hellenes," may well be only a dialectic variety of *γρᾶες*, analogous to *κλᾰ̀ξ* and *ὄρνιξ*, for *κλεὶς*, *ὄρνις*, &c. (Ahrens, De Dialecto Dorică, sect. 11. p. 91; and sect. 31. p. 242), perhaps declined like *γυναῖκες*.

The term used by Sophocles, if we may believe Photius, was not *Γραικὸς*, but *Ῥαικός* (Photius, p. 480, 15; Dindorf, Fragment. Soph. 933: compare 455). Eustathius (p. 890) seems undecided between the two.

CHAPTER III.

MEMBERS OF THE HELLENIC AGGREGATE, SEPARATELY TAKEN.—GREEKS NORTH OF PELOPONNESUS.

HAVING in the preceding chapter touched upon the Greeks in their aggregate capacity, we now come to describe separately the portions of which this aggregate consisted, as they present themselves at the first discernible period of history.

Amphiktyonic races.

It has already been mentioned that the twelve races or subdivisions, members of what is called the Amphiktyonic convocation, were as follows:—

North of the pass of Thermopylæ,—Thessalians, Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Achæans, Melians, Æni-anes, Dolopes.

South of the pass of Thermopylæ,—Dorians, Ionians, Bœotians, Lokrians, Phocians.

Non-Amphiktyonic races.

Other Hellenic races, not comprised among the Amphiktyons, were—

The Ætolians and Akarnanians, north of the Gulf of Corinth.

The Arcadians, Eleians, Pisatans, and Triphylians, in the central and western portion of Peloponnesus: I do not here name the Achæans who occupied the southern or Peloponnesian coast of the Corinthian gulf, because they may be presumed to have been originally of the same race as the Phthiot Achæans, and therefore participant in the Amphiktyonic constituency, though their actual connection with it may have been disused.

The Dryopes, an inconsiderable, but seemingly peculiar subdivision, who occupied some scattered points on the sea-coast—Hermionê on the Argolic peninsula; Styrus and Karystus in Eubœa; the island of Kythnus, &c.

First period of Grecian history—from 776–560 B.C.

Though it may be said, in a general way, that our historical discernment of the Hellenic aggregate, apart from the illusions of legend, commences with 776 B.C., yet with regard to the larger number of its subdivisions just enumerated, we can hardly be said to possess any specific facts anterior to the invasion of Xerxes in 480 B.C. Until the year 560 B.C., the epoch of Crœsus in Asia Minor, and of Peisistratus at Athens, the history of the Greeks presents hardly anything of a collective character: the movements of each portion of the Hellenic world begin and end apart from the rest. We notice in the destruction of Kirrha by the Amphiktyons, the first memorable incident which brings into play in defence of the Delphian temple a common Hellenic feeling of which no previous symptoms have appeared.

Second period—from 560–300 B.C.

But about 560 B.C., two important changes are seen to come into operation which alter the character of Grecian history—extricating it out of its former chaos of detail, and centralising its isolated phænomena:—1. The subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by Lydia and by Persia, and their struggles for emancipation, in which the European Greeks became implicated, first as accessories and afterwards as principals. 2. The combined action of the large mass of Greeks under Sparta, as their most powerful state and acknowledged chief, followed

by the rapid and extraordinary growth of Athens, the complete development of Grecian maritime power, and the struggle between Athens and Sparta for the headship. These two causes, though distinct in themselves, must nevertheless be regarded as working together to a certain degree—or rather the second grew out of the first. For it was the Persian invasions of Greece which first gave birth to a wide-spread alarm and antipathy among the leading Greeks (we must not call it Pan-Hellenic, since more than half of the Amphiktyonic constituency gave earth and water to Xerxes) against the barbarians of the East, and impressed them with the necessity of joint active operations under a leader. The idea of a leadership or hegemony of collective Hellas, as a privilege necessarily vested in some one state for common security against the barbarians, thus became current—an idea foreign to the mind of Solon, or any one of the same age. Next came the miraculous development of Athens, and the violent contest between her and Sparta which should be the leader; the larger portion of Hellas taking side with one or the other, and the common quarrel against the Persian being for the time put out of sight. Athens is put down, Sparta acquires the undisputed hegemony, and again the anti-barbaric feeling manifests itself, though faintly, in the Asiatic expeditions of Agesilaus. But the Spartans, too incompetent either to deserve or maintain this exalted position, are overthrown by the Thebans—themselves not less incompetent, with the single exception of Epameinondas. The death of that single man extinguishes

the pretensions of Thebes to the hegemony, and Hellas is left, like the deserted Penelopê in the Odyssey, worried by the competition of several suitors, none of whom is strong enough to stretch the bow on which the prize depends[1]. Such a manifestation of force, as well as the trampling down of the competing suitors, is reserved, not for any legitimate Hellenic arm, but for a semi-hellenised[2] Macedonian, "brought up at Pella," and making good his encroachments gradually from the north of Olympus. The hegemony of Greece thus passes for ever out of Grecian hands; but the conqueror finds his interest in rekindling the old sentiment under the influence of which it had first sprung up. He binds to him the discordant Greeks, by the force of their ancient and common antipathy against the Great King, until the desolation and sacrilege once committed by Xerxes at Athens is avenged by annihilation of the Persian empire. And this victorious consummation of Pan-Hellenic antipathy—the dream of Xenophon[3] and the Ten Thousand Greeks after the battle of Kunaxa—the hope of Jason of Pheræ—the exhortation of Isocrates[4]—the project of Philip and the

[1] Xenophon, Hellen. vii. 5, 27; Demosthenes, De Coron. c. 7. p. 231—ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἔρις καὶ ταραχή.

[2] Demosthen. de Coron. c. 21. p. 247.

[3] Xenophon, Anabas. iii. 2, 25–26.

[4] Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 12; Isocrates, Orat. ad Philipp., Orat. v. p. 107. This discourse of Isocrates is composed expressly for the purpose of calling on Philip to put himself at the head of united Greece against the Persians: the Oratio iv., called Panegyrica, recommends a combination of all Greeks for the same purpose, but under the hegemony of Athens, putting aside all intestine differences: see Orat. iv. p. 45–68.

achievement of Alexander,—while it manifests the irresistible might of Hellenic ideas and organisation in the then existing state of the world, is at the same time the closing scene of substantive Grecian life. The citizen-feelings of Greece become afterwards merely secondary forces, subordinate to the preponderance of Greek mercenaries under Macedonian order, and to the rudest of all native Hellens—the Ætolian mountaineers. Some few individuals are indeed found, even in the third century B.C., worthy of the best times of Hellas, and the Achæan confederation of that century is an honourable attempt to contend against irresistible circumstances: but on the whole, that free, social, and political march, which gives so much interest to the earlier centuries, is irrevocably banished from Greece after the generation of Alexander the Great.

Important differences between the two—the first period preparatory and very little known.

The foregoing brief sketch will show that, taking the period from Crœsus and Peisistratus down to the generation of Alexander (560–300 B.C.), the phænomena of Hellas generally, and her relations both foreign and inter-political, admit of being grouped together in masses, with continued dependence on one or a few predominant circumstances: they may be said to constitute a sort of historical epopee, analogous to that which Herodotus has constructed out of the wars between Greeks and barbarians, from the legends of Iô and Eurôpa down to the repulse of Xerxes. But when we are called back to the period between 776 and 560 B.C., the phænomena brought to our knowledge are not only scanty in number, but exhibit few common feelings or interests, and no ten-

dency towards any one assignable purpose. To impart interest to this first period, so obscure and unpromising, we shall be compelled to consider it in its relation with the second; partly as a preparation, partly as a contrast. Of the extra-Peloponnesian Greeks north of Attica, during these two centuries, we know absolutely nothing; but it will be possible to furnish some information respecting the early condition and struggles of the great Dorian states in Peloponnesus, and respecting the rise of Sparta from the second to the first place in the comparative scale of Grecian powers. Athens becomes first known to us at the legislation of Draco and the attempt of Kylôn (620 B.C.) to make himself despot; and we gather some facts concerning the Ionic cities in Eubœa and Asia Minor during the century of their chief prosperity, prior to the reign and conquests of Crœsus. In this way we shall form to ourselves some idea of the growth of Sparta and Athens,—of the short-lived and energetic development of the Ionic Greeks—and of the slow working of those causes which tended to bring about increased Hellenic intercommunication—as contrasted with the enlarged range of ambition, the grand Pan-Hellenic ideas, the systematised party-antipathies, and the intensified action both abroad and at home, which grew out of the contest with Persia.

Extra-Peloponnesian Greeks (north of Attica) not known at all during the first period.

There are also two or three remarkable manifestations which will require special notice during this first period of Grecian history:—1. The great multiplicity of colonies sent forth by individual cities, and the rise and progress of these several

colonies; 2. The number of despots who seem to have arisen in the various Grecian cities; 3. The lyric poetry; 4. The rudiments of that which afterwards ripened into moral philosophy, as manifested in gnomes or aphorisms—or the age of the Seven Wise Men.

But before we proceed to relate those earliest proceedings (unfortunately too few) of the Dorians and Ionians during the historical period, together with the other matters just alluded to, it will be convenient to go over the names and positions of those other Grecian states respecting which we have no information during these first two centuries. Some idea will thus be formed of the less important members of the Hellenic aggregate, previous to the time when they will be called into action. We begin by the territory north of the pass of Thermopylæ.

General sketch of them.—Greeks north of Thermopylæ.

Of the different races who dwelt between this celebrated pass and the mouth of the river Peneius, by far the most powerful and important were the Thessalians. Sometimes indeed the whole of this area passes under the name of Thessaly, and nominally, though not always really, the power of the Thessalians extended over the whole. We know that the Trachinian Herakleia, founded by the Lacedæmonians in the early years of the Peloponnesian war close at the pass of Thermopylæ, was planted upon the territory of the Thessalians[1]. But there were also within these limits other races, inferior and dependent on the Thessalians, yet said

[1] Thucyd. iii. 93. Οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων, καὶ ὧν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ ἐκτίζετο (Herakleia), &c.

to be of more ancient date, and certainly not less genuine subdivisions of the Hellenic name. The Perrhæbi[1] occupied the northern portion of the territory between the lower course of the river Peneius and Mount Olympus; the Magnêtes[2] dwelt along the eastern coast, between Mount Ossa and Pelion on one side and the Ægean on the other, comprising the south-eastern cape and the eastern coast of the Gulf of Pagasæ as far as Iôlkos; the Achæans occupied the territory called Phthiôtis, extending from near Mount Pindus on the west to the Gulf of Pagasæ on the east[3], along the mountain chain of Othrys with its lateral projections northerly into the Thessalian plain, and southerly even to its junction with Œta; the three tribes of the Malians dwelt between Achæa Phthiôtis and Thermopylæ, including both Trachin and Herakleia: westward of Achæa Phthiôtis, the lofty region of Pindus or Tymphrêstus, with its declivities both westward and eastward, was occupied by the Dolopes.

Thessalians and their dependents.

All these five tribes or subdivisions—Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Achæans of Phthiôtis, Malians, and Dolopes—together with certain Epirotic and Mace-

[1] Herodot. vii. 173; Strabo, ix. p. 440–441. Herodotus notices the pass over the chain of Olympus or the Cambunian mountains by which Xerxes and his army passed out of Macedonia into Perrhæbia: see the description of the pass and the neighbouring country in Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, ch. xxviii. vol. iii. p. 338–348; compare Livy, xlii. 53.

[2] Scylax, Periplus, c. 66; Herodot. vii. 183–188.

[3] Scylax, Peripl. c. 64; Strabo, ix. p. 433–434. Sophocles included the territory of Trachin in the limits of Phthiôtis (Strabo, *l. c.*). Herodotus considers Phthiôtis as terminating a little north of the river Spercheius (vii. 198).

donian tribes besides, beyond the boundaries of Pindus and Olympus, were in a state of irregular dependence upon the Thessalians, who occupied the central plain or basin drained by the Peneius, which receives the streams from Olympus, from Pindus, and from Othrys: the country was supposed by its inhabitants to have been once a lake until Poseidôn cut open the defile of Tempê, through which the Peneius finds an efflux. In travelling northward from Thermopylæ, the commencement of this fertile region—the amplest space of land continuously productive which Hellas presents—is strikingly marked by the steep rock and ancient fortress of Thaumaki[1], from whence the traveller, passing over the mountains of Achæa Phthiôtis and Othrys, sees before him the plains and low declivities which reach northward across Thessaly to Olympus. A narrow strip of coast—in the interior of the Gulf of Pagasæ, between the Magnêtes and the Achæans, and containing the towns of Amphanæum and Pagasæ[2]—belonged to this proper territory of Thes-

[1] See the description of Thaumaki in Livy, xxxii. 4, and in Dr. Holland's Travels, ch. xvii. vol. ii. p. 112—now Thomoko.

[2] Scylax, Peripl. c. 65. Hesychius (v. Παγασίτης Ἀπόλλων) seems to reckon Pagasæ as Achæan.

About the towns in Thessaly and their various positions, see Mannert, Geograph. der Gr. und Römer, Part vii. book iii. ch. 8 and 9.

There was an ancient religious ceremony, celebrated by the Delphians every ninth year (Ennaëtêris): a procession was sent from Delphi to the pass of Tempê, consisting of well-born youths under an archi-theôr, who represented the proceeding ascribed by an old legend to Apollo; that god was believed to have gone thither to receive expiation after the slaughter of the serpent Pytho: at least this was one among several discrepant legends. The chief youth plucked and brought back a branch from the sacred laurel at Tempê, as a token that he had fulfilled his mission: he returned by "the sacred road," and broke his fast at a place called Δειπνιὰς near Larissa. A solemn fes-

saly, but its great expansion was inland: within it were situated the cities of Pheræ, Pharsalus, Skotussa, Larissa, Krannôn, Atrax, Pharkadôn, Trikka, Metropolis, Pelinna, &c. The abundance of corn and cattle from the neighbouring plains sustain in these cities a numerous population, and above all a proud and disorderly noblesse, whose manners bore much resemblance to those of the heroic times: they were violent in their behaviour, eager in armed feud, but unaccustomed to political discussion or compromise; faithless as to obligations, yet at the same time generous in their hospitalities, and much given to the enjoyments of the table[1]. They bred the finest horses in Greece, and were distinguished for their excellence as cavalry; but their infantry is little noticed, nor do the Thessalian cities seem to have possessed that breed of free and tole-

tival, frequented by a large concourse of people from the surrounding regions, was celebrated on this occasion at Tempê, in honour of Apollo Tempeitês (Ἀπλοῦνι Τεμπείτᾳ in the Æolic dialect of Thessaly: see Inscript. in Boeckh, Corp. Ins. No. 1767). The procession was accompanied by a flute-player.

See Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. ch. xi. p. 292; De Musicâ, ch. xiv. p. 1136; Ælian, V. H. iii. 1; Stephan. Byz. v. Δειπνιάς.

It is important to notice these religious processions as establishing intercourse and sympathies between the distant members of Hellas: but the inferences which O. Müller (Dorians, B. ii. 1. p. 222) would build upon them, as to the original seat of the Dorians and the worship of Apollo, are not to be trusted.

[1] Plato, Krito, c. 15. p. 53. ἐκεῖ γὰρ δὴ πλείστη ἀταξία καὶ ἀκολασία (compare the beginning of the Menôn)—a remark the more striking since he had just before described the Bœotian Thebes as a well-regulated city, though both Dikæarchus and Polybius represent it in their times as so much the contrary.

See also Demosthen. Olynth. i. c. 9. p. 16, cont. Aristokrat. c. 29. p. 657; Schol. Eurip. Phœniss. 1466; Theopomp. Fragment. 54–178, ed. Didot; Aristophanes, Plut. 521.

The march of political affairs in Thessaly is understood from Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 1: compare Anabas. i. 1, 10, and Thucyd. iv. 78.

rably equal citizens, each master of his own arms, out of whom the ranks of hoplites were constituted —the warlike nobles, such as the Aleuadæ at Larissa, or the Skopadæ at Krannon, despising everything but equestrian service for themselves, furnished from their extensive herds on the plain horses for the poorer soldiers. These Thessalian cities exhibit the extreme of turbulent oligarchy, occasionally trampled down by some one man of great vigour, but little tempered by that sense of political communion and reverence for established law, which was found among the better cities of Hellas. Both in Athens and Sparta, so different in many respects from each other, this feeling will be found, if not indeed constantly predominant, yet constantly present and operative; both of them exhibit a contrast with Larissa or Pheræ not unlike that between Rome and Capua—the former, with her endless civil feuds constitutionally conducted, admitting the joint action of parties against a common foe; the latter with her abundant soil enriching a luxurious oligarchy, and impelled according to the feuds of her great proprietors, the Magii, Blossii, and Jubellii[1].

Thessalian character.

The Thessalians are indeed in their character and capacity as much Epirotic or Macedonian as Hellenic; at least they form a sort of link between the two. For the Macedonians, though trained in aftertimes upon Grecian principles by the genius of Philip and Alexander, so as to constitute the celebrated heavy-armed phalanx, were originally (even in the Peloponnesian war) distinguished chiefly for

[1] See Cicero, Orat. in Pison. c. 11; De Leg. Agrar. cont. Rullum, c. 34–35.

the excellence of their cavalry, like the Thessalians[1]; while the broad-brimmed hat or kausia, and the short spreading mantle or chlamys, were common to both. We are told that the Thessalians were originally immigrants from Thesprotia in Epirus, and conquerors of the plain of the Peneius, which (according to Herodotus) was then called Æolis, and which they found occupied by the Pelasgi[2]. It may be doubted whether the great Thessalian families—such as the Aleuadæ of Larissa, descendants from Hêraklês, and placed by Pindar on the same level as the Lacedæmonian kings[3]—would have admitted this Thesprotian origin; nor does it coincide with the tenor of those legends which make the eponym, Thessalus, son of Hêraklês. Moreover, it is to be remarked that the language of the Thessalians was Hellenic, a variety of the Æolic dialect[4]; the same (so far as we can make out) as that of the people whom they must have found settled in the country at their first conquest. If then it be true, that at some period anterior to the commencement of authentic history, a body of Thesprotian warriors crossed the passes of Pindus, and established themselves as conquerors in Thessaly, we must suppose them to have been more warlike than numerous, and to have gradually dropt their primitive lan-

[1] Compare the Thessalian cavalry as described by Polybius, iv. 8, with the Macedonian as described by Thucydides, ii. 100.

[2] Herodot. vii. 176; Thucyd. i. 12.

[3] Pindar, Pyth. x. init. with the Scholia, and the valuable comment of Boeckh, in reference to the Aleuadæ; Schneider ad Aristot. Polit. v. 5, 9; and the Essay of Buttmann, Von dem Geschlecht der Aleuaden, art. xxii. vol. ii. p. 254, of the collection called "Mythologus."

[4] Ahrens, De Dialect. Æolicâ, c. 1. 2.

guage. In other respects, the condition of the population of Thessaly, such as we find it during the historical period, favours the supposition of an original mixture of conquerors and conquered. For it seems that there was among the Thessalians and their dependents a triple gradation, somewhat analogous to that of Laconia: first, a class of rich proprietors distributed throughout the principal cities, possessing most of the soil, and constituting separate oligarchies loosely hanging together[1]; next, the subject Achæans, Magnêtes, Perrhæbi, differing from the Laconian Periœki in this point, that they retained their ancient tribe-name and separate Amphiktyonic franchise; thirdly, a class of serfs or dependent cultivators, corresponding to the Laconian Helots, who tilled the lands of the wealthy oligarchs and paid over a proportion of its produce, furnished the retainers by which these great families were surrounded and in part their followers in the cavalry service, and were in a condition of villenage,—yet with the important reserve that they could not be sold out of the country[2], that they had a permanent tenure in the soil, and

[1] See Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 3; Thucyd. ii. 99–100.

[2] The words ascribed by Xenophon (Hellen. vi. 1, 11) to Jason of Pheræ, as well as to Theocritus (xvi. 34), attest the numbers and vigour of the Thessalian Penestæ, and the great wealth of the Aleuadæ and Skopadæ. Both these families acquired celebrity from the verses of Simonides: he was patronised and his muse invoked by both of them; see Ælian, V. H. xii. 1; Ovid, Ibis, 512; Quintilian, xi. 2, 15. Pindar also boasts of his friendship with Thorax the Aleuad (Pyth. x. 99).

The Thessalian ἀνδραποδισταὶ alluded to in Aristophanes (Plutus, 521) must have sold men out of the country for slaves—either refractory Penestæ, or Perrhæbian, Magnetic, and Achæan freemen, seized by violence: the Athenian comic poet Mnesimachus, in jesting on the voracity of the Pharsalians, exclaims, ap. Athenæ. x. p. 418—

Condition of the population of Thessaly—a villein race—the Penestæ.

that they maintained among one another the relations of family and village. This last-mentioned order of men, in Thessaly called the Penestæ, is assimilated by all ancient authors to the Helots of Laconia, and in both cases the danger attending such a social arrangement is noticed by Plato and Aristotle; for the Helots as well as the Penestæ had their own common language and mutual sympathies, a separate residence, arms, and courage; to a certain extent, also, they possessed the means of acquiring property, since we are told that some of the Penestæ were richer than their masters[1]. So many means of action, combined with a degraded social position, gave rise to frequent revolt and incessant apprehensions. As a general rule, the cultivation of the soil by slaves or dependents, for the benefit of proprietors in the cities, prevailed throughout most parts of Greece: the rich men of Thebes, Argos, Athens or Elis, must have derived their incomes in the same manner; but it seems that there was often in other places a larger intermixture of bought foreign slaves, and also that the number, fellow-feeling, and courage of the degraded village population was nowhere so great as in

ἆρά που
ὀπτὴν κατεσθίουσι πόλιν Ἀχαϊκήν;

Pagasæ was celebrated as a place of export for slaves (Hermippus ap. Athenæ. i. 49).

Menôn of Pharsalus assisted the Athenians against Amphipolis with 200, or 300, "Penestæ on horseback, of his own"—(Πενέσταις ἰδίοις) Demosthen. περὶ Συνταξ. c. 9. p. 173, cont. Aristokrat. c. 51. p. 687.

[1] Archemachus ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 264; Plato, Legg. vi. p. 777; Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 3. vii. 9, 9; Dionys. Halic. A. R. ii. 84.

Both Plato and Aristotle insist on the extreme danger of having numerous slaves, fellow-countrymen and of one language—(ὁμόφυλοι, ὁμόφωνοι, πατρίωται ἀλλήλων).

Thessaly and Laconia. Now the origin of the Penestæ in Thessaly is ascribed to the conquest of the territory by the Thesprotians, as that of the Helots in Laconia is traced to the Dorian conquest. The victors in both countries are said to have entered into a convention with the vanquished population, whereby the latter became serfs and tillers of the land for the benefit of the former, but were at the same time protected in their holdings, constituted subjects of the state, and secured against being sold away as slaves. Even in the Thessalian cities, though inhabited in common by Thessalian proprietors and their Penestæ, the quarters assigned to each were to a great degree separated: what was called the Free Agora could not be trodden by any Penest except when specially summoned[1].

Who the Penestæ were—doubtful.

Who the people were, whom the conquest of Thessaly by the Thesprotians reduced to this predial villenage, we find differently stated. According to Theopompus, they were Perrhæbians and Magnêtes; according to others, Pelasgians; while Archemachus alleged them to have been Bœotians of the territory of Arnê[2]—some emigrating to escape the conquerors, others remaining and accepting the condition of serfs. But the conquest, assuming it

[1] Aristot. Polit. vii. 11, 2.

[2] Theopompus and Archemachus ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 264–266: compare Thucyd. ii. 12; Steph. Byz. v. Ἀρνη—the converse of this story in Strabo, ix. p. 401–411, of the Thessalian Arnê being settled from Bœotia. That the villeins or Penestæ were completely distinct from the circumjacent dependents—Achæans, Magnetes, Perrhæbians, we see by Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 3. They had their eponymous hero Penestes, whose descent was traced to Thessalus son of Hêraklês; they were thus connected with the mythical father of the nation (Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1271).

as a fact, occurred at far too early a day to allow of our making out either the manner in which it came to pass or the state of things which preceded it. The Pelasgians whom Herodotus saw at Krêstôn are affirmed by him to have been the descendants of those who quitted Thessaly to escape[1] the invading Thesprotians: others again held that the Bœotians, driven on this occasion from their habitations on the Gulf of Pagasæ near the Achæans of Phthiôtis, precipitated themselves on Orchomenus and Bœotia, and settled in it, expelling the Minyæ and the Pelasgians.

Quadruple division of Thessaly.

Passing over the legends on this subject, and confining ourselves to historical time, we find an established quadruple division of Thessaly, said to have been introduced in the time of Aleuas, the ancestor (real or mythical) of the powerful Aleuadæ, —Thessaliôtis, Pelasgiôtis, Histiæôtis, Phthiôtis[2]. In Phthiôtis were comprehended the Achæans, whose chief towns were Melitæa, Itônus, Thebæ Phthiôtides, Alos, Larissa Kremastê and Pteleon, on or near the western coast of the Gulf of Pagasæ: Histiæôtis, to the north of the Peneius, comprised the Perrhæbians with numerous towns strong in

[1] Herodot. i. 57: compare vii. 176.

[2] Hellanikus, Fragm. 28, ed. Didot; Harpocration, v. Τετραρχία: the quadruple division was older than Hekatæus (Steph. Byz. v. Κράννων).

Hekatæus connected the Perrhæbians with the genealogy of Æolus through Tyrô the daughter of Salmôneus: they passed as Αἰολεῖς (Hekatæus, Frag. 334, ed. Didot; Stephan. Byz. v. Φάλαννα and Τόννοι).

The territory of the city of Histiæa (in the north part of the island of Eubœa) was also called Histiæôtis. The double occurrence of this name (no uncommon thing in ancient Greece) seems to have given rise to the statement, that the Perrhæbi had subdued the northern parts of Eubœa, and carried over the inhabitants of the Eubœan Histiæa captive into the north-west of Thessaly (Strabo, ix. p. 437, x. p. 446).

situation, but of no great size or importance; they occupied the passes of Olympus[1] and are sometimes considered as extending westward across Pindus; while Pelasgiôtis included the Magnêtes, together with that which was called the Pelasgic plain bordering on the western side of Pelion and Ossa[2]: Thessaliôtis comprised the central plain of Thessaly and the upper course of the river Peneius. This was the political classification of the Thessalian power, framed to suit a time when the separate cities were maintained in harmonious action by favourable circumstances or by some energetic individual ascendency; for their union was in general interrupted and disorderly, and we find certain cities standing aloof while the rest went to war[3]. Though a certain political junction, and obligations of some kind towards a common authority, were recognised in theory by all, and a chief or Tagus[4] was nominated to enforce obedience,—yet it frequently happened that the disputes of the cities among themselves prevented the choice of a Tagus, or drove him out of the country, and left the alliance little more than nominal. Larissa, Pharsalus[5], and Pheræ —each with its cluster of dependent towns as ad-

[1] Pliny, H. N. iv. 1; Strabo, ix. p. 440.

[2] Strabo, ix. p. 443.

[3] Diodor. xviii. 11; Thucyd. ii. 22.

[4] The Inscription No. 1770 in Boeckh's Corpus Inscript. contains a letter of the Roman consul, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, addressed to the city of Kyretiæ (north of Atrax in Perrhæbia). The letter is addressed, Κυρετιέων τοῖς ταγοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει—the title of Tagi seems thus to have been given to the magistrates of separate Thessalian cities. The Inscriptions of Thaumaki (No. 1773-1774) have the title ἄρχοντες, not ταγοί. The title ταγὸς was peculiar to Thessaly (Pollux, i. 128).

[5] Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 9; Diodor. xiv. 82; Thucyd. i. 3. Herod. vii. 6 calls the Aleuadæ Θεσσαλίης βασιλῆες.

Disorderly confederacy of the Thessalian cities.

juncts—seem to have been nearly on a par in strength, and each torn by intestine faction, so that not only was the supremacy over common dependents relaxed, but even the means of repelling invaders greatly enfeebled. The dependence of the Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Achæans, and Malians, might under these circumstances be often loose and easy. But the condition of the Penestæ—who occupied the villages belonging to these great cities, in the central plain of Pelasgiôtis and Thessaliôtis, and from whom the Aleuadæ and Skopadæ derived their exuberance of landed produce—was noway mitigated, if it was not even aggravated, by such constant factions; nor were there wanting cases in which the discontent of this subject class was employed by members of the native oligarchy[1], or even by foreign states, for the purpose of bringing about political revolutions.

"When Thessaly is under her Tagus, all the neighbouring people pay tribute to her; she can send into the field 6000 cavalry and 10,000 hoplites or heavy-armed infantry[2]," observed Jason, despot of Pheræ, to Polydamas of Pharsalus, in endeavouring to prevail on the latter to second his pretensions to that dignity. The impost due from the tributaries, seemingly considerable, was then

[1] Xenophon, Memorab. i. 2, 24; Hellenic. ii. 3, 37. The loss of the comedy called Πόλεις of Eupolis (see Meincke, Fragm. Comicor Græc. p. 513) probably prevents us from understanding the sarcasm of Aristophanes (Vesp. 1263) about the παραπρέσβεια of Amynias among the Penestæ of Pharsalus; but the incident there alluded to can have nothing to do with the proceedings of Kritias, touched upon by Xenophon.

[2] Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 9-12.

realised with arrears, and the duties upon imports at the harbours of the Pagasæan gulf, imposed for the benefit of the confederacy, were then enforced with strictness; but the observation shows that while unanimous Thessaly was very powerful, her periods of unanimity were only occasional[1]. Among the nations which thus paid tribute to the fulness of Thessalian power, we may number not merely the Perrhæbi, Magnetes, and Achæans of Phthiôtis, but also the Malians and Dolopes, and various tribes of Epirots extending to the westward of Pindus[2]. We may remark that they were all (except the Malians) javelin-men or light-armed troops, not serving in rank with the full panoply; a fact which in Greece counts as presumptive evidence of a lower civilization: the Magnetes, too, had a peculiar close-fitting mode of dress, probably suited to movements in a mountainous country[3]. There was even a time when the Thessalian power threatened to extend southward of Thermopylæ, subjugating the Phocians, Dorians, and Lokrians. So much were the Phocians alarmed at this danger, that they had built a wall across the pass of Thermopylæ for the purpose of more easily defending it against Thessalian invaders: the latter are reported

Great power of Thessaly, when in a state of unanimity.

[1] Demosthen. Olynth. i. c. 3. p. 15, ii. c. 5. p. 21. The orator had occasion to denounce Philip as having got possession of the public authority of the Thessalian confederation, partly by intrigue, partly by force, and we thus hear of the λιμένες and the ἀγοραί which formed the revenue of the confederacy.

[2] Xenophon (Hellen. vi. 1, 7) numbers the Μαρακοὶ among these tributaries along with the Dolopes: the Maraces are named by Pliny (H. M. iv. 3) also along with the Dolopes, but we do not know where they dwelt.

[3] Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 1, 9; Pindar, Pyth. iv. 80.

to have penetrated more than once into the Phocian valleys, and to have sustained some severe defeats[1]. At what precise time these events happened, we find no information; but it must have been considerably earlier than the invasion of Xerxes, since the defensive wall which had been built at Thermopylæ by the Phocians was found by Leonidas in a state of ruin. But the Phocians, though they no longer felt the necessity of keeping up this wall, had not ceased to fear and hate the Thessalians: the reciprocal bitterness of hatred between these two nations will be found to manifest itself palpably in connection with the Persian invasion. On the whole the resistance of the Phocians was successful, for the power of the Thessalians never reached southward of the pass[2].

Achæans, Perrhæbi, Magnêtes, Malians, Dolopes, &c., all tributaries of the Thessalians, but all Amphiktyonic races.

It will be recollected that these different ancient races,—Perrhæbi, Magnêtes, Achæans, Malians, Dolopes,—though tributaries of the Thessalians, still retained their Amphiktyonic franchise, and were considered as legitimate Hellenes: all except the Malians are indeed mentioned in the Iliad. We shall rarely have occasion to speak much of them in the course of this history: they are found siding with Xerxes (chiefly by constraint) in his attack of Greece, and almost indifferent in the struggle between Sparta and Athens. That the Achæans of Phthiôtis are a portion of the same race as the Achæans of Peloponnesus it seems reasonable to believe, though we trace no historical

[1] Herodot. vii. 176, viii. 27–28.

[2] The story of invading Thessalians at Kerêssus near Leuktra in Bœotia (Pausan. ix. 13, 1) is not at all probable.

evidence to authenticate it. Achæa Phthiôtis is the seat of Hellên, the patriarch of the entire race, —of the primitive Hellas, by some treated as a town, by others as a district of some breadth,— and of the great national hero Achilles. Its connection with the Peloponnesian Achæans is not unlike that of Doris with the Peloponnesian Dorians[1]. We have also to notice another ethnical kindred, the date and circumstances of which are given to us only in a mythical form, but which seems nevertheless to be in itself a reality,—that of the Magnêtes on Pelion and Ossa, with the two divisions of Asiatic Magnêtes, or Magnesia on Mount Sipylus and Magnesia on the river Mæander. It is said that these two Asiatic homonymous towns were founded by migrations of the Thessalian Magnêtes, a body of whom became consecrated to the Delphian god, and chose a new abode under his directions. According to one story these emigrants were warriors returning from the siege of Troy; according to another, they sought fresh seats to escape from the Thesprotian conquerors of Thessaly. There was a third story, according to which the Thessalian Magnêtes themselves were represented as colonists[2] from Delphi. One can elicit no distinct matter of fact from these legends; but we may readily believe in the connection of race between the Thessalian and the Asiatic Mag-

Asiatic Magnêtes.

[1] One story was, that these Achæans of Phthia went into Peloponnesus with Pelops, and settled in Laconia (Strabo, viii. p. 365).

[2] Aristoteles ap. Athenæ. iv. p. 173; Conon, Narrat. 29; Strabo, xiv. p. 647.

Hoeckh (Kreta, b. iii. vol. ii. p. 409) attempts (unsuccessfully, in my judgement) to reduce these stories into the form of substantial history.

nêtes, as well as in the reverential dependence of both, manifested in this supposed filiation, on the temple of Delphi. Of the Magnêtes in Crete, noticed by Plato as long extinct in his time, we cannot absolutely verify even the existence.

The Malians.

Of the Malians, Thucydides notices three tribes (γένη) as existing in his time; there were the Paralii, the Hierês (Priests), and the Trachinii, or men of Trachin [1]: it is possible that the second of the two may have been possessors of the sacred spot on which the Amphiktyonic meetings were held. The prevalence of the hoplites or heavy-armed infantry among the Malians, indicates that we are stepping from Thessalian to more southerly Hellenic habits: the Malians recognised every man as a qualified citizen who either had served, or was serving, in the ranks with his full panoply [2]. Yet the

[1] Thucyd. iii. 92. The distinction made by Skylax (c. 61) and Diodorus (xviii. 11) between Μηλιεῖς and Μαλιεῖς—the latter adjoining the former on the north—appears inadmissible, though Letrone still defends it (Périple de Marcien d'Héraclée, &c., Paris, 1839, p. 212).

Instead of Μαλιεῖς, we ought to read Λαμιεῖς, as O. Müller observes (Dorians, i. 6. p. 48).

It is remarkable that the important town of Lamia (the modern Zeitun) is not noticed either by Herodotus, Thucydides, or Xenophon; Skylax is the first who mentions it. The route of Xerxes towards Thermopylæ lay along the coast from Alos.

The Lamieis (assuming that to be the correct reading) occupied the northern coast of the Maliac Gulf, from the north bank of the Spercheius to the town of Echinus; in which position Dr. Cramer places the Μηλιεῖς Παράλιοι—an error, I think (Geography of Greece, vol. i. p. 436).

It is not improbable that Lamia first acquired importance during the course of those events towards the close of the Peloponnesian war, when the Lacedæmonians, in defence of Herakleia, attacked the Achæans of Phthiôtis, and even expelled the Œtæans for a time from their seats (see Thucyd. viii. 3; Diodor. xiv. 38).

[2] Aristot. Polit. iv. 10. 10.

panoply was probably not perfectly suitable to the mountainous regions by which they were surrounded; for at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the aggressive mountaineers of the neighbouring region of Œta had so harassed and overwhelmed them in war, that they were forced to throw themselves on the protection of Sparta, and the establishment of the Spartan colony of Herakleia near Trachin was the result of their urgent application. Of these mountaineers, described under the general name of Œtæans, the principal were the Ænianes (or Eniênes, as they are termed in the Homeric Catalogue as well as by Herodotus), —an ancient Hellenic[1] Amphiktyonic race, who are said to have passed through several successive migrations in Thessaly and Epirus, but who in the historical times had their settlement and their chief town Hypata in the upper valley of the Spercheius, on the northern declivity of Mount Œta,—but other tribes were probably also included in it, such as those Ætolian tribes, the Bomians and Kallians, whose high and cold abodes approached near to the Maliac Gulf. It is in this sense that we are to understand the name, as comprehending all the predatory tribes along this extensive mountain range, when we are told of the damage done by the Œtæans both to the Malians on the east, and to the Dorians on the south: but there are some cases in which the name Œtæans seems to designate expressly the Ænianes, especially when they are mentioned as exercising the Amphiktyonic franchise[2].

The Œtæi. —The Ænianes.

[1] Plutarch, Quæstion. Græc. p. 294.

[2] Thucyd. iii. 92-97; viii. 3. Xenoph. Hellen. i. 2, 18; in another

The fine soil, abundant moisture, and genial exposure of the southerly declivities of Othrys[1]—especially the valley of the Spercheius, through which river all these waters pass away, and which annually gives forth a fertilising inundation—present a marked contrast with the barren, craggy, and naked masses of Mount Œta, which forms one side of the pass of Thermopylæ. Southward of the pass, the Lokrians, Phocians, and Dorians occupied the mountains and passes between Thessaly and Bœotia. The coast opposite to the western side of Eubœa, from the neighbourhood of Thermopylæ as far as the Bœotian frontier at Anthêdôn, was possessed by the Lokrians, whose northern frontier town, Alpêni, was conterminous with the Malians. There was, however, one narrow strip of Phocis—the town of Daphnus, in which the Phocians also touched the Eubœan sea—which broke this continuity and divided the Lokrians into two sections,—Lokrians of Mount Knêmis, or Epiknemidian Lokrians, and Lokrians of Opus, or Opuntian Lokrians. The mountain called Knêmis, running southward parallel to the coast from the end of Œta, divided the former section from the inland Phocians and the upper valley of the Kephisus: farther southward, joining continuously with Mount Ptôon by means

Lokrians, Phocians, Dorians.

passage Xenophôn expressly distinguishes the Œtæi and the Ænianes (Hellen. iii. 5, 6). Diodor. xiv. 38. Æschines, De Fals. Leg. c. 44. p. 290.

[1] About the fertility as well as the beauty of this valley, see Dr. Holland's Travels, ch. xvii. vol. ii. p. 108, and Forchhammer (Hellenika, Griechenland, im Neuen das Alte, Berlin, 1837). I do not concur with the latter in his attempts to resolve the mythes of Hêraklês, Achilles, and others into physical phænomena; but his descriptions of local scenery and attributes are most vivid and masterly.

of an intervening mountain which is now called Chlomo, it separated the Lokrians of Opus from the territories of Orchomenus, Thebes, and Anthêdôn, the north-eastern portions of Bœotia. Besides these two sections of the Lokrian name, there was also a third, completely separate, and said to have been colonised out from Opus,—the Lokrians surnamed Ozolæ,—who dwelt apart on the western side of Phocis, along the northern coast of the Corinthian Gulf; from Amphissa—which overhung the plain of Krissa, and stood within seven miles of Delphi—to Naupaktus, near the narrow entrance of the Gulf: the latter town was taken from these Lokrians by the Athenians a little before the Peloponnesian war. Opus prided itself on being the mother-city of the Lokrian name, and the legends of Deucalion and Pyrrha found a home there as well as in Phthiôtis: Alpeni, Nikæa, Thronium, and Skarpheia were towns, ancient but unimportant, of the Epiknemidian Lokrians; but the whole length of this Lokrian coast is celebrated for its beauty and fertility, both by ancient and modern observers[1].

The Phocians were bounded on the north by the

The Phocians.

[1] Strabo, ix. p. 425; Forchhammer, Hellenika, p. 11-12. Kynus is sometimes spoken of as the harbour of Opus, but it was a city of itself as old as the Homeric Catalogue, and of some moment in the later wars of Greece, when military position came to be more valued than legendary celebrity (Livy, xxviii. 6; Pausan. x. 1, 1; Skylax, c. 61-62); the latter counts Thronium and Knêmis or Knêmides as being Phocian, not Lokrian; which they were for a short time during the prosperity of the Phocians at the beginning of the Sacred War, though not permanently (Æschin. Fals. Legat. c. 42. p. 46). This serves as one presumption about the age of the Periplus of Skylax (see the notes of Klausen ad Skyl. p. 269). These Lokrian towns lay along the important road from Thermopylæ to Elateia and Bœotia (Pausan. vii. 15, 2; Livy, xxxiii. 3).

little territories called Doris and Dryopis, which separated them from the Malians,—on the north-east, east, and south-west by the different branches of Lokrians,—and on the south-east by the Bœotians. They touched the Eubœan sea (as has been mentioned) at Daphnus, the point where it approaches nearest to their chief town Elateia; their territory also comprised most part of the lofty and bleak range of Parnassus as far as its southerly termination, where a lower portion of it, called Kirphis, projects into the Corinthian Gulf, between the two bays of Antikyra and Krissa; the latter, with its once fertile plain, lay immediately under the sacred rock of the Delphian Apollo. Both Delphi and Krissa originally belonged to the Phocian race, but the sanctity of the temple, together with Lacedæmonian aid, enabled the Delphians to set up for themselves, disavowing their connection with the Phocian brotherhood; and the destruction of the flourishing Phocian port of Krissa by the Amphiktyons in the first sacred war, together with the increased superintendence of that council over the temple and its property, contributed still farther to disjoin Delphi from the Phocians. Territorially speaking, the most valuable part of Phocis consisted in the valley of the river Kephisus, which takes its rise from Parnassus not far from the Phocian town of Lilæa, passes between Œta and Knêmis on one side and Parnassus on the other, and enters Bœotia near Chæroneia, discharging itself into the lake Kôpaïs. It was on the projecting mountain ledges and rocks on each side of this river that the numerous little Phocian towns

were situated: twenty-two of them were destroyed and broken into villages by the Amphiktyonic order after the second Sacred War; Abæ (one of the few, if not the only one, that was spared) being protected by the sanctity of its temple and oracle. Of these cities the most important was Elateia, situated on the left bank of the Kephisus, and on the road from Lokris into Phocis, in the natural march of an army from Thermopylæ into Bœotia. The Phocian towns[1] were embodied in an ancient confederacy, which held its periodical meetings at a temple between Daulis and Delphi.

Doris—Dryopis.

The little territory called Doris and Dryopis occupied the southern declivity of Mount Œta, dividing Phocis on the north and north-west from the Ætolians, Ænianes, and Malians. That which was called Doris in the historical times, and which reached, in the time of Herodotus, nearly as far eastward as the Maliac Gulf, is said to have formed a part of what had been once called Dryopis; a territory which had comprised the summit of Œta as far as the Spercheius northward, and which had been inhabited by an old Hellenic tribe called Dryopes. The Dorians acquired their settlement in

[1] Pausan. x. 5, 1; Demosth. Fals. Leg. c. 22–28; Diodor. xvi. 60, with the note of Wesseling.

The tenth book of Pausanias, though the larger half of it is devoted to Delphi, tells us all that we know respecting the less important towns of Phocis. Compare also Dr. Cramer's Geography of Greece, vol. ii. sect. 10; and Leake's Travels in Northern Greece, vol. ii. ch. 13.

Two funeral monuments of the Phocian hero Schedius (who commands the Phocian troops before Troy and is slain in the Iliad) marked the two extremities of Phocis,—one at Daphnus on the Eubœan sea, the other at Antikyra on the Corinthian Gulf (Strabo, ix. p. 425; Pausan. x. 36, 4).

Historical Dryopes.

Dryopis by gift from Hêraklês, who, along with the Malians (so ran the legend), had expelled the Dryopes, and compelled them to find for themselves new seats at Hermionê and Asinê, in the Argolic peninsula of Peloponnesus—at Styra and Karystus in Eubœa—and in the island of Kythnus[1]: it is only in these five last-mentioned places that history recognizes them. The territory of Doris was distributed into four little townships—Pindus or Akyphas, Bœon, Kytinion, and Erineon—each of which seems to have occupied a separate valley belonging to one of the feeders of the river Kephisus—the only narrow spaces of cultivable ground which this "small and sad" region presented[2]. In itself this tetrapolis is insignificant, and we shall hardly find occasion to mention it throughout this history: but it acquired a factitious consequence by being regarded as the metropolis of the great Dorian cities in Peloponnesus, and receiving on that ground special protection from Sparta. I do not here touch upon that string of ante-historical migrations—stated by Herodotus and illustrated by the ingenuity as well as decorated by the fancy of O. Müller—by which the Dorians are affiliated with the patriarch of the Hellenic race—moving originally out of Phthiôtis to Histiæôtis, then to Pindus, and lastly to Doris. The residence of Dorians in Doris is a fact which meets us at the commence-

[1] Herodot. viii. 31, 43, 46; Diodor. iv. 57; Aristot. ap. Strabo. viii. p. 373.

O. Müller (History of the Dorians, book i. ch. ii.) has given all that can be known about Doris and Dryopis, together with some matters which appear to me very inadequately authenticated.

[2] Πόλεις μικραὶ καὶ λυπρόχωροι, Strabo, ix. p. 427.

ment of history, like that of the Phocians and Lokrians in their respective territories.

The Ætolians.

We next pass to the Ætolians, whose extreme tribes covered the bleak heights of Œta and Korax, reaching almost within sight of the Maliac Gulf, where they bordered on the Dorians and Malians—while their central and western tribes stretched along the frontier of the Ozolian Lokrians to the flat plain, abundant in marsh and lake, near the mouth of the Euênus. In the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, they do not seem to have extended so far westward as the Achelôus; but in later times this latter river, throughout the greater part of its lower course, divided them from the Akarnanians[1]: on the north they touched upon the Dolopians and upon a parallel of latitude nearly as far north as Ambrakia. There were three great divisions of the Ætolian name—the Apodôti, Ophioneis, and Eurytanes, each of which was subdivided into several different village-tribes. The northern and eastern portion of the territory[2] consisted of very high mountain ranges, and even in the southern portion, the mountains Arakynthus, Kurion, Chalkis, Taphiassus, are found at no great distance from the sea; while the chief towns in Ætolia—Kalydôn,

[1] Herod. vii. 126; Thucyd. ii. 102.

[2] See the difficult journey of Fiedler from Wrachori northward by Karpenitz, and then across the north-western portion of the mountains of the ancient Eurytanes (the southern continuation of Mount Tymphrêstus and Œta), into the upper valley of the Spercheius (Fiedler's Reise in Griechenland, vol. i. p. 177–191), a part of the longer journey from Missolonghi to Zeitun.

Skylax (c. 35) reckons Ætolia as extending inland as far as the boundaries of the Ænianes on the Spercheius—which is quite correct—Ætolia Epiktêtus—μέχρι τῆς Οἰταίας, Strabo, x. p. 450.

Pleurôn, Chalkis,—seem to have been situated eastward of the Euênus, between the last-mentioned mountains and the sea[1]. The first two towns have been greatly ennobled in legend, but are little named in history: while, on the contrary, Thermus, the chief town of the historical Ætolians, and the place where the aggregate meeting and festival of the Ætolian name, for the choice of a Pan-Ætolic general, was convoked, is not noticed by any one earlier than Ephorus[2]. It was partly the legendary renown of the Ætolians, partly their ethnical kindred (publicly acknowledged on both sides) with the Eleians in Peloponnesus, which authenticated the title of the Ætolians to rank as Hellens: but the great mass of the Apodôti, Eurytanes, and Ophioneis, in the inland mountains, were so rude in their manners and so unintelligible[3] in their speech (which, however, was not barbaric, but very bad Hellenic), that this title might well seem disputable—in point of fact it was disputed in later times, when the Ætolian power and depredations had become ob-

[1] Strabo, x. p. 459–460. There is however great uncertainty about the position of these ancient towns: compare Kruse, Hellas, vol. iii. ch. xi. p. 233–255, and Brandstäter, Geschichte des Ætolischen Landes, p. 121–134.

[2] Ephorus, Fragm. 29, Marx. ap. Strabo, p. 463. The situation of Thermus, "the acropolis as it were of all Ætolia," and placed on a spot almost unapproachable by an army, is to a certain extent, though not wholly, capable of being determined by the description which Polybius gives of the rapid march of Philip and the Macedonian army to surprise it. The maps, both of Kruse and Kiepert, place it too much on the north of the lake Trichônis: the map of Fiedler notes it more correctly to the east of that lake (Polyb. v. 7–8; compare Brandstäter, Geschichte des Ætol. Landes, p. 133).

[3] Thucyd. iii. 102.—*ἀγνωστότατοι δὲ γλῶσσάν εἰσι, καὶ ὠμόφαγοι ὡς λέγονται.* It seems that Thucydides had not himself seen or conversed with them, but he does not call them *βάρβαροι*.

noxious nearly to all Greece. And it is probably to this difference of manners between the Ætolians on the sea-coast and those in the interior, that we are to trace a geographical division mentioned by Strabo into Ancient Ætolia, and Ætolia Epiktêtus (or acquired). When or by whom this division was introduced, we do not know: it cannot be founded upon any conquest, for the inland Ætolians were the most unconquerable of mankind: and the affirmation which Ephorus applied to the whole Ætolian race, that it had never been reduced to subjection by any one, is most of all beyond dispute concerning the inland portion of it[1].

The Akarnanians.

Adjoining the Ætolians were the Akarnanians, the westernmost of extra-Peloponnesian Greeks. They extended to the Ionian Sea, and seem, in the time of Thucydides, to have occupied both banks of the river Achelôus in the lower part of its course, though the left bank appears afterwards as belonging to the Ætolians, so that the river came to constitute the boundary, often disputed and decided by arms, between them. The principal Akarnanian towns, Stratus and Œniadæ, were both on the right bank: the latter on the marshy and overflowed land near its mouth. Near the Akarnanians, towards the Gulf of Ambrakia, were found barbarian or non-Hellenic nations—the Agræans and the Amphilochians: in the midst of the latter, on the shores of the Ambrakian Gulf, the Greek colony called Argos Amphilochicum was established.

Of the five Hellenic subdivisions now enume-

[1] Ephorus, Fragment. 29, ed. Marx.; Scymn. Chües. v. 471; Strabo, x. p. 450.

rated—Lokrians, Phocians, Dorians (of Doris), Ætolians, and Akarnanians (of whom Lokrians, Phocians and Ætolians are comprised in the Homeric catalogue)—we have to say the same as of those north of Thermopylæ: there is no information respecting them from the commencement of the historical period down to the Persian war. Even that important event brings into action only the Lokrians of the Eubœan Sea, the Phocians, and the Dorians: we have to wait until near the Peloponnesian war before we acquire information respecting the Ozolian Lokrians, the Ætolians, and the Akarnanians. These last three were unquestionably the most backward members of the Hellenic aggregate. Though not absolutely without a central town, they lived dispersed in villages, retiring, when attacked, to inaccessible heights, perpetually armed and in readiness for aggression and plunder wherever they found an opportunity[1]. Very different was the condition of the Lokrians opposite Eubœa, the Phocians, and the Dorians: they were all orderly town communities, small indeed and poor, but not less well-administered than the average of Grecian townships, and perhaps exempt from those individual violences which so frequently troubled the Bœotian Thebes or the great cities of Thessaly. Timæus affirmed (contrary, as it seems, to the supposition of Aristotle) that in early times there were no slaves either among the Lokrians or Phocians,

Ozolian Lokrians, Ætolians, and Akarnanians, were the rudest of all Greeks.

[1] Thucyd. i. 6; iii. 94. Aristotle, however, included in his large collection of Πολιτεῖαι, an Ἀκαρνάνων Πολίτεια as well as an Αἰτωλῶν Πολίτεια (Aristotelis Rerum Publicarum Reliquiæ, ed. Neumann, p. 102; Strabo, vii. p. 321).

and that the work required to be done by proprietors was performed by poor freemen[1]; a habit which is alleged to have been continued until the temporary prosperity of the second Sacred War, when the plunder of the Delphian temple so greatly enriched the Phocian leaders. But this statement is too briefly given, and too imperfectly authenticated, to justify any inferences.

We find in the poet Alkman (about 610 B.C.) the Erysichæan or Kalydonian shepherd named as a type of rude rusticity—the antithesis of Sardis, where the poet was born[2]. And among the suitors who are represented as coming forward to claim the daughter of the Sicyonian Kleisthenes in marriage, there appears both the Thessalian Diaktoridês from Krannôn, a member of the Skopad family—and the Ætolian Malês, brother of that Titormus who in muscular strength surpassed all his contemporary Greeks, and who had seceded from mankind into the inmost recesses of Ætolia: this Ætolian seems to be set forth as a sort of antithesis to the delicate Smindyridês of Sybaris, the most luxurious of mankind. Herodotus introduces these characters into his dramatic picture of this memorable wedding[3].

The Bœotians.

Between Phocis and Lokris on one side, and Attica (from which it is divided by the mountains Kithærôn and Parnês) on the other, we find the important territory called Bœotia, with its ten

[1] Timæus, Fragm. xvii. ed. Göller; Polyb. xii. 6-7; Athenæus, vi. p. 264.

[2] This brief fragment of the *Παρθένεια* of Alkman is preserved by Stephan. Byz. (*Ἐρυσίχη*), and alluded to by Strabo, x. p. 460: see Welcker, Alkm. Fragm. xi. and Bergk, Alk. Fr. xii.

[3] Herodot. vi. 127.

considerable cities, forming a sort of confederacy under the presidency of Thebes, the most powerful among them. Even of this territory, destined during the second period of this history to play a part so conspicuous and effective, we know nothing during the first two centuries after 776 B.C. We first acquire some insight into it on occasion of the disputes between Thebes and Platæa about the year 520 B.C. Orchomenus, on the north-west of the lake Kôpaïs, forms throughout the historical times one of the cities of the Bœotian league, seemingly the second after Thebes. But I have already stated that the Orchomenian legends, the Catalogue and other allusions in Homer, and the traces of past power and importance yet visible in the historical age, attest the early political existence of Orchomenus and its neighbourhood apart from Bœotia[1]. The Amphiktyony in which Orchomenus participated at the holy island of Kalauria near the Argolic peninsula, seems to show that it must once

Orchomenus.

[1] See an admirable topographical description of the north part of Bœotia—the lake Kôpaïs and its environs, in Forchhammer's Hellenika, p. 159–186, with an explanatory map. The two long and laborious tunnels constructed by the old Orchomenians for the drainage of the lake, as an aid to the insufficiency of the natural Katabothra, are there very clearly laid down: one goes to the sea, the other into the neighbouring lake Hylika, which is surrounded by high rocky banks and can take more water without overflowing. The lake Kôpaïs is an enclosed basin, receiving all the water from Doris and Phocis through the Kêphisus. A copy of Forchhammer's map will be found at the beginning of the present volume.

Forchhammer thinks that it was nothing but the similarity of the name Itônea (derived from *itéa, a willow-tree*) which gave rise to the tale of an immigration of people from the Thessalian to the Bœotian Itônê (p. 148).

The Homeric Catalogue presents Kôpæ, on the north of the lake, as Bœotian, but not Orchomenus nor Asplêdôn (Iliad, ii. 502).

have possessed a naval force and commerce, and that its territory must have touched the sea at Halæ and the lower town of Larymna, near the southern frontier of Lokris; this sea is separated by a very narrow space from the range of mountains which join Knêmis and Ptôon, and which enclose on the east both the basin of Orchomenus, Asplêdôn and Kôpæ, and the lake Kopaïs. The migration of the Bœotians out of Thessaly into Bœotia (which is represented as a consequence of the conquest of the former country by the Thesprotians) is commonly assigned as the compulsory force which Bœotised Orchomenus. By whatever cause or at whatever time (whether before or after 776 B.C.) the transition may have been effected, we find Orchomenus completely Bœotian throughout the known historical age, yet still retaining its local Minyeian legends, and subject to the jealous rivalry[1] of Thebes, as being the second city in the Bœotian league. The direct road from the passes of Phocis southward into Bœotia went through Chæroneia, leaving Lebadeia on the right and Orchomenus on the left hand, and passed the south-western edge of the lake Kopaïs near the towns of Koroneia, Alalkomenæ, and Haliartus—all situated on the mountain Tilphôssion, an outlying ridge connected with Helicon by the intervention of Mount Leïbethrius: the Tilphossæon was an important military post commanding that narrow pass between the mountain and the lake which lay in the great road from Phocis to Thebes[2]. The territory of this latter

[1] See O. Müller, Orchomenos, cap. xx. p. 418 *seq.*

[2] See Demosthen. De Fals. Legat. c. 43–45. Another portion of this

Cities of Bœotia.

city occupied the greater part of central Bœotia south of the lake Kopaïs; it comprehended Akræphia and Mount Ptôon, and probably touched the Eubœan Sea at the village of Salganeus south of Anthêdôn. South-west of Thebes, occupying the southern descent of lofty Helicon towards the inmost corner of the Corinthian Gulf, and bordering on the south-eastern extremity of Phocis with the Phocian town of Bulis, stood the city of Thespiæ: southward of the Asôpus, between that river and Mount Kithæron, were Platæa and Tanagra: in the south-eastern corner of Bœotia stood Orôpus, the frequent subject of contention between Thebes and Athens: and in the road between the Eubœan Chalkis and Thebes, the town of Mykalêssus.

Confederation of Bœotia.

From our first view of historical Bœotia downward, there appears a confederation which embraces the whole territory: and during the Peloponnesian war the Thebans invoke "the ancient constitutional maxims of the Bœotians" as a justification of extreme rigour, as well as of treacherous breach of the peace, against the recusant Platæans[1]. Of this confederation the greater cities were primary members, while the lesser were attached to one or other of them in a kind of dependent union. Neither the names nor the number of these primary members can be certainly known: there seem grounds for including Thebes, Orchomenus, Lebadeia, Ko-

narrow road is probably meant by the pass of Korôneia—*τὰ περὶ Κορώνειαν στένα* (Diodor. xv. 52; Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 3, 15)—which Epaminondas occupied to prevent the invasion of Kleombrotus from Phocis.

[1] Thucyd. ii. 2—*κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν*: compare the speech of the Thebans to the Lacedæmonians after the capture of Platæa, iii. 61, 65, 66.

rôneia, Haliartus, Kôpæ, Anthêdôn, Tanagra, Thespiæ, and Platæa before its secession[1]. Akræphia with the neighbouring Mount Ptôon and its oracle, Skôlus, Glisas and other places, were dependencies of Thebes: Chæroneia, Asplêdôn, Holmônes and Hyêttus, of Orchomenus: Siphæ, Leuktra, Kerêssus and Thisbê, of Thespiæ[2]. Certain generals or magistrates called Bœotarchs were chosen annually to manage the common affairs of the confederation: at the time of the battle of Delium in the Peloponnesian war, they were eleven in number, two of them from Thebes; but whether this number was always maintained, or in what proportions the choice was made by the different cities, we find no distinct information. There were likewise during the Peloponnesian war four different senates, with whom the Bœotarchs consulted on matters of importance; a curious arrangement of which we have no explanation. Lastly, there was the general concilium and religious festival—the Pambœotia—held periodically at Korôneia. Such were the forms, as far as we can make them out, of the Bœotian confederacy: each of the separate cities possessing its own senate and constitution, and having its political consciousness as an autonomous unit, yet with a certain habitual deference to the federal obligations. Substantially, the affairs of the confederation will be found in the hands of

[1] Thucyd. iv. 91; C. F. Hermann, Griechische Staats Alterthümer, sect. 179; Herodot. v. 79; Boeckh, Commentat. ad Inscriptt. Bœotic. ap. Corp. Ins. Gr. part v. p. 726.

[2] Herodot. viii. 135; ix. 15–43. Pausan. ix. 13, 1; ix. 23, 3; ix. 24, 3; ix. 32, 1–4. Xenophon, Hellen. vi. 4, 3–4: compare O. Müller, Orchomenos, cap. xx. p. 403.

Thebes, managed in the interests of Theban ascendency, which appears to have been sustained by no other feeling except respect for superior force and bravery: the discontents of the minor Bœotian towns, harshly repressed and punished, form an uninviting chapter in Grecian history.

One piece of information we find, respecting Thebes singly and apart from the other Bœotian towns, anterior to the year 700 B.C.: though brief and incompletely recorded, it is yet highly valuable, as one of the first mouthfuls of solid Grecian history. Dioklês the Corinthian stands enrolled as Olympic victor in the 13th Olympiad, or 728 B.C., at a time when the oligarchy called Bacchiadæ possessed the government of Corinth. The beauty of his person attracted towards him the attachment of Philolaus, one of the members of this oligarchical body,—a sentiment which Grecian manners did not proscribe; but it also provoked an incestuous passion on the part of his own mother Halcyonê, from which Dioklês shrunk with hatred and horror. He abandoned for ever his native city and retired to Thebes, whither he was followed by Philolaus, and where both of them lived and died. Their tombs were yet shown in the time of Aristotle, close adjoining to each other, yet with an opposite frontage; that of Philolaus being so placed that the inmate could command a view of the lofty peak of his native city, while that of Dioklês was so disposed as to block out all prospect of the hateful spot. That which preserves to us the memory of so remarkable an incident, is, the esteem entertained for Philolaus by the Thebans. They

Early legislation of Thebes —Philolaus and Dioklês.

invited him to make laws for them: we shall have occasion to point out one or two similar cases in which Grecian cities invoked the aid of an intelligent stranger; and the practice was not uncommon, among the Italian republics in the middle ages, to nominate a person not belonging to their city either as Podesta or as arbitrator in civil dissensions. It would have been highly interesting to know at length what laws Philolaus made for the Thebans; but Aristotle, with his usual conciseness, merely alludes to his regulations respecting the adoption of children and respecting the multiplication of offspring in each separate family. His laws were framed with the view to maintain the original number of lots of land, without either subdivision or consolidation; but by what means the purpose was to be fulfilled we are not informed[1]. There existed a law at Thebes, which perhaps may have been part of the scheme of Philolaus, prohibiting

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, 6-7. Νομοθέτης δ' αὐτοῖς (to the Thebans) ἐγένετο Φιλόλαος περί τ' ἄλλων τινῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδοποιΐας, οὗς καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι νόμους θετικούς· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἰδίως ὑπ' ἐκείνου νενομοθετημένον, ὅπως ὁ ἀριθμὸς σώζηται τῶν κλήρων. A perplexing passage follows within three lines of this—Φιλολάου δὲ ἴδιον ἐστιν ἡ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀνομάλωσις—which raises two questions: first, whether Philolaus can really be meant in the second passage, which talks of what is ἴδιον to Philolaus, while the first passage had already spoken of something ἰδίως νενομοθετημένον by the same person. Accordingly Göttling and M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire follow one of the MSS. by writing Φαλέου in place of Φιλολάου. Next, what is the meaning of ἀνομάλωσις? O. Müller (Dorians, ch. x. 5. p. 209) considers it to mean a "fresh equalisation, just as ἀναδασμὸς means a fresh division," adopting the translation of Victorius and Schlösser.

The point can hardly be decisively settled; but if this translation of ἀνομάλωσις be correct, there is good ground for preferring the word Φαλέου to Φιλολάου; since the proceeding described would harmonise better with the ideas of Phaleas (Aristot. Pol. ii. 4, 3).

exposure of children, and empowering a father under the pressure of extreme poverty to bring his new-born infant to the magistrates, who sold it for a price to any citizen-purchaser,—taking from him the obligation to bring it up, but allowing him in return to consider the adult as his slave[1]. From these brief allusions, coming to us without accompanying illustration, we can draw no other inference, except that the great problem of population —the relation between the well-being of the citizens and their more or less rapid increase in numbers— had engaged the serious attention even of the earliest Grecian legislators. We may however observe that the old Corinthian legislator Pheidôn (whose precise date cannot be fixed) is stated by Aristotle[2] to have contemplated much the same object as that which is ascribed to Philolaus at Thebes: an unchangeable number both of citizens and of lots of land, without any attempt to alter the unequal ratio of the lots, one to the other.

[1] Ælian, V. H. ii. 7.

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 3, 7. This Pheidôn seems different from Pheidôn of Argos, as far as we are enabled to judge.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLIEST HISTORICAL VIEW OF PELOPONNESUS. DORIANS IN ARGOS AND THE NEIGHBOURING CITIES.

We now pass from the northern members to the heart and head of Greece—Peloponnesus and Attica, taking the former first in order, and giving as much as can be ascertained respecting its early historical phænomena.

Distribution of Peloponnesus about 450 B.C.

The traveller who entered Peloponnesus from Bœotia during the youthful days of Herodotus and Thucydides, found an array of powerful Doric cities conterminous to each other, and beginning at the Isthmus of Corinth. First came Megara, stretching across the isthmus from sea to sea, and occupying the high and rugged mountains called Oneia and Geraneia: next Corinth, with its strong and conspicuous acropolis, and its territory occupying the portion of the isthmus at once most level and narrowest, which divided its two harbours called Lechæum and Kenchreæ. Westward of Corinth, along the Corinthian Gulf, stood Sikyon, with a plain of uncommon fertility between the two towns: southward of Sikyon and Corinth were Phlius and Kleonæ, both conterminous, as well as Corinth, with Argos and the Argolic peninsula. The inmost bend of the Argolic Gulf, including a considerable space of flat and marshy ground adjoining to the sea, was occupied by Argos; the Argolic peninsula was di-

vided by Argos with the Doric cities of Epidaurus and Trœzen, and the Dryopian city of Hermionê, the latter possessing the south-western corner. Proceeding southward along the western coast of the gulf, and passing over the little river called Tanos, the traveller found himself in the dominion of Sparta, which comprised the entire southern region of the peninsula from its eastern to its western sea, where the river Neda flows into the latter. He first passed from Argos across the difficult mountain range called Parnôn (which bounds to the west the southern portion of Argolis), until he found himself in the valley of the river Œnus, which he followed until it joined the Eurotas: in the larger valley of the Eurotas, far removed from the sea, and accessible only through the most impracticable mountain roads, lay the five unwalled, unadorned, adjoining villages, which bore collectively the formidable name of Sparta. The whole valley of the Eurotas, from Skiritis and Beleminatis at the border of Arcadia, to the Laconian Gulf—expanding in several parts into fertile plain, especially near to its mouth, where the towns of Gythium and Helos were found—belonged to Sparta; together with the cold and high mountain range to the eastward which projects into the promontory of Malea, and the still loftier chain of Taygetus to the westward, which ends in the promontory of Tænarus. On the other side of Taygetus, on the banks of the river Pamisus, which there flows into the Messenian Gulf, lay the plain of Messênê, the richest land in the peninsula. This plain had once yielded its ample produce to the free Messenian Dorians, resident in the towns of

Continuous Dorian states.

Stenyklêrus and Andania; but in the time of which we speak the name of Messenians was borne only by a body of brave but homeless exiles, whose restoration to the land of their forefathers overpassed even the exile's proverbially sanguine hope: their land was confounded with the western portion of Laconia, extending in a south-westerly direction down to the extreme point of Cape Akritas, and northward as far as the river Neda.

Throughout his whole journey to the point last-mentioned, from the borders of Bœotia and Megaris, the traveller would only step from one Dorian state into another. But on crossing from the south to the north bank of the river Neda, at a point near to its mouth, he would find himself out of Doric land altogether: first in the territory called Triphylia, next in that of Pisa or the Pisatid, thirdly in the more spacious and powerful state called Elis; these three comprising the coast-land of Peloponnesus from the mouth of the Neda to that of the Larissus. The Triphylians, distributed into a number of small townships, the largest of which was Lepreon—and the Pisatans, equally destitute of any centralising city—had both, at the period of which we are now speaking, been conquered by their more powerful northern neighbours of Elis, which enjoyed the advantage of a spacious territory united under one government: the middle portion of it, called the Hollow Elis, being for the most part fertile, though the tracts near the sea were more sandy and barren. The Eleians were a section of Ætolian immigrants into Peloponnesus, but the Pisatans and Triphylians had both been originally in-

Western Peloponnesus.

dependent inhabitants of the peninsula—the latter being affirmed to belong to the same race as the Minyæ who had occupied the ante-Bœotian Orchomenus: both too bore the ascendency of Elis with perpetual murmur and occasional resistance.

Northern Peloponnesus—Achaia.

Crossing the river Larissus, and pursuing the northern coast of Peloponnesus south of the Corinthian Gulf, the traveller would pass into Achaia, occupying the narrow strip of level land, and the projecting spurs and declivities, between that gulf and the northernmost mountains of the peninsula, Skollis, Erymanthus, Aroania, Krathis, and the towering eminence called Kyllênê. Twelve Achæan cities (perhaps more) divided this long strip of land amongst them, from the mouth of the Larissus and the north-western Cape Araxus on one side, to the western boundary of the Sikyonian territory on the other. According to the accounts of the ancient legends and the belief of Herodotus, this territory had once been occupied by Ionian inhabitants, whom the Achæans had expelled.

Central region—Arcadia.

In making this journey, the traveller would have finished the circuit of Peloponnesus; but he would still have left untrodden the great central region, enclosed between the territories just enumerated—approaching nearest to the sea on the borders of Triphylia, but never touching it anywhere. This region was Arcadia, possessed by inhabitants who are uniformly represented as all of one race, and all autochthonous or aboriginal: it was high and bleak, full of wild mountain, rock and forest, and abounding, to a degree unusual even in Greece; with those

land-locked basins from whence the water finds only a subterraneous issue. It was distributed among a large number of distinct villages and cities, and many of the village tribes—the Mænalii, Parrhasii, Azanes, &c., occupying the central and the western regions, were numbered among the rudest of the Greeks: but along its eastern frontier there were several Arcadian cities which ranked deservedly among the more civilized Peloponnesians—Tegea, Mantineia, Orchomenus, Stymphalus, Pheneus, possessed the whole eastern frontier of Arcadia from the borders of Laconia to those of Sikyon and Pellênê in Achaia: Phigaleia at the south-western corner, near the borders of Triphylia, and Heræa on the north bank of the Alpheius, near the place where that river quits Arcadia to enter the Pisatis, were also towns deserving of notice[1]. Towards the north of this cold and thinly-peopled region near Pheneos was situated the small town of Nonakris, adjoining to which rose the hardly accessible crags where the rivulet of Styx flowed

[1] Herodot. vi. 74; Pausan. viii. 18, 2. See the description and print of the river Styx and the neighbouring rocks in Fiedler's Reise durch Griechenland, vol. i. p. 400.

He describes a scene amidst these rocks, in 1826, when the troops of Ibrahim Pasha were in the Morea, which realises the fearful pictures of war after the manner of the ancient Gauls or Thracians. A crowd of 5000 Greeks of every age and sex had found shelter in a grassy and bushy spot embosomed amidst these crags,—few of them armed. They were pursued by 5000 Egyptians and Arabians: a very small resistance, in such ground, would have kept the troops at bay, but the poor men either could not or would not offer it. They were forced to surrender: the youngest and most energetic cast themselves headlong from the rocks and perished: 3000 prisoners were carried away captive, and sold for slaves at Corinth, Patras, and Modon: all those who were unfit for sale were massacred on the spot by the Egyptian troops.

down: a point of common feeling for all Arcadians from the terrific sanction which this water was understood to impart to their oaths.

The distribution here sketched, suitable to the Persian invasion and the succeeding half century, may also be said (with some allowances) to be adapted to the whole interval between about B.C. 550–370: from the time of the conquest of Thyreatis by Sparta to the battle of Leuktra. But it is not the earliest distribution which history presents to us. Not presuming to criticise the Homeric map of Peloponnesus, and going back only to 776 B.C., we find this material difference—that Sparta occupies only a very small fraction of the large territory above described as belonging to her. Westward of the summit of Mount Taygetus are found another section of Dorians, independent of Sparta: the Messenian Dorians, whose city is on the hill of Stenyklêrus, near the south-western boundary of Arcadia, and whose possessions cover the fertile plain of Messênê along the river Pamisus to its mouth in the Messenian Gulf: it is to be noted that Messênê was then the name of the plain generally, and that no town so called existed until after the battle of Leuktra. Again, eastward of the valley of the Eurotas, the mountainous region and the western shores of the Argolic Gulf down to Cape Malea are also independent of Sparta; belonging to Argos, or rather to Dorian towns in union with Argos. All the great Dorian towns, from the borders of the Megarid to the eastern frontier of Arcadia, as above enumerated, appear to have existed in 776 B.C.: Achaia was in the same con-

Difference between this distribution and that of 776 B.C.

dition, so far as we are able to judge, as well as Arcadia, except in regard to its southern frontier conterminous with Sparta, of which more will hereafter be said. In respect to the western portion of Peloponnesus, Elis (properly so called) appears to have embraced the same territory in 776 B.C. as in 550 B.C.: but the Pisatid had been recently conquered, and was yet imperfectly subjected by the Eleians; while Triphylia seems to have been quite independent of them. Respecting the south-western promontory of Peloponnesus down to Cape Akritas, we are altogether without information: reasons will hereafter be given for believing that it did not at that time form part of the territory of the Messenian Dorians.

Portions of the population which were believed to be indigenous: Arcadians, Kynurians, Achæans.

Of the different races or people whom Herodotus knew in Peloponnesus, he believed three to be autochthonous, or aboriginal—the Arcadians, the Achæans, and the Kynurians. The Achæans, though belonging indigenously to the peninsula, had yet removed from the southern portion of it to the northern, expelling the previous Ionian tenants: this is a part of the legend respecting the Dorian conquest or Return of the Herakleids, and we can neither verify nor contradict it. But neither the Arcadians nor the Kynurians had ever changed their abodes: of the latter I have not before spoken, because they were never (so far as history knows them) an independent population. They occupied the larger portion[1] of the territory of Argolis,

[1] This is the only way of reconciling Herodotus (viii. 73) with Thucydides (iv. 56, and v. 41). The original extent of the Kynurian territory is a point on which neither of them had any means of very correct

from Orneæ, near the northern[1] or Phliasian border, to Thyrea and the Thyreatis, on the Laconian border: and they belonged originally (as Herodotus imagines rather than asserts) to the Ionic race: but they had been so long subjects of Argos in his time, that almost all evidence of their ante-Dorian condition had vanished.

Immigrant portions—Dorians, Ætolo-Eleians, Dryopes, Triphylians.

But the great Dorian states in Peloponnesus—the capital powers in the peninsula—were all originally immigrants, according to the belief not only of Herodotus, but of all the Grecian world: so also were the Ætolians of Elis, the Triphylians, and the Dryopes at Hermionê and Asinê. All these immigrations are so described as to give them a root in the Grecian legendary world: the Triphylians are traced back to Lemnos, as the offspring of the Argonautic heroes[2], and we are too uninformed about them to venture upon any historical guesses. But respecting the Dorians, it may perhaps be possible, by examining the first historical situation in which they are presented to us, to offer some conjectures as to the probable circumstances under which they arrived. The legendary narrative of it has already been given in the first chapter of this volume—that great mythical event called the Return of the Children of Hêraklês, by which the first establishment of the Dorians in the promised land of Peloponnesus was explained to the full satisfaction of Grecian faith. One single armament and expedi-

Legendary account of the Dorian immigration.

information; but there is no occasion to reject the one in favour of the other.

[1] Herod. viii. 73. Οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι, αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες, δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες· ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ, ὑπό τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεᾶται καὶ περίοικοι. [2] Herod. iv. 145–146.

tion, acting by the special direction of the Delphian god, and conducted by three brothers, lineal descendants of the prime Achæo-Dorian hero through Hyllus (the eponymus of the principal tribe)—the national heroes of the pre-existing population vanquished and expelled, and the greater part of the peninsula both acquired and partitioned at a stroke —the circumstances of the partition adjusted to the historical relations of Laconia and Messenia—the friendly power of Ætolian Elis, with its Olympic games as the bond of union in Peloponnesus, attached to this event as an appendage in the person of Oxylus—all these particulars compose a narrative well-calculated to impress the retrospective imagination of a Greek. They exhibit an epical fitness and sufficiency which it would be unseasonable to impair by historical criticism.

Alexandrine chronology from the Return of the Herakleids to the first Olympiad.

The Alexandrine chronology sets down a period of 328 years from the Return of the Herakleids to the first Olympiad (1104 B.C.–776 B.C.),—a period measured by the lists of the kings of Sparta, on the trustworthiness of which some remarks have already been offered. Of these 328 years, the first 250, at the least, are altogether barren of facts; and even if we admitted them to be historical, we should have nothing to recount except a succession of royal names. Being unable either to guarantee the entire list, or to discover any valid test for discriminating the historical and the non-historical items, I here enumerate the Lacedæmonian kings as they appear in Mr. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici. There were two joint kings at Sparta, throughout nearly all the historical time of inde-

pendent Greece, deducing their descent from Hêraklês through Eurysthenês and Proklês, the twin sons of Aristodêmus; the latter being one of those three Herakleid brothers to whom the conquest of the peninsula is ascribed:—

Spartan kings.

Line of Eurysthenês.		*Line of Proklês.*	
Eurysthenês ...reigned	42 years.	Proklês .....reigned	51 years.
Agis ..... „	31 „	Söus ..... „	— „
Echestratus ... „	35 „	Eurypôn..... „	— „
Labôtas..... „	37 „	Prytanis ..... „	49 „
Doryssus ..... „	29 „	Eunomus ..... „	45 „
Agesilaus ..... „	44 „	Charilaus ..... „	60 „
Archelaus ..... „	60 „	Nikander ..... „	38 „
Teleklus..... „	40 „	Theopompus .. „	10 „
Alkamenês..... „	10 „		
	328		

Both Theopompus and Alkamenês reigned considerably longer, but the chronologists affirm that the year 776 B.C. (or the first Olympiad) occurred in the tenth year of each of their reigns. It is necessary to add, with regard to this list, that there are some material discrepancies between different authors even as to the names of individual kings, and still more as to the duration of their reigns, as may be seen both in Mr. Clinton's chronology and in Müller's Appendix to the History of the Dorians[1]. The alleged sum total cannot be made to agree with the items without great license of con-

[1] Herodotus omits Söus between Proklês and Eurypôn, and inserts Polydektês between Prytanis and Eunomus: moreover the accounts of the Lacedæmonians, as he states them, represented Lycurgus the lawgiver as uncle and guardian of Labôtas, of the Eurysthenid house,—while Simonidês made him son of Prytanis, and others made him son of Eunomus, of the Proklid line: compare Herod. i. 65; viii. 131. Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 2.

Some excellent remarks on this early series of Spartan kings will be

jecture. O. Müller observes[1] in reference to this Alexandrine chronology, "that our materials only enable us to restore it to its original state, not to verify its correctness." In point of fact they are insufficient even for the former purpose, as the dissensions among learned critics attest.

Herakleid kings of Corinth.

We have a succession of names, still more barren of facts, in the case of the Dorian sovereigns of Corinth. This city had its own line of Herakleids, descended from Hêraklês, but not through Hyllus. Hippotês, the progenitor of the Corinthian Herakleids, was reported in the legend to have originally joined the Dorian invaders of the Peloponnesus, but to have quitted them in consequence of having slain the prophet Karnus[2]. The three

found in Mr. G. C. Lewis's article in the Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 42–48, in a review of Dr. Arnold on the Spartan Constitution.

Compare also Larcher, Chronologie d'Hérodote, ch. 13. p. 484–514. He lengthens many of the reigns considerably, in order to suit the earlier epoch which he assigns to the capture of Troy and the Return of the Herakleids.

[1] History of the Dorians, vol. ii. Append. p. 442.

[2] This story—that the heroic ancestor of the great Corinthian Bacchiadæ had slain the holy man Karnus, and had been punished for it by long banishment and privation—leads to the conjecture, that the Corinthians did not celebrate the festival of the Karneia, common to the Dorians generally.

Herodotus tells us, with regard to the Ionic cities, that all of them celebrated the festival of Apaturia, except Ephesus and Kolophon; and that these two cities did not celebrate it, "because of a certain reason of murder committed,"—*οὗτοι γὰρ μούνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσιν Ἀπατούρια· καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινα σκῆψιν* (Herod. i. 147).

The murder of Karnus by Hippotês was probably the *φόνου σκῆψις* which forbade the Corinthians from celebrating the Karneia; at least this supposition gives to the legend a special pertinence which is otherwise wanting to it. Respecting the Karneia and Hyacinthia see Schoell De Origine Græci Dramatis, p. 70–78. Tübingen, 1828.

There were various singular customs connected with the Grecian festivals, which it was usual to account for by some legendary tale. Thus

brothers, when they became masters of the peninsula, sent for Alêtês the son of Hippotês, and placed him in possession of Corinth, over which the chronologists make him begin to reign thirty years after the Herakleid conquest. His successors are thus given:—

Aletes	reigned	38 years.
Ixion	„	38 „
Agelas	„	37 „
Prymnis	„	35 „
Bacchis	„	35 „
Agelas	„	30 „
Eudêmus	„	25 „
Aristomêdês	„	35 „
Agêmôn	„	16 „
Alexander	„	25 „
Telestês	„	12 „
Automenês	„	1 „
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Such was the celebrity of Bacchis, we are told, that those who succeeded him took the name of Bacchiads in place of Aletiads or Herakleids. One year after the accession of Automenês, the family of the Bacchiads generally, amounting to 200 persons, determined to abolish royalty, to constitute themselves a standing oligarchy, and to elect out of their own number an annual Prytanis.

no native of Elis ever entered himself as a competitor, or contended for the prize, at the Isthmian games. The legendary reason given for this was, that Hêraklês had waylaid and slain (at Kleônæ) the two Molionid brothers, when they were proceeding to the Isthmian games as Theôrs or sacred envoys from the Eleian king Augeas. Redress was in vain demanded for this outrage, and Molionê, mother of the slain envoys, imprecated a curse upon the Eleians generally if they should ever visit the Isthmian festival. This legend is the φόνου σκῆψις, explaining why no Eleian runner or wrestler was ever known to contend there (Pausan. ii. 15, 1; v. 2, 1–4. Ister, Fragment. 46, ed. Didot).

Thus commenced the oligarchy of the Bacchiads, which lasted for ninety years, until it was subverted by Kypselus in 657 B.C.[1] Reckoning the thirty years previous to the beginning of the reign of Alêtês, the chronologists thus provide an interval of 447 years between the Return of the Herakleids and the accession of Kypselus, and 357 years between the same period and the commencement of the Bacchiad oligarchy. The Bacchiad oligarchy is unquestionably historical; the conquest of the Herakleids belongs to the legendary world; the interval between the two is filled up, as in so many other cases, by a mere barren genealogy.

When we jump this vacant space, and place ourselves at the first opening of history, we find that although ultimately Sparta came to hold the first place, not only in Peloponnesus, but in all Hellas, this was not the case at the earliest moment of which we have historical cognizance. Argos, and the neighbouring towns connected with her by a bond of semi-religious, semi-political union,—Sikyôn, Phlius, Epidaurus, and Trœzên,—were at first of greater power and consideration than Sparta; a fact which the legend of the Herakleids seems to recognise by making Têmenus the eldest brother of the three. And Herodotus assures us that at one time all the eastern coast of Peloponnesus down to Cape Malea, including the island of Cythêra, all which came afterwards to constitute a

Argos and the neighbouring Dorians greater than Sparta in 776 B.C.

[1] Diodor. Fragm. lib. vii. p. 14, with the note of Wesseling. Strabo (viii. p. 378) states the Bacchiad oligarchy to have lasted nearly 200 years.

material part of Laconia, had belonged to Argos[1]. Down to the time of the first Messenian war, the comparative importance of the Dorian establishments in Peloponnesus appears to have been in the order in which the legend placed them,—Argos first[2], Sparta second, Messênê third. It will be seen hereafter that the Argeians never lost the recollection of this early pre-eminence, from which the growth of Sparta had extruded them; and the liberties of entire Hellas were more than once in danger from their disastrous jealousy of a more fortunate competitor.

Early settlements of the Dorians at Argos and Corinth—Temenion—Hill of Solygeius.

At a short distance of about three miles from Argos, and at the exact point where that city approaches nearest to the sea[3], was situated the isolated hillock called Temenion, noticed both by Strabo and Pausanias. It was a small village deriving both its name and its celebrity from the chapel and tomb of the hero Têmenus, who was there worshiped by the Dorians; and the statement which Pausanias heard was, that Têmenus

[1] Herodot. i. 82. The historian adds, besides Cythêra, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. What other islands are meant I do not distinctly understand.

[2] So Plato (Legg. iii. p. 692), whose mind is full of the old mythe and the tripartite distribution of Peloponnesus among the Herakleids,—ἡ δ' αὖ, πρωτεύουσα ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις τοῖς περὶ τὴν διανομὴν, ἡ περὶ τὸ Ἄργος, &c.

[3] Pausan. ii. 38, 1; Strabo, viii. p. 368. Professor Ross observes respecting the line of coast near Argos, "The sea-side is thoroughly flat and for the most part marshy: only at the single point where Argos comes nearest to the coast,—between the mouth, now choked by sand, of the united Inachus and Charadrus, and the efflux of the Erasinus, overgrown with reeds and bulrushes,—stands an eminence of some elevation and composed of firmer earth, upon which the ancient Temenion was placed." (Reisen im Peloponnes, vol. i. sect. 5. p. 149, Berlin, 1841.)

with his invading Dorians had seized and fortified the spot, and employed it as an armed post to make war upon Tisamenus and the Achæans. What renders this report deserving of the greater attention, is, that the same thing is affirmed with regard to the eminence called Solygeius near Corinth: this too was believed to be the place which the Dorian assailants had occupied and fortified against the pre-existing Corinthians in the city: it was close upon the Sarônic Gulf, and it was exactly the spot which invaders landing from that gulf would naturally seize upon; indeed Nicias with his powerful Athenian fleet did actually seize and occupy it against Corinth in the Peloponnesian war[1]. In early days the only way of overpowering the inhabitants of a fortified town, generally also planted in a position itself very defensible, was, that the invaders, entrenching themselves in the neighbourhood, harassed the inhabitants and ruined their produce until they brought them to terms: even during the Peloponnesian war, when the art of besieging had made some progress, we read of several instances in which this mode of aggressive warfare was adopted with efficient results[2]. We may readily believe that the Dorians obtained admittance both into Argos and Corinth in this manner, and it is remarkable that, except Sikyon (which is affirmed to have been surprised by night), these were the only towns in the Argolic region which are said to have resisted them; the story being, that Phlius, Epidaurus, and Trœzên had admitted

[1] Thucyd. iv. 42.

[2] Thucyd. i. 122; iii. 85; vii. 18–27; viii. 38–40.

the Dorian intruders without opposition, although a certain portion of the previous inhabitants seceded. We shall hereafter see that the non-Dorian population of Sikyon and Corinth still remained considerable.

Dorian settlers arrived by sea.

The separate statements which we thus find, and the position of the Temenion and the Solygeius, lead to two conjectures—first, that the acquisitions of the Dorians in Peloponnesus were also isolated and gradual, not at all conformable to the rapid strides of the old Herakleid legend; next, that the Dorian invaders of Argos and Corinth made their attack from the Argolic and the Saronic Gulfs—by sea and not by land. It is indeed difficult to see how they can have got to the Temenion in any other way than by sea; and a glance at the map will show that the eminence Solygeius presents itself[1], with reference to Corinth, as the nearest and most convenient holding-ground for a maritime invader, conformably to the scheme of operations laid by Nicias. To illustrate the supposition of a Dorian attack by sea on Corinth, we may refer to a story quoted from Aristotle (which we find embodied in the explanation of an old adage), representing Hippotês the father of Alêtês as having crossed the Maliac Gulf[2] (the sea immediately bordering on the ancient Maleans, Dryopians, and Dorians) in ships for the purpose of colonising. And if it be safe to trust the mention of Dorians in the Odyssey, as a part of the population of the island of Crete,

[1] Thucyd. iv. 42.

[2] Aristot. ap. Prov. Vatican. iv. 4, *Μηλιακὸν πλοῖον*—also Prov. Suidas, x. 2.

we there have an example of Dorian settlements which must have been effected by sea, and that too at a very early period. "We must suppose (observes O. Müller[1], in reference to these Cretan Dorians) that the Dorians, pressed by want or restless from inactivity, constructed piratical canoes, manned these frail and narrow barks with soldiers who themselves worked at the oar, and thus being changed from mountaineers into seamen—the Normans of Greece—set sail for the distant island of Crete." In the same manner we may conceive the expeditions of the Dorians against Argos and Corinth to have been effected: and whatever difficulties may attach to this hypothesis, certain it is that the difficulties of a long land-march, along such a territory as Greece, are still more serious.

Early Dorians in Crete.

The supposition of Dorian emigrations by sea, from the Maliac Gulf to the north-eastern promontory of Peloponnesus, is farther borne out by the analogy of the Dryopes or Dryopians. During the historical times, this people occupied several detached settlements in various parts of Greece, all maritime and some insular:—they were found at Hermionê, Asinê, and Eiôn, in the Argolic penin-

The Dryopians—their settlements formed by sea.

[1] Hist. of Dorians, ch. i. 9. Andrôn positively affirms that the Dorians came from Histiæôtis to Crete: but his affirmation does not seem to me to constitute any additional evidence of the fact: it is a conjecture adapted to the passage in the Odyssey (xix. 174), as the mention of Achæans and Pelasgians evidently shows.

Aristotle (ap. Strab. viii. p. 374) appears to have believed that the Herakleids returned to Argos out of the Attic Tetrapolis (where, according to the Athenian legend, they had obtained shelter when persecuted by Eurystheus), accompanying a body of Ionians who then settled at Epidaurus. He cannot therefore have connected the Dorian occupation of Argos with the expedition from Naupaktus.

sula (very near to the important Dorian towns constituting the Amphiktyony of Argos[1])—at Styra and Karystus in the island of Eubœa—in the island of Kythnus, and even at Cyprus. These dispersed colonies can only have been planted by expeditions over the sea. Now we are told that the original Dryopis, the native country of this people, comprehended both the territory near the river Spercheius, and north of Œta, afterwards occupied by the Malians, as well as the neighbouring district south of Œta, which was afterwards called Doris. From hence the Dryopians were expelled—according to one story, by the Dorians—according to another, by Hêraklês and the Malians: however this may be, it was from the Maliac Gulf that they started on shipboard in quest of new homes, which some of them found on the headlands of the Argolic peninsula[2]. And it was from this very country, according to Herodotus[3], that the Dorians also set forth, in order to reach Peloponnesus: nor does it seem unreasonable to imagine, that the same means of conveyance, which bore the Dryopians from the Maliac Gulf to Hermionê and Asinê, also carried the Dorians from the same place to the Temenion and the hill Solygeius.

The legend represents Sikyôn, Epidaurus, Trœzên, Phlius, and Kleônæ, as all occupied by Do-

[1] Herod. viii. 43-46; Diodor. iv. 37; Pausan. iv. 34, 6.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 373; ix. p. 434. Herodot. viii. 43. Pherekydes, Fr. 23 and 38, ed. Didot. Steph. Byz. v. Δρυόπη. Apollodor. ii. 7, 7. Schol. Apollon. Rhod. i. 1213.

[3] Herodot. i. 56.—ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν, Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη—to the same purpose, viii. 31-43.

rian colonists from Argos, under the different sons of Temenus: the first three are on the sea, and fit places for the occupation of maritime invaders. Argos and the Dorian towns in and near the Argolic peninsula are to be regarded as a cluster of settlements by themselves, completely distinct from Sparta and the Messenian Stenyklêrus, which appear to have been formed under totally different conditions. First, both of them are very far inland—Stenyklêrus not easy, Sparta very difficult, of access from the sea; next, we know that the conquests of Sparta were gradually made down the valley of the Eurotas seaward. Both these acquisitions present the appearance of having been made from the land-side, and perhaps in the direction which the Herakleid legend describes—by warriors entering Peloponnesus across the narrow mouth of the Corinthian Gulf, through the aid or invitation of those Ætolian settlers who at the same time colonised Elis. The early and intimate connection (on which I shall touch presently) between Sparta and the Olympic games as administered by the Eleians, as well as the leading part ascribed to Lycurgus in the constitution of the solemn Olympic truce, tend to strengthen such a persuasion.

Dorian settlements in Argos quite distinct from those in Sparta and in Messenia.

In considering the early affairs of the Dorians in Peloponnesus, we are apt to have our minds biassed, first, by the Herakleid legend, which imparts to them an impressive, but deceitful, epical ensemble; next, by the aspect of the later and better-known history, which presents the Spartan power as unquestionably preponderant, and Argos only as second by a long interval. But the first

view (as I have already remarked) which opens to us of real Grecian history, a little before 776 B.C., exhibits Argos with its alliance or confederacy of neighbouring cities colonised from itself, as the great seat of Dorian power in the peninsula, and Sparta as an outlying state of inferior consequence. The recollection of this state of things lasted after it had ceased to be a reality, and kept alive pretensions on the part of Argos to the headship of the Greeks as a matter of right, which she became quite incapable of sustaining either by adequate power or by statesmanlike sagacity. The growth of Spartan power was a succession of encroachments upon Argos[1].

Early position of Argos—metropolis of the neighbouring Dorian cities.

How Sparta came constantly to gain upon Argos will be matter for future explanation: at present it is sufficient to remark, the ascendency of Argos was derived not exclusively from her own territory, but came in part from her position as metropolis of an alliance of autonomous neighbouring cities, all Dorian and all colonised from herself—and this was an element of power essentially fluctuating. What Thebes was to the cities of Bœotia, of which she either was, or professed to have been, the founder[2], the same was Argos in reference to

[1] See Herodot. vii. 148. The Argeians say to the Lacedæmonians, in reference to the chief command of the Greeks—*καίτοι κατά γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἑωύτων*, &c. Schweighauser and others explain the point by reference to the command of Agamemnon; but this is at best only a part of the foundation of their claim: they had a more recent historical reality to plead also: compare Strabo, viii. p. 376.

[2] *Ἡμῶν κτισάντων* (so runs the accusation of the Theban orators against the captive Platæans, before their Lacedæmonian judges, Thucyd. iii. 61.) *Πλάταιαν ὕστερον τῆς ἄλλης Βοιωτίας—οὐκ ἠξίουν αὐτοὶ, ὥσπερ ἐτάχθη τὸ πρῶτον, ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔξω δὲ τῶν ἄλλων*

Kleônæ, Phlius, Sikyôn, Epidaurus, Trœzên, and Ægina. These towns formed, in mythical language, "the lot of Têmenus[1]"—in real matter of fact the confederated allies or subordinates of Argos: the first four of them were said to have been *dorised* by the sons or immediate relatives of Têmenus, and the kings of Argos, as acknowledged descendants of the latter, claimed and exercised a sort of *suzeraineté* over them. Hermionê, Asinê, and Nauplia seem also to have been under the supremacy of Argos, though not colonies[2]. But this supremacy was not claimed directly and nakedly: agreeably to the ideas of the time, the ostensible purposes of the Argeian confederacy or Amphiktyony were religious, though its secondary, and not less real effects, were political. The great patron-god of the league was Apollo Pythaëus, in whose name the obligations incumbent on the members of the league were imposed: there was a temple to this god in each of the confederated cities, while his most holy and

Βοιωτῶν παραβαίνοντες τὰ πάτρια, ἐπειδὴ προσηναγκάζοντο, προσεχώρησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἔβλαπτον.

[1] Respecting Pheidôn, king of Argos, Ephorus said—τὴν λῆξιν ὅλην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη (ap. Strabo. viii. p. 358).

[2] The worship of Apollo Pythaëus, adopted from Argos both at Hermionê and Asinê, shows the connection between them and Argos (Pausan. ii. 35, 2; ii. 36, 5): but Pausanias can hardly be justified in saying that the Argeians actually *dorised* Hermionê: it was Dryopian in the time of Herodotus, and seemingly for a long time afterwards (Herodot. viii. 43). The Hermionian Inscription, No. 1193, in Boeckh's Collection, recognises their old Dryopian connection with Asinê in Laconia: that town had once been neighbour of Hermionê, but was destroyed by the Argeians, and the inhabitants received a new home from the Spartans. The dialect of the Hermionians (probably that of the Dryopians generally) was Doric. See Ahrens, De Dialecto Doricâ, p. 2-12.

central sanctuary was on the Larissa or acropolis of Argos. At this central Argeian sanctuary solemn sacrifices were offered by Epidaurus as well as by other members of the confederacy, and as it should seem, accompanied by money-payments[1]: the Argeians, as chief administrators on behalf of the common god, took upon them to enforce performance on defaulters, and actually tried to enforce them during the Peloponnesian war against Epidaurus. On another occasion, during the 66th Olympiad (B.C. 514), they imposed the large fine of 500 talents upon each of the two states Sikyôn and Ægina, for having lent ships to the Spartan king Kleomenes wherewith he invaded the Argeian territory: the Æginetans set the claim at defiance, but the Sikyonians acknowledged its justice, and only demurred to its amount, professing themselves ready to pay 100 talents[2]. There can be no doubt that at this later period the ascendency of Argos over the members of her primitive confederacy had become practically inoperative; but the tenor of the cases mentioned shows that her claims were revivals of bygone privileges, which had once been effective and valuable.

How valuable the privileges of Argos were, before the great rise of the Spartan power,—how im-

[1] Thucyd. v. 53. Κυριώτατοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦσαν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι. The word εἰσπραξις, which the historian uses in regard to the claim of Argos against Epidaurus, seems to imply a money-payment withheld: compare the offerings exacted by Athens from Epidaurus (Herod. v. 82).

The peculiar and intimate connection between the Argeians, and Apollo with his surname of Pythaëus, was dwelt upon by the Argeian poetess Telesilla (Pausan. ii. 36, 2).

[2] Herodot. vi. 92. See O. Müller, History of the Dorians, ch. 7. 13.

portant an ascendency they conferred in the hands of an energetic man, and how easily they admitted of being used in furtherance of ambitious views,—is shown by the remarkable case of Pheidôn the Temenid. The few facts which we learn respecting this prince exhibit to us, for the first time, something like a real position of parties in the Peloponnesus, wherein the actual conflict of living, historical men and cities comes out in tolerable distinctness.

Pheidôn the Temenid—king of Argos.

Pheidôn was designated by Ephorus as the tenth, and by Theopompus as the sixth, in lineal descent from Têmenus; respecting the date of his existence, opinions the most discrepant and irreconcileable have been delivered; but there seems good reason for referring him to the period a little before and a little after the 8th Olympiad,—between 770 B.C. and 730 B.C.[1] Of the preceding kings of

[1] Ephor. Fragm. 15, ed. Marx; ap. Strabo. viii. p. 358; Theopompus, Fragm. 30, ed. Didot; ap. Diodor. Fragm. lib. iv.

The Parian Marble makes Pheidôn the eleventh from Hêraklês and places him B.C. 895; Herodotus, on the contrary (in a passage which affords considerable grounds for discussion), places him at a period which cannot be much higher than 600 B.C. (vi. 127). Some authors suspect the text of Herodotus to be incorrect: at any rate, the real epoch of Pheidôn is determined by the eighth Olympiad. Several critics suppose *two* Pheidôns, each king of Argos—among others, O. Müller (Dorians, iii. 6, 10); but there is nothing to countenance this except the impossibility of reconciling Herodotus with the other authorities. And Weissenborn, in a dissertation of some length, vindicates the emendation of Pausanias proposed by some former critics,—altering the eighth Olympiad, which now stands in the text of Pausanias, into the *twenty-eighth*, as the date of Pheidôn's usurpation at the Olympic games. Weissenborn endeavours to show that Pheidôn cannot have flourished earlier than 660 B.C.; but his arguments do not appear to me very forcible, and certainly not sufficient to justify so grave an alteration in the number of Pausanias (Beiträge zur Griechischen Alterthumskunde, p. 18, Jena 1844). Mr. Clinton (Fasti Hellenici, vol. i. App. 1. p. 249)

Argos we hear little: one of them, Eratus, is said to have expelled the Dryopian inhabitants of Asinê from their town on the Argolic peninsula, in consequence of their having cooperated with the Spartan king Nikander when he invaded the Argeian territory, seemingly during the generation preceding Pheidôn; there is another, Damokratidas, whose date cannot be positively determined, but he appears rather as subsequent than as anterior to Pheidôn[1]. We are informed however that these anterior kings, even beginning with Medôn the grandson of Têmenus, had been forced to submit to great abridgment of their power and privileges, and that a form of government substantially popular, though nominally regal, had been established[2]. Pheidôn, breaking through the limits imposed, made himself despot of Argos. He then re-established the power of Argos over all the cities of her confederacy, which had before been so nearly dissolved as to leave all the members practically independent[3]. Next, he is said to have

places Pheidôn between 783 and 744 B.C.: also Boeckh. ad Corp. Inscript. No. 2374, p. 335, and Müller, Æginetica, p. 63.

[1] Pausan. ii. 36, 5; iv. 35, 2.

[2] Pausan. ii. 19, 1. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ, ἅτε ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτόνομον ἀγαπῶντες ἐκ παλαιοτάτου, τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν βασιλέων ἐς ἐλάχιστον προῆγαγον, ὡς Μήδοντι τῷ Κείσου καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τὸ ὄνομα λειφθῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως μόνον. This passage has all the air of transferring back to the *early* government of Argos feelings which were only true of the *later*. It is curious, that in this chapter, though devoted to the Argeian regal line and government, Pausanias takes no notice of Pheidôn: he mentions him only with reference to the disputed Olympic ceremony.

[3] Ephorus *ut suprà*. Φείδωνα τὸν Ἀργεῖον, δέκατον ὄντα ἀπὸ Τημένου, δυνάμει δὲ ὑπερβεβλημένον τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν, ἀφ' ἧς τήν τε λῆξιν ὅλην ἀνέλαβε τὴν Τημένου διεσπασμένην εἰς πλείω μέρη, &c. What is meant by *the lot of Têmenus* has been already explained.

acquired dominion over Corinth, and to have endeavoured to assure it by treacherously entrapping 1000 of her warlike citizens; but his artifice was divulged and frustrated by Abrôn, one of his confidential friends[1]. He is farther reported to have aimed at extending his sway over the greater part of Peloponnesus,—laying claim, as the descendant of Hêraklês through the eldest son of Hyllus, to all the cities which that restless and irresistible hero had ever taken[2]. According to Grecian ideas, this legendary title was always seriously construed and often admitted as conclusive; though of course, where there were strong opposing interests, reasons would be found to elude it: Pheidôn would have the same ground of right as that which, 250 years afterwards, determined the Herakleid Dôrieus, brother of Kleomenês king of Sparta, to acquire for himself the territory near Mount Eryx in Sicily, because his progenitor[3] Hêraklês had conquered it before him. So numerous however were the legends respecting the conquests of Hêraklês, that the claim of Pheidôn must have covered the greater part of Peloponnesus, except Sparta and the plain of Messênê, which were already in the hands of Herakleids.

His claims and projects as representative of Hêraklês.

Nor was the ambition of Pheidôn satisfied even

[1] Plutarch, Narrat. Amator. p. 772; Schol. Apollon. Rhod. iv. 1212; compare Didymus, ap. Schol. Pindar. Olymp. xiii. 27.

I cannot, however, believe that Pheidôn, the ancient Corinthian lawgiver mentioned by Aristotle, is the same person as Pheidôn the king of Argos (Polit. ii. 6, 4).

[2] Ephor. *ut suprà*. Πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους αἱρεθείσαις πόλεσι, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιοῦν τιθέναι αὐτὸν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἔθηκε· τούτων δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν, &c.

[3] Herodot. v. 43.

He claims the right of presiding at the Olympic games.

with these large pretensions. He farther claimed the right of presiding at the celebration of those religious games or Agônes instituted by Hêraklês, —and amongst these was numbered the Olympic Agôn, then, however, enjoying but a slender fraction of the lustre which afterwards came to attach to it. The presidency of any of the more celebrated festivals current throughout Greece was a privilege immensely prized; it was at once dignified and lucrative, and the course of our history will present more than one example in which blood was shed to determine what state should enjoy it. Pheidôn marched to Olympia, at the epoch of the 8th recorded Olympiad, or 747 B.C.; and on the occasion of this event we are made acquainted with the real state of parties in the peninsula.

The plain of Olympia—now ennobled only by immortal recollections, but once crowded with all the decorations of religion and art, and forming for many centuries the brightest centre of attraction known in the ancient world—was situated on the river Alpheius in the territory called the Pisatid, hard by the borders of Arcadia. At what time its agonistic festival, recurring every fifth year at the first full moon after the summer solstice, first began or first acquired its character of special sanctity, we have no means of determining: as with so many of the native waters of Greece, we follow the stream upward to a certain point, but the fountain-head and the earlier flow of history is buried under mountains of unsearchable legend. The first celebration of the Olympic contests was ascribed by Grecian legendary faith to Hêraklês—and the site of the place,

Relations of Pisa with Pheidôn, and of Sparta with Elis.

in the middle of the Pisatid with its eight small townships, is quite sufficient to prove that the inhabitants of that little territory were warranted in describing themselves as the original administrators of the ceremony[1]. But this state of things seems to have been altered by the Ætolian settlement in Elis, which is represented as having been conducted by Oxylus and identified with the Return of the Herakleids. The Ætolo-Eleians, bordering upon the Pisatid to the north, employed their superior power in subduing their weaker neighbours[2], who thus lost their autonomy and became annexed to the territory of Elis. It was the general rule throughout Greece, that a victorious state undertook to perform[3] the current services of the conquered people towards the gods—such services being conceived as attaching to the soil: and the celebration of the Olympic games thus became numbered among the incumbencies of Elis, just in the same way as the worship of the Eleusinian Dêmêtêr, when Eleusis lost its autonomy, was included among the religious obligations of Athens. The Pisatans however never willingly acquiesced in this absorption of what had once been their separate privilege; they long maintained their conviction that the celebration of the games was their right, and strove on several occasions to regain it. Of those occasions the earliest, so far as we hear, was connected with the intervention of Pheidôn. It was at their invitation that the king of Argos went to Olympia, and celebrated

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 4, 28; Diodor. xv. 78.
[2] Strabo, viii. p. 354.
[3] Thucydid. iv. 98.

the games himself, in conjunction with the Pisatans, as the lineal successor of Hêraklês: the Eleians were forcibly dispossessed, and they consequently refused to include this 8th Olympiad in their register of the victorious runners. But their humiliation did not last long, for the Spartans took their part, and the contest ended in the defeat of Pheidôn: in the next Olympiad, the Eleian management and the regular enrolment appear as before, and the Spartans are even said to have confirmed Elis in her possession both of Pisatis and Triphylia[1].

Conflict between Pheidôn and the Spartans, at or about the 8th Olympiad, 747 B.C.

Unfortunately these scanty particulars are all which we learn respecting the armed conflict at the 8th Olympiad, in which the religious and the political grounds of quarrel are so intimately blended—as we shall find to be often the case in Grecian history. But there is one act of Pheidôn yet more memorable, of which also nothing beyond a meagre notice has come down to us. He first coined both copper and silver money in Ægina, and first established a scale of weights and measures[2], which, through his influence, became adopted throughout Peloponnesus, and acquired ultimately footing both in all the Dorian states, and in Bœotia, Thessaly, northern Hellas generally, and Macedonia—under the name of the Æginæan scale. There arose subsequently another rival scale in Greece, called the Euboic, differing considerably from the Æginæan: we do not know at what time it was

Pheidôn the earliest Greek who coined money and determined a scale of weight.

[1] Pausan. v. 22, 2; Strabo, viii. p. 354–358; Herodot. vi. 127. The name of the victor (Antikles the Messenian), however, belonging to the 8th Olympiad, appears duly in the lists; it must have been supplied afterwards.

[2] Herodot. vi. 127; Ephor. ap. Strab. viii. p. 358–376.

introduced, but it was employed both at Athens and in the Ionic cities generally, as well as in Eubœa—being modified at Athens, so far as money was concerned, by Solon's debasement of the coinage.

Coincidence of the Æginæan scale with the Babylonian.

The copious and valuable information contained in M. Boeckh's recent publication on Metrology has thrown new light upon these monetary and statical scales. He has shown that both the Æginæan and the Euboic scales—the former standing to the latter in the proportion of 6 : 5—had contemporaneous currency in different parts of the Persian empire; the divisions and denominations of the scale being the same in both, 100 drachmæ to a mina, and 60 minæ to a talent. The Babylonian talent, mina, and drachma are identical with the Æginæan: the word mina is of Asiatic origin; and it has now been rendered highly probable, that the scale circulated by Pheidôn was borrowed immediately from the Phœnicians, and by them originally from the Babylonians. Both as to weight and as to money, the Babylonian, Hebraic, Phœnician, Egyptian, and Grecian scales are found to be so nearly conformable, as to warrant a belief that they are all deduced from one common origin; and that origin the Chaldæan priesthood of Babylon[1].

[1] Metrologische Untersuchungen über Gewichte, Münzfusse, und Mässe des Alterthums in ihrem Zusammenhange dargestellt, von Aug. Boeckh; Berlin 1838.

See chap. 7. 1–3. But I cannot agree with M. Boeckh in thinking that Pheidôn, in celebrating the Olympic games, deduced from the Olympic stadium, and formally adopted, the measure of the *foot*, or that he at all settled measures of *length*. In general, I do not think that M. Boeckh's conclusions are well made out, in respect to the

It is to Pheidôn, and to his position as chief of the Argeian confederacy, that the Greeks owe the first introduction of the Babylonian scale of weight, and the first employment of coined and stamped money.

Argos at this time the first state in Peloponnesus.

If we maturely weigh the few, but striking acts of Pheidôn which have been preserved to us, and which there is no reason to discredit, we shall find ourselves introduced to an early historical state of Peloponnesus very different from that to which another century will bring us. That Argos, with the federative cities attached to her, was at this early time decidedly the commanding power in that peninsula, is sufficiently shown by the establishment and reception of the Pheidonian weights, measures, and monetary system, while the other incidents mentioned completely harmonise with the same idea. Against the oppressions of Elis, the Pisatans invoked Pheidôn—partly as exercising a primacy in Peloponnesus, just as the inhabitants of Lepreum in Triphylia[1], three centuries afterwards, called in the aid of Sparta for the same object, at a time when Sparta possessed the headship—and partly as the lineal representative of Hêraklês, who had founded those games from the management of which they had been unjustly extruded. On the other hand, Sparta appears as a second-rate power—the Æginæan scale of weight and measure

Grecian measures of *length* and *capacity*. In an examination of this eminently learned treatise (inserted in the Classical Museum, 1844, vol. i.) I endeavoured to set forth both the new and interesting points established by the author, and the various others in which he appeared to me to have failed.

[1] Thucyd. v. 31.

was adopted there as elsewhere[1]—the Messenian Dorians were still equal and independent—and we find Sparta interfering to assist Elis by virtue of an obligation growing (so the legend represents it) out of the common Ætolo-Dorian immigration; not at all from any acknowledged primacy, such as we shall see her enjoying hereafter. The first coinage of copper and silver money is a capital event in Grecian history, and must be held to imply considerable commerce as well as those extensive views which belong only to a conspicuous and leading position. The ambition of Pheidôn to resume all the acquisitions made by his ancestor Hêraklês, suggests the same large estimate of his actual power. He is characterised as a despot, and even as the most insolent of all despots[2]: how far he deserved such a reputation, we have no means of judging. We may remark, however, that he lived before the age of despots or tyrants, properly so called, and before the Herakleid lineage had yet lost its primary, half-political, half-religious character; moreover, the later historians have invested his actions with a colour of exorbitant aggression, by applying them to a state of things which belonged to their time and not to his. Thus Ephorus represents him as having deprived the Lacedæmonians of the headship of Peloponnesus,

[1] Plutarch, Apophthegm. Laconic. p. 226; Dikæarchus ap. Athenæ. iv. p. 141.

The Æginæan mina, drachma and obolus were the denominations employed in stipulations among the Peloponnesian states (Thucyd. v. 47).

[2] Herodot. vi. 127. *Φείδωνος τοῦ Ἀργείων τυράννου—τοῦ ὑβρίσαντος μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων.* Pausanias (vi. 22, 2) copies the expression.

Aristotle cites Pheidôn as a person who, being a *βασιλεύς*, made himself a *τύραννος* (Politic. viii. 8, 5).

which they never possessed until long after him—and also as setting at naught the sworn inviolability of the territory of the Eleians, enjoyed by the latter as celebrators of the Olympic games; whereas the Agonothesia or right of superintendence claimed by Elis had not at that time acquired the sanction of prescription, and the conquest of Pisa by the Eleians themselves had proved that this sacred function did not protect the territory of a weaker people.

Her subsequent decline, from the relaxation of her confederacy of cities.

How Pheidôn fell, and how the Argeians lost that supremacy which they once evidently possessed, we have no positive details to inform us: with respect to the latter point, however, we can discern a sufficient explanation. The Argeians stood predominant as an entire and unanimous confederacy, which required a vigorous and able hand to render its internal organisation effective or its ascendency respected without. No such leader afterwards appeared at Argos, the whole history of which city is destitute of eminent individuals: her line of kings continued at least down to the Persian war[1], but seemingly with only titular functions, for the government had long been decidedly popular. The statements, which represent the government as popular anterior to the time of Pheidôn, appear unworthy of trust: that prince is rather to be taken as wielding the old, undiminished prerogatives of the Herakleid kings, but wielding them with unusual effect—enforcing relaxed privileges, and appealing to the old heroic sentiment in reference to Hêraklês, rather than revolutionising the existing

[1] Herodot. vii. 149.

relations either of Argos or of Peloponnesus. It was in fact the great and steady growth of Sparta, for three centuries after the Lycurgean institutions, which operated as a cause of subversion to the previous order of command and obedience in Greece.

The assertion made by Herodotus—that in earlier times the whole eastern coast of Laconia as far as Cape Malea, including the island of Cythêra and several other islands, had belonged to Argos—is referred by O. Müller to about the 50th Olympiad, or 580 B.C. Perhaps it had ceased to be true at that period; but that it was true in the age of Pheidôn, there seem good grounds for believing. What is probably meant is, that the Dorian towns on this coast, Prasiæ, Zarêx, Epidaurus Limêra, and Bœæ, were once autonomous, and members of the Argeian confederacy—a fact highly probable, on independent evidence, with respect to Epidaurus Limêra, inasmuch as that town was a settlement from Epidaurus in the Argolic peninsula: and Bœæ too had its own œkist and eponymus, the Herakleid Bœus[1], noway connected with Sparta—perhaps derived from the same source as the name of the town Bœon in Doris. The Argeian confederated towns would thus comprehend the whole coast of the Argolic and Saronic Gulfs, from Cythêra as far as Ægina, besides other islands which we do not know: Ægina had received a colony of Dorians from Argos and Epidaurus, upon which latter town it continued for some time in a state of dependence[2]. It will at once be seen that this extent of

Dorians in the Argolic peninsula—their early commerce with the Dorian islands in the Ægean.

[1] Pausan. iii. 22, 9; iii. 23, 4.

[2] Herodot. v. 83; Strabo, viii. p. 375.

coast implies a considerable degree of commerce and maritime activity; and we have besides to consider the range of Doric colonies in the southern islands of the Ægean and in the south-western corner of Asia Minor—Crete, Kôs, Rhodes (with its three distinct cities), Halikarnassus, Knidus, Myndus, Nisyrus, Symê, Karpathus, Kalydna, &c. Of the Doric establishments here named, several are referred (as has been before stated) to the great emigration of the Têmenid Althæmenês from Argos: but what we particularly observe is, that several of the colonies are referred promiscuously to Argos, Trœzên, Epidaurus[1]—more frequently however, as it seems, to Argos. All these settlements are doubtless older than Pheidôn, and we may conceive them as proceeding conjointly from the allied Dorian towns in the Argolic peninsula, at a time when they were more in the habit of united action than they afterwards became: a captain of emigrants selected from the line of Hêraklês and Têmenus was suitable to the feelings of all of them. We may thus look back to a period, at the very

[1] Rhodes, Kôs, Knidus, and Halikarnassus are all treated by Strabo (xiv. p. 653) as colonies of Argos: Rhodes is so described by Thucydides (vii. 57), and Kôs by Tacitus (xii. 61). Kôs, Kalydna, and Nisyrus are described by Herodotus as colonies of Epidaurus (vii. 99): Halikarnassus passes sometimes for a colony of Trœzên, sometimes of Trœzên and Argos conjointly:—"Cum Melas et Areuanius ab Argis et Trœzene coloniam communem eo loco induxerunt, barbaros Caras et Leleges ejecerunt (Vitruv. ii. 8, 12; Steph. Byz. v. Ἁλικάρνασσος)." Compare Strabo, x. p. 479; Conon, Narr. 47; Diodor. v. 80.

Raoul Rochette (Histoire des Colonies Grecques, t. iii. ch. 9) and O. Müller (History of the Dorians, ch. 6) have collected the facts about these Asiatic Dorians.

The little town of Bœæ had its counterpart of the same name in Crete—very probably its colony (Steph. Byz. v. Βοῖον).

beginning of the Olympiads, when the maritime Dorians on the east of Peloponnesus maintained a considerable intercourse and commerce not only among themselves but also with their settlements on the Asiatic coast and islands. That the Argolic peninsula formed an early centre for maritime rendezvous, we may farther infer from the very ancient Amphiktyony of the seven cities (Hermionê, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athens, Prasiæ, Nauplia, and the Minyeian Orchomenus), on the holy island of Kalaureia, off the harbour of Trœzên[1].

The view here given of the early ascendency of Argos, as the head of the Peloponnesian Dorians and the metropolis of the Asiatic Dorians, enables us to understand the capital innovation of Pheidôn —the first coinage, and the first determinate scale of weight and measure known in Greece. Of the value of such improvements, in the history of Grecian civilization, it is superfluous to speak, especially when we recollect that the Hellenic states, having no political unity, were only held together by the aggregate of spontaneous uniformities, in language, religion, sympathies, recreations, and general habits. We see both how Pheidôn came to contract the wish, and how he acquired the power, to introduce throughout so much of the Grecian world an uniform scale; we also see that the Asiatic Dorians form the link between him and Phœnicia, from whence the scale was derived, just as the Euboic scale came in all probability, through the Ionic cities in Asia, from Lydia. It is asserted by Ephorus, and admitted even by the ablest mo-

From hence arose the coinage of money, &c. by Pheidôn.

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 374.

dern critics, that Pheidôn first coined money "in Ægina[1]:" other authors (erroneously believing that his scale was the Euboic scale) alleged that his coinage had been carried on "in a place of Argos called Eubœa[2]." Now both these statements appear highly improbable, and both are traceable to the same mistake—of supposing that the title, by which the scale had come to be commonly known, must necessarily be derived from the place in which the coinage had been struck. There is every reason to conclude, that what Pheidôn did was done in Argos, and nowhere else: his coinage and scale were the earliest known in Greece, and seem to have been known by his own name, "the Pheidonian measures," under which designation they were described by Aristotle in his account of the constitution of Argos[3]. They probably did not come to bear the specific epithet of *Æginæan* until there was another scale in vogue, the *Euboic*, from which to distinguish them; and both the epithets were probably derived, not from the place where the scale first originated, but from the people whose commercial activity tended to make them most generally known —in the one case, the Æginetans; in the other case, the inhabitants of Chalkis and Eretria. I think, therefore, that we are to look upon the Pheidonian

Pheidonian coinage and statical scale—belong originally to Argos, not to Ægina.

[1] Ephorus ap. Strabo. viii. p. 376; Boeckh, Metrologie, Abschn. 7, 1: see also the Marmor Parium, Epoch 30.

[2] Etymologicon Magn. Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα.

[3] Pollux, Onomastic. x. 179. Εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ φείδων τι ἀγγεῖον ἐλαιηρὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν Φειδωνίων μέτρων ὠνομασμένον, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Ἀργείων πολιτείᾳ Ἀριστοτέλης λέγει.

Also Ephorus ap. Strab. viii. p. 358. καὶ μέτρα ἐξεῦρε τὰ Φειδώνεια καλούμενα καὶ σταθμοὺς, καὶ νόμισμα κεχαράγμενον, &c.

measures as emanating from Argos, and as having no greater connection, originally, with Ægina, than with any other city dependent upon Argos.

There is moreover another point which deserves notice. What was known by the name of the Æginæan scale, as contrasted with and standing in a definite ratio (6 : 5) with the Euboic scale, related only to weight and money, so far as our knowledge extends[1]: we have no evidence to show that the same ratio extended either to measures of length or measures of capacity. But there seems ground for believing that the Pheidonian regulations, taken in their full comprehension, embraced measures of capacity as well as weights: Pheidôn, at the same time when he determined the talent, mina, and drachm, seems also to have fixed the dry and liquid measures—the medimnus and metrêtês, with their parts and multiples: and there existed[2] Pheidonian measures of capacity, though not of length, so far as we know. The Æginæan scale may thus have comprised only a portion of what was established by Pheidôn, namely that which related to weight and money.

[1] This differs from Boeckh's opinion: see the note in page 425.

[2] Theophrast. Character. c. 13; Pollux, x. 179.

CHAPTER V.

ÆTOLO-DORIAN IMMIGRATION INTO PELOPONNESUS.—ELIS, LACONIA, AND MESSENIA.

It has already been stated that the territory properly called Elis, apart from the enlargement which it acquired by conquest, included the westernmost land in Peloponnesus, south of Achaia, and west of Mount Pholoê and Olenus in Arcadia, but not extending so far southward as the river Alpheius, the course of which lay along the southern portion of Pisatis and on the borders of Triphylia. This territory, which appears in the Odyssey as "the divine Elis, where the Epeians hold sway[1]," is in the historical times occupied by a population of Ætolian origin. The connection of race between the historical Eleians and the historical Ætolians was recognised by both parties, and there is no ground for disputing it[2].

Ætolian immigration into Peloponnesus.

That Ætolian invaders or immigrants into Elis would cross from Naupaktus or some neighbouring point in the Corinthian Gulf, is in the natural course of things, and such is the course which Oxylus, the conductor of the invasion, is represented by the Herakleid legend as taking. That legend (as has been already recounted) introduces Oxylus as the guide of the three Herakleid brothers —Têmenus, Kresphontês, and Aristodêmus, and

[1] Odyss. xv. 297.

[2] Strabo, x. p. 479.

as stipulating with them that in the new distribution about to take place of Peloponnesus, he shall be allowed to possess the Eleian territory, coupled with many holy privileges as to the celebration of the Olympic games.

In the preceding chapter, I have endeavoured to show that the settlements of the Dorians in and near the Argolic peninsula, so far as the probabilities of the case enable us to judge, were not accomplished by any inroad in this direction. But the localities occupied by the Dorians of Sparta, and by the Dorians of Stenyklêrus in the territory called Messênê, lead us to a different conclusion. The easiest and most natural road through which immigrants could reach either of these two spots, is through the Eleian and the Pisatid country. Colonel Leake observes[1] that the direct road from the Eleian territory to Sparta, ascending the valley of the Alpheius near Olympia to the sources of its branch the Theius, and from thence descending the Eurotas, affords the only easy march towards that very inaccessible city: and both ancients and moderns have remarked the vicinity of the source of the Alpheius to that of the Eurotas. The situation of Stenyklêrus and Andania, the original settlements of the Messenian Dorians, adjoins closely the Arcadian Parrhasii, and is only at a short distance from the course of the Alpheius; being thus reached most easily by the same route. Dismissing the idea of a great

[1] Leake, Travels in Morea, vol. iii. ch. 23. p. 29; compare Diodor. xv. 66.

The distance from Olympia to Sparta, as marked on a pillar which Pausanias saw at Olympia, was 660 stadia,—near upon 82 English miles (Pausan. vi. 16, 6).

Dorians of Sparta and Stenyklêrus—accompanying or following them across the Corinthian Gulf.

collective Dorian armament, powerful enough to swallow the peninsula at a mouthful, we have to conceive two moderate detachments of hardy mountaineers, from the cold regions in and near Doris, attaching themselves to the Ætolians their neighbours, who were proceeding to the invasion of Elis. After having aided the Ætolians both to occupy Elis and to subdue the Pisatid, these Dorians advanced up the valley of the Alpheius in quest of settlements for themselves. One of these bodies ripens into the stately, stubborn, and victorious Spartans; the other into the short-lived, trampled, and struggling Messenians.

Settlement at Sparta made by marching along the valleys of the Alpheius and Eurotas.

Amidst the darkness which overclouds these original settlements, we seem to discern something like special causes to determine both of them. With respect to the Spartan Dorians, we are told that a person named Philonomus betrayed Sparta to them, persuading the sovereign in possession to retire with his people into the habitations of the Ionians in the north of the peninsula, and that he received as a recompense for this acceptable service Amyklæ with the district round it. It is farther stated—and this important fact there seems no reason to doubt—that Amyklæ, though only twenty stadia or two miles and a half distant from Sparta, retained both its independence and its Achæan inhabitants long after the Dorian immigrants had acquired possession of the latter place, and was only taken by them under the reign of Têleklus, one generation before the first Olympiad[1]. Without

[1] Strabo, viii. pp. 364, 365; Pausan. iii. 2, 5: compare the story of Krius, Pausan. iii. 13, 3.

presuming to fill up by conjecture incurable gaps in the statements of our authorities, we may from hence reasonably presume that the Dorians were induced to invade, and enabled to acquire, Sparta, by the invitation and assistance of a party in the interior of the country. Again, with respect to the Messenian Dorians, a different, but not less effectual temptation was presented by the alliance of the Arcadians, in the south-western portion of that central region of Peloponnesus. Kresphontês the Herakleid leader, it is said, espoused the daughter[1] of the Arcadian king Kypselus, and this procured for him the support of a powerful section of Arcadia: his settlement at Stenyklêrus was a considerable distance from the sea, at the north-east corner of Messenia[2], close to the Arcadian frontier, and it will be seen hereafter that this Arcadian alliance is a constant and material element in the disputes of the Messenian Dorians with Sparta.

Causes which favoured the settlement.

We may thus trace a reasonable sequence of events, showing how two bodies of Dorians, having first assisted the Ætolo-Eleians to conquer the Pisatid, and thus finding themselves on the banks of the Alpheius, followed the upward course of that river, the one to settle at Sparta, the other at Stenyklêrus. The historian Ephorus, from whom our scanty fragments of information respecting these early settlements are derived—it is important to note that he lived in the age immediately succeeding the first foundation of Messênê as a city, the restitution of the long-exiled Messenians, and the am-

Settlements confined at first to Sparta and Stenyklêrus.

[1] Pausan. iv. 3, 3; viii. 29, 4.

[2] Strabo (viii. p. 366) blames Euripides for calling Messênê an inland country; but the poet seems to have been quite correct in doing so.

putation of the fertile western half of Laconia, for their benefit, by Epameinondas,—imparts to these proceedings an immediate decisiveness of effect which does not properly belong to them: as if the Spartans had become at once possessed of all Laconia, and the Messenians of all Messenia; Pausanias, too, speaks as if the Arcadians collectively had assisted and allied themselves with Kresphontês. This is the general spirit which pervades his account, though the particular facts, in so far as we find any such, do not always harmonise with it. Now we are ignorant of the pre-existing divisions of the country either east or west of Mount Taygetus, at the time when the Dorians invaded it; but to treat the one and the other as integral kingdoms, handed over at once to two Dorian leaders, is an illusion borrowed from the old legend, from the historicising fancies of Ephorus, and from the fact that in the well-known times this whole territory came to be really united under the Spartan power.

At what date the Dorian settlements at Sparta and Stenyklêrus were effected we have no means of determining; but that there existed between them in the earliest times a degree of fraternity which did not prevail between Lacedæmon and Argos, we may fairly presume from the common temple, with joint religious sacrifices, of Artemis Limnatis (or Artemis on the Marsh) erected on the confines of Messenia and Laconia[1]. Our first view of the two, at all approaching to distinctness,

First view of historical Sparta.

[1] Pausan. iv. 2, 2. μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνοι Δωριέων οἵ τε Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. The exact site of the temple of Artemis Limnatis, near the summit of Mount Taygetus, has recently been verifiedby Professor Ross.—Reisen im Peloponnes. i. 2—4, Berlin, 1841.

seems to date from a period about half a century earlier than the first Olympiad (776 B.C.),—about the reign of king Têleklus of the Eurystheneid or Agid line, and the introduction of the Lycurgean discipline. Têleklus stands in the list as the eighth king dating from Eurysthenes: how many of the seven kings before him are to be considered as real persons, or how much, out of the brief warlike expeditions ascribed to them, is to be treated as authentic history, I pretend not to define.

The earliest determinable event in the *internal* history of Sparta is the introduction of the Lycurgean discipline; the earliest *external* events are the conquest of Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, effected by king Têleklus, and the first quarrel with the Messenians, in which that prince was slain. When we come to see how deplorably great was the confusion and ignorance which reigned with reference to a matter so pre-eminently important as Lycurgus and his legislation, we shall not be inclined to think that facts much less important, and belonging to an earlier epoch, can have been handed down upon any good authority. And in like manner, when we learn that Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ (all south of Sparta, and the first only two and a half miles from that city) were independent of the Spartans until the reign of Têleklus, we shall require some decisive testimony before we can believe that a community, so small and so hemmed in as Sparta must then have been, had in earlier times undertaken expeditions against Helos on the sea-coast, against Kleitor on the extreme northern side of Arcadia, against the Kynu-

rians, or against the Argeians. If Helos and Kynuria were conquered by these early kings, it appears that they had to be conquered a second time by kings succeeding Têleklus. It would be more natural that we should hear when and how they conquered the places nearer to them,—Sellasia or Belemina, the valley of the Œnus or the upper valley of the Eurotas: but these seem to be assumed as matters of course; the proceedings ascribed to the early Spartan kings are such only as might beseem the palmy days when Sparta was undisputed mistress of all Laconia.

Messenian kings.

The succession of Messenian kings, beginning with Kresphontês, the Herakleid brother, and continuing from father to son,—Æpytus, Glaukus, Isthnius, Dotadas, Subotas, Phintas, the last being contemporary with Têleklus,—is still less marked by incident than that of the early Spartan kings. It is said that the reign of Kresphontês was troubled, and himself ultimately slain by mutinies among his subjects: Æpytus as a youth escaped into Arcadia, and was afterwards restored to the throne by the Arcadians, Spartans, and Argeians[1]. From Æpytus the Messenian line of kings are stated to have been denominated Æpytids in preference to Herakleids, which affords another proof of their intimate connection with the Arcadians, since Æpytus was a very ancient name in Arcadian heroic antiquity[2].

[1] Pausan. iv. 3, 5–6.

[2] Homer, Iliad, ii. 604.—

Οἳ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην, ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπὺ,
Αἰπύτιον παρὰ τύμβον.

Schol. *ad loc.* ὁ δ' Αἴπυτος ἀρχαιότατος ἥρως, Ἀρκὰς τὸ γένος.

Analogous representations in regard to the early proceedings both of Spartans and Messenians.

There is considerable resemblance between the alleged behaviour of Kresphontês on first settling at Stenyklêrus, and that of Eurysthenês and Prokles at Sparta, so far as we gather from statements, alike meagre and uncertified, resting on the authority of Ephorus. Both are said to have tried to place the pre-existing inhabitants of the country on a level with their own Dorian bands; both provoked discontents and incurred obloquy, with their contemporaries as well as with posterity, by the attempt; nor did either permanently succeed. Kresphontês was forced to concentrate all his Dorians in Stenyklêrus, and after all, the discontents ended in his violent death. And Agis, the son of Eurysthenês, is said to have reversed all the liberal tentatives of his father, and to have brought the whole of Laconia into subjection and dependence on the Dorians at Sparta, with the single exception of Amyklæ. So odious to the Spartan Dorians was the conduct of Eurysthenês, that they refused to acknowledge him as their œkist, and conferred that honour upon Agis; the two lines of kings being called Agiads and Eurypontids, instead of Eurystheneids and Prokleids[1]. We see in these state-

[1] Compare the two citations from Ephorus, Strabo, viii. p. 361–365. Unfortunately a portion of the latter citation is incurably mutilated in the text: O. Müller (History of the Dorians, Book I. chap. v. 13) has proposed an ingenious conjecture, which however cannot be considered as trustworthy. Grosskurd, the German translator, usually skilful in these restorations, leaves the passage untouched.

For a new colouring of the death of Kresphontês, adjusted by Isokrates so as to suit the purpose of the address which he puts into the mouth of Archidamus king of Sparta, see the discourse in his works which passes under that name (Or. iv. p. 120–122). Isokrates says that the Messenian Dorians slew Kresphontês, whose children fled as sup-

ments the same tone of mind as that which pervades the Panathenaic oration of Isokrates the master of Ephorus,—the facts of an unknown period so coloured as to suit an *idéal* of haughty Dorian exclusiveness.

Again, as Eurysthenês and Prokles appear, in the picture of Ephorus, to carry their authority at once over the whole of Laconia, so too does Kresphontês over the whole of Messenia,—over the entire south-western region of Peloponnesus, westward of Mount Taygetus and Cape Tænarus, and southward of the river Neda. He sends an envoy to Pylus and Rhium, the western and southern portions of the south-western promontory of Peloponnesus, treating the entire territory as if it were one sovereignty, and inviting the inhabitants to submit under equal laws[1]. But it has already been

pliants to Sparta, imploring revenge for the death of their father, and surrendering the territory to the Spartans. The Delphian god advised the latter to accept the tender, and they accordingly attacked the Messenians, avenged Kresphontês, and appropriated the territory.

Isokrates always starts from the basis of the old legend,—the triple Dorian conquest made all at once: compare Panathenaic. Or. xii. p. 270-287.

[1] Ephorus ap. Strabo. viii. p. 361. Dr. Thirlwall observes (Hist. of Greece, ch. vii. p. 300, 2nd edit.), "The Messenian Pylus seems long to have retained its independence, and to have been occupied for several centuries by one branch of the family of Neleus; for descendants of Nestor are mentioned as allies of the Messenians in their struggle with Sparta in the latter half of the seventh century B.C."

For this assertion Dr. Thirlwall cites Strabo (viii. p. 355). I agree with him as to the matter of fact: I see no proof that the Dorians of Stenyklêrus ever ruled over what is called the Messenian Pylus; for, of course, if they did not rule over it before the second Messenian war, they never acquired it at all. But on reference to the passage in Strabo, it will not be found to prove anything to the point; for Strabo is speaking, not of the Messenian Pylus, but of the *Triphylian Pylus*: he takes pains to show that Nestor had nothing to do with the *Messenian*

observed, that this supposed oneness and indivisibility is not less uncertified in regard to Messenia than in regard to Laconia. How large a proportion of the former territory the kings of Stenyklêrus may have ruled we have no means of determining, but there were certainly portions of it which they did not rule—not merely during the reign of Têleklus at Sparta, but still later, during the first Messenian war. For not only we are informed that Têleklus established three townships, Poiêessa, Echeiæ[1], and Tragium, near the Messenian Gulf and on the course of the river Nedon, but we read also a farther matter of evidence in the roll of Olympic victors. Every competitor for the prize at one of these great festivals was always entered as member of some autonomous Hellenic community, which constituted his title to approach the lists; if successful, he was proclaimed with the name of the community to which he belonged. Now during the first ten Olympiads seven winners are proclaimed as Messenians; in the eleventh Olympiad we find the name of Oxythemis Korônæus,—Oxythemis, not of Korôneia in Bœotia, but of Korônê in the western bend of the Messenian Gulf[2], some miles on the right bank of the Pa-

The kings of Stenyklêrus did not possess all Messenia.

Pylus,—Νέστορος ἀπόγονοι means the inhabitants of Triphylia near Lepreum: compare p. 350.

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 360. Concerning the situation of Korônê in the Messenian Gulf, see Pausanias, iv. 34, 2; Strabo, viii. p. 361; and the observations of Colonel Leake, Travels in Morea, ch. x. vol. i. p. 439–448. He places it near the modern Petalidhi, seemingly on good grounds.

[2] See Mr. Clinton's Chronological Tables for the year 732 B.C.: O. Müller (in the Chronological Table subjoined to his History of the Dorians) calls this victor, *Oxythemis of Korôneia*, in Bœotia. But this

misus, and a considerable distance to the north of the modern Coron. Now if Korônê had then been comprehended in Messenia, Oxythemis would have been proclaimed as a Messenian like the seven

is inadmissible, on two grounds: 1. The occurrence of a Bœotian competitor in that early day at the Olympic games. The first eleven victors (I put aside Oxythemis, because he is the subject of the argument) are all from western and southern Peloponnesus; then come victors from Corinth, Megara, and Epidaurus; then from Athens; there is one from Thebes in the 41st Olympiad. I infer from hence that the celebrity and frequentation of the Olympic games increased only by degrees, and had not got beyond Peloponnesus in the eighth century B.C. 2. The name Coronæus, Κορωναῖος, is the proper and formal title for a citizen of Korônê, not for a citizen of Korôneia: the latter styles himself Κορωνεύς. The ethnical name Κορωνεὺς as belonging to Korôneia in Bœotia is placed beyond doubt by several inscriptions in Boeckh's collection; especially No. 1583, in which a citizen of that town is proclaimed as victorious at the festival of the Charitesia at Orchomenus: compare Nos. 1587–1593, in which the same ethnical name occurs. The Bœotian Inscriptions attest in like manner the prevalence of the same etymological law in forming ethnical names, for the towns near Korôneia: thus, *Chærôneia* makes Χαιρωνεὺς; *Lebadeia*, Λεβαδεὺς; *Elateia*, Ἐλατεὺς or Ἐλατευεύς.

The Inscriptions afford evidence perfectly decisive as to the ethnical title under which a citizen of Korôneia in Bœotia would have caused himself to be entered and proclaimed at the Olympic games; better than the evidence of Herodotus and Thucydides, who both call them Κορωναῖοι (Herodot. v. 79; Thucyd. iv. 93): Polybius agrees with the Inscription and speaks of the Κορωνεῖς, Λεβαδεῖς, Χαιρωνεῖς (xxvii. 1). O. Müller himself admits in another place (Orchomenos, p. 480) that the proper ethnical name is Κορωνεύς. The reading of Strabo (ix. p. 411) is not trustworthy: see Grosskurd *ad loc.*; compare Steph. Byz. Κορώνεια and Κορώνη.

In regard to the formation of ethnical names, it seems the general rule, that a town ending in η or αι preceded by a consonant had its ethnical derivative in αιος; such as Σκιώνη, Τορώνη, Κύμη, Θῆβαι, Ἀθῆναι; while names ending in εια had their ethnicon in ευς, as Ἀλεξάνδρεια, Ἀμάσεια, Σελεύκεια, Ἀνσιμάχεια (the recent cities thus founded by the successors of Alexander are perhaps the best evidences that can be taken of the analogies of the language), Μελάμπεια, Μελίτεια, in addition to the Bœotian names of towns above quoted. There is however great irregularity in particular cases, and the number of towns called by the same name created an anxiety to vary the ethnicon for each: see Stephan. Byz. v. Ἡράκλεια.

winners who preceded him; and the fact of his being proclaimed as a Korônæan proves that Korônê was then an independent community, not under the dominion of the Dorians of Stenyklêrus. It seems clear therefore that the latter did not reign over the whole territory commonly known as Messenia, though we are unable to assign the proportion of it which they actually possessed.

Olympic festival—the early point of union of Spartans, Messenians, and Eleians.

The Olympic festival, in its origin doubtless a privilege of the neighbouring Pisatans, seems to have derived its great and gradually expanding importance from the Ætolo-Eleian settlement in Peloponnesus, combined with the Dorians of Laconia and Messenia. Lycurgus of Sparta and Iphitus of Elis are alleged to have joined their efforts for the purpose of establishing both the sanctity of the Olympic truce and the inviolability of the Eleian territory: though this tale is not to be construed as matter of fact, it implies that the Lacedæmonians regarded the Olympic games as a portion of their own antiquities. Moreover, it is certain both that the dignity of the festival increased simultaneously with their ascendency[1], and that their peculiar fashions were very early introduced into the practice of the Olympic competitors. Probably the three bands of cooperating invaders, Ætolians and Spartan and Messenian Dorians, may have adopted this festival as a periodical renovation of mutual union and fraternity; and the games thus

[1] The entire nakedness of the competitors at Olympia was adopted from the Spartan practice, seemingly in the 14th Olympiad, as is testified by the epigram on Orsippus the Megarian. Previous to that period, the Olympic competitors had *διαζώματα περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα* (Thucyd. i. 6).

became an attractive centre for the western portion of Peloponnesus, before they were much frequented by people from the eastern, or still more from extra-Peloponnesian Hellas. For it cannot be altogether accidental, when we read the names of the first twelve proclaimed Olympic victors (occupying nearly half a century from 776 B.C. downwards), to find that seven of them are Messenians, three Eleians, one from Dymê in Achaia, and one from Korônê: while after the twelfth Olympiad, Corinthians, and Megarians and Epidaurians begin to occur: later still, extra-Peloponnesian victors. We may reasonably infer from hence that the Olympic ceremonies were at this early period chiefly frequented by visitors and competitors from the western regions of Peloponnesus, and that the affluence to them from the more distant parts of the Hellenic world did not become considerable until the first Messenian war had closed.

Having thus set forth the conjectures, to which our very scanty knowledge points, respecting the first establishment of the Ætolian and Dorian settlements in Elis, Laconia, and Messenia, connected as they are with the steadily increasing dignity and frequentation of the Olympic festival, I proceed in the next chapter to that memorable circumstance which both determined the character, and brought about the political ascendency, of the Spartans separately: I mean the laws and discipline of Lycurgus.

Previous inhabitants of southern Peloponnesus—

Of the pre-existing inhabitants of Laconia and Messenia, whom we are accustomed to call Achæans and Pylians, so little is known, that we can-

how far different from the Dorians.

not at all measure the difference between them and their Dorian invaders, either in dialect, in habits, or in intelligence. There appear no traces of any difference of dialect among the various parts of the population of Laconia: the Messenian allies of Athens, in the Peloponnesian war, speak the same dialect as the Helots, and the same also as the Ambrakiotic colonists from Corinth: all Doric[1]. Nor are we to suppose that the Doric dialect was at all peculiar to the people called Dorians: as far as can be made out by the evidence of Inscriptions, it seems to have been the dialect of the Phocians, Delphians, Locrians, Ætolians, and Achæans of Phthiôtis: with respect to the latter, the Inscriptions of Thaumaki in Achæa Phthiôtis afford a proof the more curious and the more cogent of native dialect, because the Phthiôts were both immediate neighbours and subjects of the Thessalians, who spoke a variety of the Æolic. So too, within Peloponnesus, we find evidences of Doric dialect among the Achæans in the north of Peloponnesus—the Dryopic inhabitants of Hermionê[2]—and the Eleuthero-Lacones, or Laconian townships (compounded of Periœki and Helots), emancipated by the Romans in the second century B.C. Concerning the speech of that population whom the invading Dorians found in Laconia, we have no means of judging: the presumption would rather be that it

[1] Thucyd. iii. 112; iv. 41: compare vii. 44, about the sameness of sound of the war-shout or pæan, as delivered by all the different Dorians.

[2] Corpus Inscriptt. Boeckh. Nos. 1771, 1772, 1773; Ahrens, De Dialecto Doricâ, sect. i.–ii. 48.

did not differ materially from the Doric. Thucydides designates the Corinthians, whom the invading Dorians attacked from the hill Solygeius, as being Æolians, and Strabo speaks both of the Achæans as an Æolic nation and of the Æolic dialect as having been originally preponderant in Peloponnesus[1]. But we do not readily see what means of information either of these authors possessed respecting the speech of a time which must have been four centuries anterior even to Thucydides.

Doric and Æolic dialect.

Of that which is called the Æolic dialect there are three marked and distinguishable varieties—the Lesbian, the Thessalian, and the Bœotian; the Thessalian forming a mean term between the other two. Ahrens has shown that the ancient grammatical critics are accustomed to affirm peculiarities, as belonging to the Æolic dialect generally, which in truth belong only to the Lesbian variety of it, or to the poems of Alkæus and Sappho, which these critics attentively studied. Lesbian Æolic, Thessalian Æolic, and Bœotian Æolic, are all different: and if, abstracting from these differences, we confine our attention to that which is common to all three, we shall find little to distinguish this abstract Æolic from the abstract Doric, or that which is common to the many varieties of the Doric dialect[2]. These

[1] Thucyd. iv. 42; Strabo, viii. p. 333.

[2] See the valuable work of Ahrens, De Dialecto Æolicâ, sect. 51. He observes, in reference to the Lesbian, Thessalian, and Bœotian dialects:—"Tres illas dialectos, quæ optimo jure Æolicæ vocari videntur—quia, qui illis usi sunt, Æoles erant—comparantem mirum habere oportet, quod Asianorum Æolum et Bœotorum dialecti tantum inter se distant, quantum vix ab aliâ quâvis Græcæ linguæ dialecto." (He then enumerates many points of difference:) "Contra tot tantasque

two are sisters, presenting both of them more or less the Latin side of the Greek language, while the relationship of either of them to the Attic and Ionic is more distant. Now it seems that (putting aside Attica) the speech of all Greece[1], from Perrhæbia and Mount Olympus to Cape Malea and Cape Akritas, consisted of different varieties either of the Doric or of the Æolic dialect; this being true (as far as we are able to judge) not less of the aboriginal Arcadians than of the rest. The Laconian dialect contained more specialties of its own, and approached nearer to the Æolic, and to the Eleian, than any other variety of the Dorian: it stands at the extreme of what has been classified as the strict Dorian—that is, the farthest removed from Ionic and Attic. The Cretan towns manifest also a strict Dorism; as well as the Lacedæmonian colony of Tarentum, and seemingly most of the Italiotic Greeks, though some of them are called Achæan colonies. Most of the other varieties of the Doric dialect (Phocian, Lokrian, Delphian,

differentias pauca reperiuntur eaque fere levia, quæ utrique dialecto, neque simul Doricæ, communia sint.....Vides his comparatis tantum interesse inter utramque dialectum, ut dubitare liceat, an Æoles Bœoti non magis cum Æolibus Asianis conjuncti fuerint, quam qui hodie miro quodam casu Saxones vocantur cum antiquis Saxonibus. Nihilominus Thessalicâ dialecto in comparationem vocatâ, diversissima quæ videntur aliquo vinculo conjungere licet. Quamvis enim pauca de eâ comperta habeamus, hoc tamen certum est, alia Thessalis cum Lesbiis, alia cum solis Bœotis communia esse." (P. 222–223.)

[1] About the Æolic dialect of the Perrhæbians see Stephanus Byz. v. Γόννος, and ap. Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 335.

The Attic judgment in comparing these different varieties of Greek speech is expressed in the story of a man being asked—Whether the Bœotians or the Thessalians were most of barbarians? He answered—The Eleians (Eustath. ad Iliad. p. 304).

Achæan of Phthiôtis) exhibit a form departing less widely from the Ionic and Attic: Argos and the towns in the Argolic peninsula seem to form a stepping-stone between the two.

These positions represent the little which can be known respecting those varieties of Grecian speech which are not known to us by written works. The little presumption which can be raised upon them favours the belief that the Dorian invaders of Laconia and Messenia found there a dialect little differing from that which they brought with them—a conclusion which it is the more necessary to state distinctly, since the work of O. Müller has caused an exaggerated estimate to be formed of the distinctive peculiarities whereby Dorism was parted off from the rest of Hellas.

CHAPTER VI.

LAWS AND DISCIPLINE OF LYCURGUS AT SPARTA.

Lycurgus—authorities of Plutarch respecting him.

PLUTARCH begins his biography of Lycurgus with the following ominous words:—

"Concerning the lawgiver Lycurgus we can assert absolutely nothing which is not controverted: there are different stories in respect to his birth, his travels, his death, and also his mode of proceeding, political as well as legislative: least of all is the time in which he lived agreed upon."

And this exordium is but too well borne out by the unsatisfactory nature of the accounts which we read, not only in Plutarch himself, but in those other authors out of whom we are obliged to make up our idea of the memorable Lycurgean system. If we examine the sources from which Plutarch's life of Lycurgus is deduced, it will appear that—excepting the poets Alkman, Tyrtæus, and Simonides, from whom he has borrowed less than we could have wished—he has no authorities older than Xenophon and Plato: Aristotle is cited several times, and is unquestionably the best of his witnesses, but the greater number of them belong to the century subsequent to that philosopher. Neither Herodotus nor Ephorus are named, though the former furnishes some brief, but interesting particulars, and the latter also (as far as we can judge

from the fragments remaining) entered at large into the proceedings of the Spartan lawgiver[1].

Uncertainties about his genealogy.

Lycurgus is described by Herodotus as uncle and guardian to king Labôtas, of the Eurystheneid or Agid line of Spartan kings; and this would place him, according to the received chronology, about 220 years before the first recorded Olympiad (about B.C. 996[2]). All the other accounts, on the contrary, seem to represent him as a younger brother, belonging to the other or Prokleid line of Spartan kings, though they do not perfectly agree respecting his parentage. While Simonides stated him to be the son of Prytanis, Dieutychidas described him as grandson of Prytanis, son of Eunomus, brother of Polydektês, and uncle as well as guardian to Charilaus—thus making him eleventh in descent from Hêraklês[3]. This latter account was adopted by Aristotle, coinciding, according to the received chronology, with the date of Iphitus the Eleian, and the first celebration of the Olympic games by Lycurgus and Iphitus conjointly[4], which Aristotle

[1] See Heeren, Dissertatio de Fontibus Plutarchi, p. 19-25.

[2] Herodot. i. 65. Moreover, Herodotus gives this as the statement of the Lacedæmonians themselves.

[3] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 1. According to Dionys. Halik. (Ant. Rom. ii. 49) Lycurgus was uncle, not son, of Eunomus.

Aristotle considers Lycurgus as guardian of Charilaus (Politic. ii. 7, 1): compare v. 10, 3. See O. Müller (Hist. of Dorians, i. 7, 3).

[4] Phlegôn also adds Kleosthenês of Pisa (De Olympiis ap. Meursii Opp. vii. p. 128). It appears that there existed a quoit at Olympia, upon which the formula of the Olympic truce was inscribed together with the names of Iphitus and Lycurgus as the joint authors and proclaimers of it. Aristotle believed this to be genuine, and accepted it as an evidence of the fact which it professed to certify: and O. Müller is also disposed to admit it as genuine—that is, as *contemporary* with the times to which it professes to relate. I come to a different conclusion:

accepted as a fact. Lycurgus, on the hypothesis here mentioned, would stand about B.C. 880, a century before the recorded Olympiads. Eratosthenês and Apollodorus placed him "not a few years earlier than the first Olympiad:" if they meant hereby the epoch commonly assigned as the Olympiad of Iphitus, their date would coincide pretty nearly with that of Herodotus: if on the other hand they meant the first recorded Olympiad (B.C. 776), they would be found not much removed from the opinion of Aristotle. An unequivocal proof of the inextricable confusion in ancient times respecting the epoch of the great Spartan lawgiver is indirectly afforded by Timæus, who supposed that there had existed two persons named Lycurgus, and that the acts of both had been ascribed to one. It is plain from hence that there was no certainty attainable, even in the third century before the Christian æra, respecting the date or parentage of Lycurgus.

Thucydides, without mentioning the name of

that the quoit existed, I do not doubt; but that the inscription upon it was actually set down in writing in or near B.C. 880, would be at variance with the reasonable probabilities resulting from Grecian palæography. Had this ancient and memorable instrument existed at Olympia in the days of Herodotus, he could hardly have assigned to Lycurgus the epoch which we now read in his writings.

The assertions in Müller's History of the Dorians (i. 7, 7), about Lycurgus, Iphitus, and Kleosthenês, "drawing up the fundamental law of the Olympic armistice," are unsupported by any sufficient evidence. In the later times of established majesty of the Olympic festival, the Eleians did undoubtedly exercise the power which he describes; but to connect this with any deliberate regulation of Iphitus and Lycurgus, is in my judgment incorrect. See the mention of a similar truce proclaimed throughout Triphylia by the Makistians as presidents of the common festival at the temple of the Samian Poseidon (Strabo, viii. p. 343).

Probable date of Lycurgus.

Lycurgus, informs us that it was "400 years and somewhat more" anterior to the close of the Peloponnesian war[1], when the Spartans emerged from their previous state of desperate internal disorder, and entered upon "their present polity." We may fairly presume that this alludes to the Lycurgean discipline and constitution, which Thucydides must thus have conceived as introduced about B.C. 830–820—coinciding with something near the commencement of the reign of king Têleklus. In so far as it is possible to form an opinion, amidst evidence at once so scanty and so discordant, I incline to adopt the opinion of Thucydides as to the time at which the Lycurgean constitution was introduced at Sparta. The state of "eunomy" and good order which that constitution brought about, and the healing of their great previous internal sedition, which must have tended much to enfeeble them, is represented (and with great plausibility) as the grand cause of the victorious career beginning with king Têleklus, the conqueror of Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ. Therefore it would seem, in the absence of better evidence, that a date, connecting the fresh stimulus of the new discipline with the reign of Têleklus, is more probable than any epoch either later or earlier[2].

[1] Thucyd. i. 18.

[2] Mr. Clinton fixes the legislation of Lycurgus, "in conformity with Thucydides," at about 817 B.C., and his regency at 852 B.C., about thirty-five years previous (Fasti Hellen. v. iii. c. 7. p. 141): he also places the Olympiad of Iphitus B.C. 828 (F. H. vol. ii. p. 410; App. c. 22).

In that chapter, Mr. Clinton collects and discusses the various state-

Opinion of O. Müller (that Sparta is the perfect type of Dorian character and tendencies) is incorrect. Peculiarity of Sparta.

O. Müller[1], after glancing at the strange and improbable circumstances handed down to us respecting Lycurgus, observes "that we have absolutely no account of him as an individual person." This remark is perfectly just: but another remark made by the same distinguished author, respecting the Lycurgean system of laws, appears to me erroneous,

ments respecting the date of Lycurgus: compare also Larcher ad Herodot. i. 67, and Chronologie, p. 486-492.

The differences in these statements must, after all, be taken as they stand, for they cannot be reconciled except by the help of arbitrary suppositions, which only mislead us by producing a show of agreement where there is none in reality. I agree with Mr. Clinton in thinking that the assertion of Thucydides is here to be taken as the best authority. But I altogether dissent from the proceeding which he (in common with Larcher, Wesseling, Sir John Marsham and others) employs with regard to the passage of Herodotus where that author calls Lycurgus the guardian and uncle of Labôtas (of the Eurystheneid line). Mr. Clinton says—"From the notoriety of the fact that Lycurgus was ascribed to the other house (the Prokleids), it is manifest that *the passage must be corrupted*" (p. 144); and he then goes on to correct the text of Herodotus, agreeably to the proposition of Sir J. Marsham.

This proceeding seems to me inadmissible. The text of Herodotus reads perfectly well, and is not contradicted by anything to be found elsewhere *in Herodotus himself*: moreover, we have here a positive guarantee of its accuracy, for Mr. Clinton himself admits that it stood in the days of Pausanias just as we now read it (Pausan. iii. 2, 3). By what right then do we alter it? or what do we gain by doing so? Our only right to do so, is, the assumption that there must have been uniformity of belief, and means of satisfactory ascertainment, (respecting facts and persons of the ninth and tenth centuries before the Christian æra,) existing among Greeks of the fifth and succeeding centuries; an assumption which I hold to be incorrect. And all we gain is, an illusory unanimity produced by gratuitously putting words into the mouth of one of our witnesses.

If we can prove Herodotus to have been erroneously informed, it is right to do so: but we have no ground for altering his deposition. It affords a clear proof that there were very different stories as to the mere question, to which of the two lines of Herakleids the Spartan lawgiver belonged—and that there was an enormous difference as to the time in which he lived.

[1] History of the Dorians, i. 7, 6.

and requires more especially to be noticed, inasmuch as the corollaries deduced from it pervade a large portion of his valuable History of the Dorians. He affirms that the laws of Sparta were considered the true Doric institutions, and that their origin was identical with that of the people: Sparta is, in his view, the full type of Dorian principles, tendencies, and sentiments, and is so treated throughout his entire work[1]. But such an opinion is at once gratuitous (the passage of Pindar cited in support of it is scarcely of any value) and contrary to the whole tenor of ancient evidence. The institutions of Sparta were not Dorian, but peculiar to herself[2]; distinguishing her not less from Argos, Corinth, Megara, Epidaurus, Sikyon, Korkyra, or Knidus, than from Athens or Thebes. Crete was the only other portion of Greece in which there prevailed institutions doubtless analogous, yet still dissimilar in those two attributes which form the real mark and pinch of Spartan legislation, viz. the military discipline and the rigorous private training. There were doubtless Dorians in Crete, but we have no proof that these peculiar institutions belonged to them more than to the other inhabitants of the island. That the Spartans had an original organization and tendencies, common to them with the other Dorians, we may readily concede; but the Lycurgean constitution impressed upon them a peculiar tendency which took them out of the general march, and rendered them the least fit of all states

[1] History of the Dorians, iii. 1, 8.

[2] Among the many other evidences to this point, see Aristotle, Ethic. x. 9; Xenophon, Republ. Laced. 10, 8.

to be cited as an example of the class-attributes of Dorism. One of the essential causes, which made the Spartan institutions work so impressively upon the Grecian mind, was their perfect singularity, combined with the conspicuous ascendency of the state in which they were manifested: the Cretan communities, even admitting their partial resemblance (which was chiefly in the institution of the Syssitia, and was altogether more in form than in spirit) to Sparta, were too insignificant to attract notice except from speculative observers. It is therefore a mistake on the part of O. Müller, to treat Sparta as the type and representative of Dorians generally, and very many of the positions advanced in his History of the Dorians require to be modified when this mistake is pointed out.

Early date of Lycurgus.

The first capital fact to notice respecting the institutions ascribed to Lycurgus, is the very early period at which they had their commencement: it seems impossible to place this period later than 825 B.C. We do not find, nor have we a right to expect, trustworthy history in reference to events so early. If we have one foot on historical ground, inasmuch as the institutions themselves are real, the other foot still floats in the unfaithful region of mythe, when we strive to comprehend the generating causes: the mist yet prevails which hinders us from distinguishing between the god and the man. The light in which Lycurgus appeared, to an intelligent Greek of the fifth century before the Christian æra, is so clearly, yet briefly depicted in the following passage of Herodotus, that I cannot do better than translate it:—

View taken of Lycurgus by Herodotus.

"In the very early times (Herodotus observes) the Spartans were among themselves the most lawless of all Greeks, and unapproachable by foreigners. Their transition to good legal order took place in the following manner. When Lycurgus, a Spartan of consideration, visited Delphi to consult the oracle, the instant that he entered the sanctuary, the Pythian priestess exclaimed,—

"Thou art come, Lycurgus, to my fat shrine, beloved by Zeus and by all the Olympic gods. Is it as God or as man that I am to address thee in the spirit? I hesitate—and yet, Lycurgus, I incline more to call thee a God."

(So spake the Pythian priestess.) "Moreover, in addition to these words, some affirm that the Pythia revealed to him the order of things now established among the Spartans. *But the Lacedæmonians themselves* say, that Lycurgus, when guardian of his nephew Labôtas king of the Spartans, introduced these institutions out of Crete. No sooner had he obtained this guardianship, than he changed all the institutions into their present form, and took security against any transgression of it. Next, he constituted the military divisions, the Enômoties and the Triakads, as well as the Syssitia or public mess: he also, farther, appointed the ephors and the senate. By this means the Spartans passed from bad to good order: to Lycurgus, after his death, they built a temple, and they still worship him reverentially. And as might naturally be expected in a productive soil, and with no inconsiderable numbers of men, they immediately took a start forward, and flourished so much that they could

not be content to remain tranquil within their own limits," &c.

Such is our oldest statement (coming from Herodotus) respecting Lycurgus, ascribing to him that entire order of things which the writer witnessed at Sparta. Thucydides also, though not mentioning Lycurgus, agrees in stating, that the system among the Lacedæmonians as he saw it had been adopted by them four centuries previously,—had rescued them from the most intolerable disorders, and had immediately conducted them to prosperity and success[1]. Hellanikus, whose writings a little preceded those of Herodotus, not only did not (any more than Thucydides) make mention of Lycurgus, but can hardly be thought to have attached any importance to the name; since he attributed the constitution of Sparta to the first kings, Eurysthenês and Proklês[2].

Little said about Lycurgus in the earlier authors.

But those later writers, from whom Plutarch chiefly compiled his biography, profess to be far better informed on the subject of Lycurgus, and enter more into detail. His father, we are told, was assassinated during the preceding state of lawlessness; his elder brother Polydektês died early, leaving a pregnant widow, who made to Lycurgus propositions that he should marry her and become king. But Lycurgus, repudiating the offer with indignation, awaited the birth of his young nephew Charilaus, held up the child publicly in the agora as the future king of Sparta, and immediately relinquished the authority which he had provisionally exercised. However, the widow and her brother

Copious details of Plutarch.

[1] Herodot. i. 65–66; Thucyd. i. 18.

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 363.

Regency of Lycurgus —his long absence from Sparta.

Leonidas raised slanderous accusations against him, of designs menacing to the life of the infant king, —accusations which he deemed it proper to obviate by a temporary absence. Accordingly he left Sparta and went to Crete, where he studied the polity and customs of the different cities; next he visited Ionia and Egypt, and (as some authors affirmed) Libya, Iberia, and even India. While in Ionia, he is reported to have obtained from the descendants of Kreophylus a copy of the Homeric poems, which had not up to that time become known in Peloponnesus: there were not wanting authors, indeed, who said that he had conversed with Homer himself[1].

Meanwhile the young king Charilaus grew up and assumed the sceptre, as representing the Prokleid or Eurypontid family; but the reins of government had become more relaxed, and the disorders worse than ever, when Lycurgus returned. Finding that the two kings as well as the people were weary of so disastrous a condition, he set himself to the task of applying a corrective, and with this view consulted the Delphian oracle; from which he received strong assurances of the divine encouragement, together with one or more special injunctions (the primitive Rhetræ of the constitution) which he brought with him to Sparta. He then suddenly presented himself in the agora, with thirty of the most distinguished Spartans, all in arms, as his guards and partisans: king Charilaus, though at first terrified, when informed of the designs of his uncle, stood forward willingly to second

He is sent by the Delphian oracle to reform the state.

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. 3, 4, 5.

them; and the bulk of the Spartans respectfully submitted to the venerable Herakleid who came as reformer and missionary from Delphi[1]. Such were the steps by which Lycurgus acquired his ascendency: we have now to see how he employed it.

His institutions ascribed to him—senate and popular assembly—ephors.

His first proceeding, pursuant to the Rhetra or Compact brought from Delphi, was to constitute the Spartan senate, consisting of twenty-eight ancient men; making an aggregate of thirty in conjunction with the two kings, who sat and voted in it. With this were combined periodical assemblies of the Spartan people, in the open air, between the river Knakiôn and the bridge Babykas; but no discussion was permitted in these assemblies,—their functions were limited to the simple acceptance or rejection of that which had previously been determined in the senate[2]. Such was the Spartan political

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 5-6. Hermippus, the scholar of Aristotle, professed to give the names of twenty out of these thirty devoted partisans.

There was however a different story, which represented that Lycurgus, on his return from his travels, found Charilaus governing like a despot (Heraclid. Pontic. c. 2).

[2] The words of the old Rhetra—*Διὸς Ἑλλανίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἑλλανίας ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα, καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα, γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις, καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ Βαβύκας καὶ Κνακίωνος, οὕτως εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι· δάμῳ δ' ἀγορὰν εἶμεν καὶ κράτος.* (Plutarch, *ib.*)

The reading *ἀγορὰν* (last word but three) is that of Coray's edition: other readings proposed are *κυρίαν, ἀνωγὰν, ἀγορίαν*, &c. The MSS. however are incurably corrupt, and none of the conjectures can be pronounced certain.

The Rhetra contains various remarkable archaisms,—*ἀπελλάζειν—ἀφίστασθαι*,—the latter word in the sense of putting the question for decision, corresponding to the function of the *Ἀφεστὴρ* at Knidus (Plutarch, Quæst. Græc. c. 4; see Schneider, Lexicon, *ad voc.*).

O. Müller connects *τριάκοντα* with *ὠβὰς*, and lays it down that there were thirty Obes at Sparta: I rather agree with those critics who place the comma after *ὠβάξαντα*, and refer the number thirty to the senate:

constitution as fixed by Lycurgus; but a century afterwards (so Plutarch's account runs), under the kings Polydôrus and Theopompus, two important alterations were made. A rider was then attached to the old Lycurgean Rhetra, by which it was provided, that "in case the people decided crookedly, the senate with the kings should reverse their decisions[1]:" while another change, perhaps intended as a sort of compensation for this bridle on the popular assembly, introduced into the constitution a new executive Directory of five men, called the Ephors, —annually chosen, by some capricious method the result of which could not well be foreseen, and open to be filled by every Spartan citizen,—which either originally received, or gradually drew to itself, attributions so extensive and commanding; in regard to internal administration and police, as to limit the authority of the kings to little more

the statements of Müller about the Obes seem to me to rest on no authority.

The word Rhetra means a solemn compact, either originally emanating from, or subsequently sanctioned by the gods, who are always parties to such agreements: see the old Treaty between the Eleians and Heræans,—Ἅ *Fράτρα*, between the two,—commemorated in the valuable inscription still preserved,—as ancient, according to Boeckh, as Olymp. 40–60 (Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. No. II. p. 26. Part I.). The words of Tyrtæus imply such a compact between contracting parties: first the kings, then the senatus, lastly the people—*εὐθείας ῥήτραις ἀνταπαμειβομένους*—where the participle last occurring applies not to the people alone, but to all the three. The Rhetra of Lycurgus emanated from the Delphian god; but the kings, senatus, and people all bound themselves, both to each other and to the gods, to obey it. The explanations given of the phrase by Nitzsch and Schömann (in Dr. Thirlwall's note, ch. viii. p. 334) seem to me less satisfactory than C. F. Hermann (Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterthümer, s. 23).

[1] Αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἕλοιτο, *τοὺς πρεσβυγένεας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατῆρας εἶμεν*. (Plutarch, *ib.*)

than the exclusive command of the military force. Herodotus was informed at Sparta that the ephors as well as the senate had been constituted by Lycurgus; but the authority of Aristotle, as well as the internal probability of the case, sanctions the belief that they were subsequently added[1].

Constitution ascribed to Lycurgus agrees with that which we find in Homer.

Taking the political constitution of Sparta ascribed to Lycurgus, it appears not to have differed materially from the rude organization exhibited in the Homeric poems, where we always find a council of chiefs or old men and occasional meetings of a listening agora. It is hard to suppose that the Spartan kings can ever have governed without some formalities of this sort; and the innovation (if innovation there really was) ascribed to Lycurgus must have consisted in some new details respecting the senate and the agora,—in fixing the number thirty, and the life-tenure of the former; and the special place of meeting of the latter as well as the extent of privilege which it was to exercise; consecrating the whole by the erection of the temples of Zeus Hellanius and Athênê Hellania. The view of the subject presented by Plutarch as well as by Plato[2], as if the senate were an entire novelty, does not consist with the pic-

[1] Herod. i. 65: compare Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 7; Aristotet. Polit. v. 9, 1 (where he gives the answer of king Theopompus).

Aristotle tells us that the ephors were chosen, but not how they were chosen; only that it was in some sort excessively puerile,—παιδαριώδης γάρ ἐστι λίαν (ii. 6, 16).

M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, in his note to the passage of Aristotle, presumes that they were of course chosen in the same manner as the senators; but there seems no sufficient ground in Aristotle to countenance this.

[2] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 691; Plato, Epist. viii. p. 354, B.

tures of the old epic, and we may more naturally imagine that the Lycurgean political constitution, apart from the ephors who were afterwards tacked to it, presents only the old features of the heroic government of Greece, defined and regularised in a particular manner. The presence of two co-existent and co-ordinate kings, indeed, succeeding in hereditary descent and both belonging to the gens of Herakleids, is something peculiar to Sparta, the origin of which receives no other explanation than a reference to the twin sons of Aristodêmus, Eurysthenês and Proklês. These two primitive ancestors are a type of the two lines of Spartan kings; for they are said to have passed their lives in perpetual dissensions, which was the habitual state of the two contemporaneous kings at Sparta. While the co-existence of the pair of kings, equal in power and constantly thwarting each other, had often a baneful effect upon the course of public measures, it was nevertheless a security to the state against successful violence[1], ending in the establishment of a despotism, on the part of any ambitious individual among the regal line.

Pair of kings at Sparta—their constant dissensions—a security to the state against despotism.

During five successive centuries of Spartan history, from Polydôrus and Theopompus downward, no such violence was attempted by any of the kings[2], until the times of Agis III. and Kleomenês

[1] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 691; Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 20.

[2] The conspiracy of Pausanias, after the repulse of Xerxes, was against the liberty of combined Hellas, to constitute himself satrap of Hellas under the Persian monarch, rather than against the established Lacedæmonian government; though undoubtedly one portion of his project was to excite the Helots to revolt, and Aristotle treats him as specially aiming to put down the power of the ephors (Polit. v. 5, 6; compare Thucyd. i. 128–134; Herodot. v. 32).

III. (240 B.C. to 220 B.C.) The importance of Greece had at this last-mentioned period irretrievably declined, and the independent political action which she once possessed had become subordinate to the more powerful force either of the Ætolian mountaineers (the rudest among her own sons) or to Epirotic, Macedonian, and Asiatic foreigners, preparatory to the final absorption by the Romans. But amongst all the Grecian states, Sparta had declined the most; her ascendency was totally gone, and her peculiar training and discipline (to which she had chiefly owed it) had degenerated in every way. Under these untoward circumstances, two young kings, Agis and Kleomenês—the former a generous enthusiast, the latter more violent and ambitious—conceived the design of restoring the Lycurgean constitution in its supposed pristine purity, with the hope of reviving both the spirit of the people and the ascendency of the state. But the Lycurgean constitution had been, even in the time of Xenophon[1], in part, an *idéal* not fully realised in practice—much less was it a reality in the days of Kleomenês and Agis; moreover it was an *idéal* which admitted of being coloured according to the fancy or feelings of those reformers who professed, and probably believed, that they were aiming at its genuine restoration. What the reforming kings found most in their way, was, the uncontrolled authority, and the conservative dispositions, of the ephors, which they naturally contrasted with the original fulness of the kingly power, when kings and senate stood alone. Among the various ways

[1] Xenophon, Republic. Laced. c. 14.

Idea of Kleomenês III. respecting the first appointment of the ephors.

in which men's ideas of what the primitive constitution *had* been, were modified by the feelings of their own time (we shall presently see some other instances of this), is probably to be reckoned the assertion of Kleomenês respecting the first appointment of the ephors. Kleomenês affirmed that the ephors had originally been nothing more than subordinates and deputies of the kings, chosen by the latter to perform for a time their duties during the long absence of the Messenian war: starting from this humble position, and profiting by the dissensions of the two kings[1], they had in process of time, especially by the ambition of the ephor Asterôpus, found means first to constitute themselves an independent board, then to usurp to themselves more and more of the kingly authority, until they at last reduced the kings to a state of intolerable humiliation and impotence. As a proof of the primitive relation between the kings and the ephors, he alluded to that which was the custom at Sparta in his own time. When the ephors sent for either of the kings, the latter had a right to refuse obedience to two successive summonses, but the third summons he was bound to obey[2].

It is obvious that the fact here adduced by Kleomenês (a curious point in Spartan manners) contributes little to prove the conclusion which he deduced from it of the original nomination of the ephors as mere deputies by the kings. That they

[1] Plutarch, Agis, c. 12. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἀρχεῖον (the ephors) ἰσχύειν ἐκ διαφορᾶς τῶν βασιλέων, &c.

[2] Plutarch, Kleomenês, c. 10. σημεῖον δὲ τούτου, τὸ μέχρι νῦν, μεταπεμπομένων τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἐφόρων, &c.

were first appointed at the time of the Messenian war is probable, and coincides with the tale that king Theopompus was a consenting party to the measure—that their functions were at first comparatively circumscribed, and extended by successive encroachments, is also probable; but they seem to have been from the beginning a board of specially popular origin, in contraposition to the kings and the senate. One proof of this is to be found in the ancient oath, which was every month interchanged between the kings and the ephors; the king swearing for himself, that he would exercise his regal functions according to the established laws—the ephors swearing on behalf of the city, that his authority should on that condition remain unshaken[1]. This mutual compact, which probably formed a part of the ceremony during the monthly sacrifices offered by the king[2], continued down to a time when it must have become a pure form, and when the kings had long been subordinate in power to the ephors. But it evidently began first as a reality—when the king was predominant and effective chief of the state, and when the ephors, clothed with functions chiefly defensive, served as guarantees to the people against abuse of the regal authority. Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero[3], all inter-

Popular origin of the board of ephors—oath interchanged between them and the kings.

[1] Xenophon, Republic. Lacedæmon. c. 15. Καὶ ὅρκους μὲν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μῆνα ποιοῦνται· Ἔφοροι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ ὅρκος, ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν· τῇ δὲ πόλει, ἐμπεδορκοῦντος ἐκείνου, ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέξειν.

[2] Herodot. vi. 57.

[3] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 692; Aristot. Polit. v. 11, 1; Cicero de Republic. Fragm. ii. 33, ed. Maii—"Ut contra consulare imperium tribuni plebis,

pret the original institution of the ephors as designed to protect the people and restrain the kings: the latter assimilates them to the tribunes at Rome.

Subordination of the kings, and supremacy of the ephors, during the historical times.

Such were the relations which had once subsisted between the kings and the ephors: in later times these relations had been so completely reversed, that Polybius considers the former as essentially subordinate to the latter—reckoning it as a point of duty in the kings to respect the ephors "as their fathers[1]." And such is decidedly the state of things throughout all the better-known period of history which we shall hereafter traverse. The ephors are the general directors of public affairs[2] and the supreme controlling board which holds in check every other authority in the state, without any assignable limit to their powers: the extraordinary ascendency of these magistrates is particularly manifested in the fact stated by Aristotle, that they exempted themselves from the public discipline, so that their self-indulgent year of office stood in marked contrast with the toilsome exercises and sober mess common to rich and poor alike. The kings are reduced to a certain number of special functions, combined with privileges partly religious, partly honorary: their most important political attribute is, that they are *ex officio* generals of the

sic illi (ephori) contra vim regiam constituti;"—also De Legg. iii. 7, and Valer. Max. iv. 1.

Compare Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 7; Tittmann, Griechisch. Staatsverfassung, p. 108 *seqq.*

[1] Polyb. xxiv. 8.

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 14–16; Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ δίαιτα τῶν Ἐφόρων οὐχ ὁμολογουμένη τῷ βουλήματι τῆς πόλεως· αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀνειμένη λίαν ἐστί· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μᾶλλον ὑπερβάλλει ἐπὶ τὸ σκληρὸν, &c.

military force on foreign expeditions. But even here we trace the sensible decline of their power. For whereas Herodotus was informed, and it probably had been the old privilege, that the king could levy war against whomsoever he chose, and that no Spartan could impede him on pain of committing sacrilege[1]—we see throughout the course of the history that it is always the ephors (with or without the senate and public assembly) who determine upon war—the king only takes the command when the army is put on the march. Aristotle seems to treat the Spartan king as a sort of hereditary general; but even in this privilege, shackles were put upon him—for two out of the five ephors accompanied the army, and their power seems to have been not seldom invoked to ensure obedience to his orders[2]. The direct political powers of the kings were thus greatly curtailed: yet importance in many ways was still left to them. They possessed large royal domains, in many of the townships of the Perioeki: they received frequent occasional presents, and when victims were offered to the gods, the skins and other portions belonged to them as perquisites[3]:

Position and privileges of the kings.

[1] Herod. vi. 56.

[2] Aristot. ii. 7, 4; Xenoph. Republic. Laced. c. 13. *Παυσανίας, πείσας τῶν Ἐφόρων τρεῖς, ἐξάγει φρουράν*, Xenoph. Hellen. ii. 4, 29; *φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ Ἔφοροι*, iii. 2, 23.

A special restriction was put on the functions of the king, as military commander-in-chief, in 417 B.C., after the ill-conducted expedition of Agis son of Archidamus against Argos. It was then provided that ten Spartan counsellors should always accompany the king in every expedition (Thucyd. v. 63).

[3] The hide-money (*δερματικὸν*) arising from the numerous victims offered at public sacrifices at Athens, is accounted for as a special item of the public revenue in the careful economy of that city: see Boeckh,

they had their votes in the senate, which, if they were absent, were given on their behalf by such of the other senators as were most nearly related to them: the adoption of children received its formal accomplishment in their presence, and conflicting claims at law, for the hand of an unbequeathed orphan heiress, were adjudicated by them. But above all, their root was deep in the religious feelings of the people. Their pre-eminent lineage connected the entire state with a divine paternity: they, the chiefs of the Herakleids, were the special grantees of the soil of Sparta from the gods—the occupation of the Dorians being only sanctified and blest by Zeus for the purpose of establishing the children of Hêraklês in the valley of the Eurotas[1]: they represented the state in its relations with the gods, being, by right, priests of Zeus Lacedæmon (the ideas of the god and the country coalescing into one) and of Zeus Uranius, and offering the monthly sacrifices necessary to ensure divine protection to the people. Though individual persons might sometimes be put aside, nothing short of a new divine revelation could induce the Spartans to step out of the genuine lineage of Eurysthenês and Proklês. Moreover, the remarkable mourning ceremony which took place at the

Public Econ. of Athens, iii. 7. p. 333; Engl. Trans. Corpus Inscription. No. 157.

[1] Tyrtæus, Fragm. 1, ed. Bergk; Strabo, xviii. p. 362:—

Αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης
Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν·
Οἷσιν ἅμα προλιπόντες Ἐρίνεον ἠνεμόεντα
Εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

Compare Thucydid. v. 16; Herodot. v. 39; Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3, 3; Plutarch, Lysand. c. 22.

death of every king, seems to indicate that the two kingly families—which counted themselves Achæan[1], not Dorian—were considered as the great common bond of union between the three component parts of the population of Laconia—Spartans, Perioeki, and Helots. Not merely was it required, on this occasion, that two members of every house in Sparta should appear in sackcloth and ashes, but the death of the king was formally made known throughout every part of Laconia, and deputies from the townships of the Perioeki and the villages of the Helots, to the number of several thousand, were summoned to Sparta to take their share in the profuse and public demonstrations of sorrow[2], which lasted for ten days, and which imparted to the funeral obsequies a superhuman solemnity. Nor ought we to forget, in enumerating the privileges of the Spartan king, that he (conjointly with two officers called Pythii, and nominated by him,) carried on the communications between the state and the temple of Delphi, and had the custody of oracles and prophecies generally. In most of the Grecian states, such inspired declarations were treasured up, and consulted in cases of public emergency: but the intercourse of Sparta with the Delphian oracle was peculiarly frequent and intimate, and the responses of the Pythian priestess met with more reverential attention from the Spar-

[1] Herod. v. 72. See the account in Plutarch of the abortive stratagem of Lysander to make the kingly dignity elective, by putting forward a youth who passed for the son of Apollo (Plutarch, Lysand. c. 25–26).

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3, 1. Ἄγις—ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ταφῆς.

tans than from any other Greeks[1]. So much the more important were the king's functions, as the medium of this intercourse: the oracle always upheld his dignity, and often even seconded his underhand personal schemes[2]. Sustained by so great a force of traditional reverence, a Spartan king of military talent and individual energy like Agesilaus exercised great ascendency; but such cases were very rare, and we shall find the king throughout the historical period only a secondary force, available on special occasions. For real political orders, in the greatest cases as well as the least, the Spartan looks to the council of ephors, to whom obedience is paid with a degree of precision which nothing short of the Spartan discipline could have brought about—by the most powerful citizens not less than by the meanest[3]. Both the internal police and the foreign affairs of the state are in the hands of the ephors, who exercise an authority approaching to despotism, and altogether without accountability. They appoint and direct the body of 300 young and active citizens, who performed the immediate police service of Laconia: they cashier at pleasure any subordinate functionary, and inflict fine or arrest at their own discretion: they assemble the military force, on occasion of foreign war, and determine its destination, though the king has the actual command of it: they imprison on suspicion even the regent

Power of the ephors.

[1] For the privileges of the Spartan kings see Herodot. vi. 56–57; Xenophon, Republ. Laced. c. 15; Plato, Alcib. i. p. 123.

[2] Herodot. vi. 66, and Thucyd. v. 16, furnish examples of this.

[3] Xenophon, Republ. Laced. c. 8, 2, and Agesilaus, cap. 7, 2.

or the king himself[1]: they sit as judges, sometimes individually and sometimes as a board, upon causes and complaints of great moment, and they judge without the restraint of written laws, the multiplication of which was peremptorily forbidden by one of the old Lycurgean Rhetræ. On certain occasions of peculiar moment they take the sense of the senate and the public assembly[2]—such seems to have been the habit on questions of war and peace—and it appears too that persons charged with homicide, treason, or capital offences generally, were tried before the senate. We read of several instances in which the kings were tried and severely fined, and in which their houses were condemned to be razed to the ground, probably by the senate on the proposition of the ephors: in one instance, it seems that the ephors inflicted by their own authority a fine even upon Agesilaus[3].

Public assembly.

War and peace appear to have been submitted, on most, if not on all occasions, to the senate and the public assembly: no matter could reach the

[1] Xenoph. Rep. Laced. 8, 4; Thucydid. i. 131; Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 14—*ἀρχὴν λίαν μεγάλην καὶ ἰσοτύραννον*. Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 13—*μὴ χρῆσθαι νόμοις ἐγγράφοις*.

Plato, in his Republic, in like manner disapproves of any general enactments tying up beforehand the discretion of perfectly educated men like his guardians, who will always do what is best on each special occasion (Republic, iv. p. 425).

[2] *Ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* (Xen. Hellen. iii. 2, 23).

[3] The case of *Leotychides*, Herod. vi. 72; of *Pleistoanax*, Thucyd. ii. 21–v. 16; *Agis* II., Thucyd. v. 63; *Agis* III., Plutarch, Agis, c. 19: see Plutarch, Agesilaus, c. 5.

Respecting the ephors generally, see Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alterthumskunde, v. 4, 42, vol. i. p. 223; Cragius, Rep. Lac. ii. 4, p. 121.

Aristotle distinctly marks the ephors as *ἀνυπεύθυνοι*: the story therefore alluded to briefly in the Rhetoric (iii. 18) is not easy to be understood.

latter until it had passed through the former. And we find some few occasions on which the decision of the public assembly was a real expression of opinion, and operative as to the result—as for example, the assembly which immediately preceded and resolved upon the Peloponnesian war. Here, in addition to the serious hazard of the case and the general caution of a Spartan temperament, there was the great personal weight and experience of king Archidamus opposed to the war, though the ephors were favourable to it[1]. The public assembly, under such peculiar circumstances, really manifested an opinion and came to a division. But for the most part, it seems to have been little better than an inoperative formality. The general rule permitted no open discussion: perhaps, even the permission to discuss, if given, might have been of no avail, for not only was there no power of public speaking, but no habit of canvassing public measures, at Sparta: nothing was more characteristic of the government than the extreme secrecy of its proceedings[2]. There could be no attraction to invite the citizen to be present at such an assembly: and we may gather from the language of Xenophon that in his time it consisted only of a certain number of notables specially summoned in addition to the senate, which latter body is itself called "the lesser Ekklesia[3]:" indeed the constant and formi-

[1] Thucyd. i. 67, 80, 87. *ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν τὸν εἰωθότα.*

[2] Thucyd. iv. 68. *τῆς πολιτείας τὸ κρυπτόν*: compare iv. 74; also his remarkable expression about so distinguished a man as Brasidas, *ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν*, and iv. 24, about the Lacedæmonian envoys to Athens.

[3] *Τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν* (Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 3, 8), which

dable diminution in the number of qualified citizens was alone sufficient to thin the attendance of the assembly, as well as to break down any imposing force which it might once have possessed.

An assembly thus circumstanced—though always retained as a formality, and though its consent on considerable matters and for the passing of laws (which however seems to have been a rare occurrence at Sparta) was indispensable—could be very little of a practical check upon the administration of the ephors. The Senate, a permanent body with the kings included in it, was the only real check upon them, and must have been to a certain extent a concurrent body in the government, though the large and imposing language in which its political supremacy is spoken of by Demosthenes and Isokrates exceeds greatly the reality of the case. Its most important function was that of a court of criminal justice, before whom every man put on trial for his life was arraigned[1]; but both in this and in their other duties, we find the senators as well as the kings and the ephors charged with corruption

The Senate.

evidently means the γέροντες or senate, and none besides. What is still more to be noted, is the expression οἱ ἔκκλητοι as the equivalent of ἡ ἐκκλησία (compare Hellen. v. 2, 11; vi. 3, 3), evidently showing a special and limited number of persons convened: see also ii. 4, 38; iv. 6, 3; v. 2, 33; Thucyd. v. 77.

The expression οἱ ἔκκλητοι could never have got into use as an equivalent for the Athenian ecclesia.

[1] Xenoph. Repub. Laced. 10; Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 17; iii. 1, 7; Demosthen. cont. Leptin. c. 23. p. 489; Isokrates, Or. xii. (Panathenaic.) p. 266. The language of Demosthenes seems particularly inaccurate.

Plutarch (Agesilaus, c. 32), on occasion of some suspected conspirators who were put to death by Agesilaus and the ephors, when Sparta was in imminent danger from the attack of Epameinondas, asserts, that this was the first time that any Spartan had ever been put to death without trial.

and venality[1]. As they were not appointed until sixty years of age and then held their offices for life, we may readily believe that some of them continued to act after the period of extreme and disqualifying senility, which, though the extraordinary respect of the Lacedæmonians for old age would doubtless tolerate it, could not fail to impair the influence of the body as a concurrent element of government.

Spartan constitution—a close oligarchy.

The brief sketch here given of the Spartan government will show, that though Greek theorists found a difficulty in determining under what class they should arrange it[2], it was in substance a close, unscrupulous, and well-obeyed oligarchy—including within it, as subordinate, those portions which had once been dominant, the kings and the senate, and softening the odium, without abating the mischief, of the system, by its annual change of the ruling ephors. We must at the same time distinguish the government from the Lycurgean discipline and education, which doubtless tended much to equalise rich and poor, in respect to practical life, habits, and enjoyments. Herodotus (and seemingly also Xenophon) thought that the form just described was that which the government had originally received from the hand of Lycurgus. Now, though

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 18. Compare also Thucydid. i. 131 about the guilty Pausanias,—πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολήν; Herodot. v. 72; Thucyd. v. 16—about the kings Leotychides and Pleistoanax; the brave and able Gylippus—Plutarch, Lysand. c. 16.

[2] The ephors are sometimes considered as a democratical element, because every Spartan citizen had a chance of becoming ephor; sometimes as a despotical element, because in the exercise of their power they were subject to little restraint and no responsibility: see Plato, Legg. iv. p. 712; Aristot. Polit. ii. 3, 10; iv. 7, 4, 5.

there is good reason for supposing otherwise, and for believing the ephors to be a subsequent addition, yet the mere fact, that Herodotus was so informed at Sparta, points our attention to one important attribute of the Spartan polity, which it is proper to bring into view. This attribute is, its unparalleled steadiness, for four or five successive centuries, in the midst of governments like the Grecian, all of which had undergone more or less of fluctuation. No considerable revolution—not even any palpable or formal change—occurred in it from the days of the Messenian war down to those of Agis III.: in spite of the irreparable blow which the power and territory of the state sustained from Epameinondas and the Thebans, the form of government nevertheless remained unchanged. It was the only government in Greece which could trace an unbroken peaceable descent from a high antiquity and from its real or supposed founder. Now this was one of the main circumstances (among others which will hereafter be mentioned) of the astonishing ascendency which the Spartans acquired over the Hellenic mind, and which they will not be found at all to deserve by any superior ability in the conduct of affairs. The steadiness of their political sympathies,—exhibited at one time by putting down the tyrants or despots, at another by overthrowing the democracies—stood in the place of ability, and even the recognised failings of their government were often covered by the sentiment of respect for its early commencement and uninterrupted continuance. If such a feeling acted on the

Long duration of the constitution without formal change—one cause of the respect in Greece and pride in the Spartans themselves.

Greeks generally[1], much more powerful was its action upon the Spartans themselves, in inflaming that haughty exclusiveness for which they stood distinguished. And it is to be observed that the Spartan mind continued to be cast on the old-fashioned scale, and unsusceptible of modernizing influences, longer than that of most other people of Greece: the ancient legendary faith, and devoted submission to the Delphian oracle, remained among them unabated, at a time when various influences had considerably undermined it among their fellow-Hellens and neighbours. But though the unchanged title and forms of the government thus contributed to its imposing effect, both at home and abroad, the causes of internal degeneracy were not the less really at work, in undermining its efficiency. It has been already stated that the number of qualified citizens went on continually diminishing, and even of this diminished number a larger proportion than before were needy, since the landed property tended constantly to concentrate itself in fewer hands. There grew up in this way a body of discontent, which had not originally existed, both among the poorer citizens, and among those who had lost their franchise as citizens; thus aggravating the danger arising from Perioeki and Helots, who will be presently noticed.

We pass from the political constitution of Sparta, to the civil ranks and distribution, economical relations, and lastly the peculiar system of habits,

[1] A specimen of the way in which this antiquity was lauded, may be seen in Isokratês, Or. xii. (Panathenaic.) p. 288.

education and discipline, said to have been established among the Lacedæmonians by Lycurgus. Here again we shall find ourselves imperfectly informed as to the existing institutions, and surrounded by confusion when we try to explain to ourselves how those institutions arose.

Dorians divided into three tribes—Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes.

It seems however ascertained that the Dorians in all their settlements were divided into three tribes—the Hylleis, the Pamphyli, and the Dymanes: in all Dorian cities moreover, there were distinguished Herakleid families from whom œkists were chosen when new colonies were formed. These three tribes can be traced at Argos, Sikyôn, Epidaurus, Trœzên, Megara, Korkyra, and seemingly also at Sparta[1]. The Hylleis recognised, as their eponym and progenitor, Hyllus the son of Hêraklês, and were therefore in their own belief descended from Hêraklês himself: we may suppose the Herakleids specially so called, comprising the two regal families, to have been the Elder Brethren of the tribe of Hylleis, the whole of whom are sometimes spoken of as Herakleids or descendants of Hêraklês[2]. But there seem to have been also at Sparta, as in other Dorian towns, non-Dorian inhabitants, apart from these three tribes and embodied in tribes of their own: one of these, the Ægeids, said to have come from Thebes as allies of

[1] Herodot. v. 68; Stephan. Byz. v. Ὑλλέες and Δυμᾶν; O. Müller, Dorians, iii. 5, 2; Boeckh. ad Corp. Inscrip. No. 1123.

Thucyd. i. 24, about Phalius the Herakleid at Corinth.

[2] See Tyrtæus, Fragm. 8, 1, ed. Schneidewin, and Pindar, Pyth. i. 61, v. 71, where the expressions "descendants of Hêraklês" plainly comprehend more than the two kingly families. Plutarch, Lysand. c. 22; Diodor. xi. 58.

the Dorian invaders, is named by Aristotle, Pindar, and Herodotus[1], while the Ægialeis at Sikyôn, the tribe Hyrnêthia at Argos and Epidaurus, and others whose titles we do not know at Corinth, represent in like manner the non-Dorian portions of their respective communities[2]. At Corinth the total number of tribes is said to have been eight[3]. But at Sparta, though we seem to make out the existence of the three Dorian tribes, we do not know how many tribes there were in all: still less do we know what relation the Obæ or Obês, another subordinate distribution of the people, bore to the tribes. In the ancient Rhetra of Lycurgus, the Tribes and Obês are directed to be maintained unaltered: the statement of O. Müller and Boeckh[4], that there were thirty Obês in all, ten to each tribe, rests upon no other evidence than a peculiar punctuation of this Rhetra, which various other critics reject; and seemingly with good reason. We are thus left without any information respecting the Obê, though we know that it was an old, peculiar, and lasting division among the Spartan people, since it occurs in the oldest Rhetra of Lycurgus, as

[1] Herodot. iv. 149; Pindar, Pyth. v. 67; Aristot. Λακων. Πολιτ. p. 127, Fragm. ed. Neuman. The Talthybiadæ, or heralds at Sparta, formed a family or caste apart (Herod. vii. 134).

O. Müller supposes, without any proof, that the Ægeids *must* have been adopted into one of the three Dorian tribes; this is one of the corollaries from his fundamental supposition, that Sparta is the type of pure Dorism (vol. ii. p. 78).

[2] Herod. v. 68–92; Boeckh, Corp. Inscrip. Nos. 1130, 1131; Stephan. Byz. v. Ὑρνίθιον; Pausan. ii. 28, 3.

[3] Photius Πάντα ὀκτώ; also Proverb. Vatic. Suidas, xi. 64; compare Hesychius, v. Κυνόφαλοι.

[4] Müller, Dorians, iii. 5, 3–7; Boeckh. ad Corp. Inscription. Part iv. sect. 3. p. 609.

well as in late inscriptions of the date of the Roman empire. In similar inscriptions and in the account of Pausanias, there is however recognised a classification of Spartans distinct from and independent of the three old Dorian tribes, and founded upon the different quarters of the city—Limnæ, Mesoa, Pitanê and Kynosura[1]; from one of these four was derived the usual description of a Spartan in the days of Herodotus. There is reason to suppose that the old Dorian tribes became antiquated at Sparta, as the four old Ionian tribes did at Athens, and that the topical classification derived from the quarters of the city superseded it, these quarters having been originally the separate villages, of the aggregate of which Sparta was composed[2]. That the number of the old senators, thirty, was connected with the three Dorian tribes, deriving ten members from each, is probable enough, though there is no proof of it.

Local distinctions known among the Spartans.

Of the population of Laconia three main divisions are recognised — Spartans, Periœki, and Helots. The first of the three were the full qualified citizens,

Population of Laconia —1. Spartans.

[1] Pausan. iii. 16, 6; Herodot. iii. 55; Boeckh, Corp. Inscriptt. Nos. 1241, 1338, 1347, 1425; Steph. Byz. v. Μεσόα; Strabo, viii. p. 364; Hesych. v. Πιτάνη.

There is much confusion and discrepancy of opinion about the Spartan tribes. Cragius admits six (De Republ. Lacon. i. 6); Meursius, eight (Rep. Lacon. i. 7): Barthélemy (Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, iv. p. 185) makes them five. Manso has discussed the subject at large, but I think not very satisfactorily, in the eighth Beilage to the first book of his History of Sparta (vol. ii. p. 125); and Dr. Thirlwall's second Appendix (vol. i. p. 517) both notices all the different modern opinions on this obscure topic, and adds several useful criticisms. Our scanty stock of original evidence leaves much room for divergent hypotheses, and little chance of any certain conclusion.

[2] Thucydid. i. 10.

who lived in Sparta itself, fulfilled all the exigences of the Lycurgean discipline, paid their quota to the Syssitia or public mess, and were alone eligible to honours[1] or public offices. These men had neither time nor taste even for cultivation of the land, still less for trade or handicraft: such occupations were inconsistent with the prescribed training, even if they had not been positively interdicted. They were maintained from the lands round the city, and from the large proportion of Laconia which belonged to them; the land being tilled for them by Helots, who seem to have paid over to them a fixed proportion of the produce; in some cases at least, as much as one half[2]. Each of them retained his qualification, and transmitted it to his children, on two conditions —first, that of submitting to the prescribed discipline; next, that of paying each his stipulated quota to the public mess, which was only maintained by these individual contributions. The multiplication of children in the poorer families, after acquisitions of new territory ceased, continually augmented both the number and the proportion of citizens who were unable to fulfil the second of these conditions and who therefore lost their franchise: there thus arose towards the close of the Peloponnesian war a distinction among the Spartans themselves unknown to the earlier times—the reduced number of fully qualified citizens being called The

[1] One or two Perioekic officers appear in military command towards the end of the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. viii. 6, 22), but these seem rare exceptions even as to foreign service by sea or land, while a Perioekus as magistrate at Sparta was unheard of.

[2] One half was paid by the enslaved Messenians (Tyrtæus, Frag. 4, Bergk): ἥμισυ πᾶν, ὅσσον κάρπον ἄρουρα φέρει.

Equals or Peers,—the disfranchised poor, The Inferiors. The latter, disfranchised as they were, nevertheless did not become Periœki: it was probably still competent to them to resume their qualification, should any favourable accident enable them to make their contributions to the public mess.

The Periœkus was also a freeman and a citizen, not of Sparta, but of some one of the hundred townships of Laconia[1]. Both he and the community to which he belonged received their orders only from Sparta, having no political sphere of their own, and no share in determining the movements of the Spartan authorities. In the island of Cythêra[2], which formed one of the Periœkic townships, a Spartan bailiff resided as administrator: whether the same was the case with others, we cannot affirm: nor is it safe to reason from one of these townships to all—there may have been considerable differences in the mode of dealing with one and another. For they were spread through the whole of Laconia, some near and some distant from Sparta: the free inhabitants of Amyklæ must have been Periœki, as well as those of Cythêra, Thuria, and Ætheia or Aulôn: 2. Periœki.

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 362. Stephanus Byz. alludes to this fotal of 100 townships in his notice of several different items among them—'Ανθάνα —πόλις Λακωνικὴ μία τῶν ἑκατον; also v. 'Αφροδισιὰς, Βοῖαι, Δυῤῥάχιον, &c.: but he probably copied Strabo, and therefore cannot pass for a distinct authority. The total of 100 townships belongs to the maximum of Spartan power, after the conquest and before the severance of Messenia; for Aulon, Boiæ and Methônê (the extreme places) are included among them.

Mr. Clinton (Fast. Hellen. ii. p. 401) has collected the names of above 60 out of the 100.

[2] Thucyd. iv. 53.

and we cannot presume that the feeling on the part of the Spartan authorities towards all of them was the same. Between the Spartans and their neighbours the numerous Periœki of Amyklæ, there must have subsisted a degree of intercourse and mutual relation in which the more distant Periœki did not partake—besides that both the religious edifices and the festivals of Amyklæ were most reverentially adopted by the Spartans and exalted into a national dignity: and we seem to perceive, on some occasions, a degree of consideration manifested for the Amyklæan hoplites[1] which perhaps other Periœki might not have obtained. The class-name, Periœki[2]—Circum-residents, or dwellers

[1] Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 5, 11; Herod. ix. 7; Thucyd. v. 18-23. The Amyklæan festival of the Hyacinthia, and the Amyklæan temple of Apollo, seem to stand foremost in the mind of the Spartan authorities; Αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιοίκων (Thucyd. iv. 8), who are ready before the rest and march against the Athenians at Pylus, probably include the Amyklæans.

Laconia generally is called by Thucydides (iii. 16) as the περιοικὶς of Sparta.

[2] The word περίοικοι is sometimes used to signify simply "surrounding neighbour states," in its natural geographical sense: see Thucyd. i. 17, and Aristot. Polit. ii. 7, 1.

But the more usual employment of it is, to mean, the unprivileged or less privileged members of the same political aggregate living without the city, in contrast with the full-privileged burghers who lived within it. Aristotle uses it to signify in Crete the class corresponding to the Lacedæmonian Helots (Pol. ii. 7, 3): there did not exist in Crete any class corresponding to the Lacedæmonian Periœki. In Crete there were not two stages of inferiority—there was only one, and that one is marked by the word περίοικοι; while the Lacedæmonian Periœkus had the Helot below him. To an Athenian the word conveyed the idea of undefined degradation.

To understand better the *status* of the Periœkus, we may contrast him with the Metœkus or Metic. The latter resides in the city, but he is an alien resident on sufferance, not a native: he pays a special tax, stands excluded from all political functions, and cannot even approach the magistrate except through a friendly citizen or Prostatês (ἐπὶ προστάτου

around the city—usually denoted native inhabitants of inferior political condition as contrasted with the full-privileged burghers who lived in the city, but it did not mark any precise or uniform degree of inferiority: it is sometimes so used by Aristotle as to imply a condition no better than that of the Helots, and in a large sense, all the inhabitants of Laconia (Helots as well as the rest) might have been included in it. But when used in reference to Laconia, it bears a technical sense whereby it is placed in contraposition with the Spartan on one side, and with the Helot on the other: it means native freemen and proprietors, grouped in subordinate communities with more or less power of local management, but (like the subject towns belonging to Bern, Zurich, and most of the old thirteen cantons of Switzerland) embodied in the Lacedæmonian aggregate, which was governed exclusively by the kings, senate, and citizens of Sparta. When we come to describe the democracy of Athens after the revolution of Kleisthenes, we shall find the demes, or local townships and villages of Attica, incorporated as equal and constituent fractions of the integer called The Deme (or The City) of Athens, so that a demot of Acharnæ or Sphêttus is at the same time a full Athenian citizen. But the relation of the Periœkic townships to Sparta is one of inequality and obe-

Special meaning of the word Periœki in Laconia.

οἰκεῖν—Lycurgus cont. Leocrat. c. 21–53): he bears arms for the defence of the state. The situation of a Metic was however very different in different cities of Greece: at Athens that class were well-protected in person and property, numerous and domiciliated: at Sparta, there were at first none—the Xenêlasy excluded them; but this must have been relaxed long before the days of Agis III.

The Periœkus differs from the Metic in being a native of the soil, subject by birth to the city law.

dience, though both belong to the same political aggregate, and make up together the free Lacedæmonian community. In like manner, Orneæ and other places were townships of men personally free, but politically dependent on Argos—Akræphiæ on Thebes—Chæroneia on Orchomenus—and various Thessalian towns on Pharsalus and Larissa[1]: such moreover was, in the main, the state into which Athens would have brought her allies, and Thebes the free Bœotian communities[2], if the policy of either of these cities had permanently prospered. This condition carried with it a sentiment of degradation, and a painful negation of that autonomy for which every Grecian community thirsted; and being maintained through superior force, it had a natural tendency, perhaps without the deliberate wish of the reigning city, to degenerate into practical oppression. But in addition to this general tendency, the peculiar education of a Spartan, while it imparted force, fortitude, and regimental precision, was at the same time so rigorously peculiar, that it rendered him harsh, unaccommodating, and incapable of sympathising with the ordinary march of Grecian feeling,—not to mention the rapacity and love of money, which is attested, by good evidence, as belonging to the Spartan character[3], and which we should hardly have expected to find in the pupils of Lycurgus.

[1] Herod. viii. 73-135; Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 1, 8; Thucyd. iv. 76-94.

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 3, 5, 9, 19. Isokrates, writing in the days of Theban power, after the battle of Leuktra, characterises the Bœotian towns as περίοικοι of Thebes (Or. viii. De Pace, p. 182); compare Orat. xiv. Plataic. p. 299-303.

[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 23.

As Harmosts out of their native city[1], and in relations with inferiors, the Spartans seem to have been more unpopular than other Greeks, and we may presume that a similar haughty roughness pervaded their dealings with their own Periœki; who were bound to them certainly by no tie of affection, and who for the most part revolted after the battle of Leuktra as soon as the invasion of Laconia by Epameinondas enabled them to do so with safety.

Statement of Isokrates as to the origin of the Periœki.

Isokrates, taking his point of departure from the old Herakleid legend, with its instantaneous conquest and triple partition of all Dorian Peloponnesus among the three Herakleid brethren, deduces the first origin of the Periœkic townships from internal seditions among the conquerors of Sparta. According to him, the period immediately succeeding the conquest was one of fierce intestine warfare in newly-conquered Sparta, between the Few and the Many,—the oligarchy and the demus. The former were victorious, and two important measures were the consequences of their victory. They banished the defeated Many from Sparta into Laconia, retaining the residence in Sparta exclusively for themselves; they assigned to them the smallest and least fertile half of Laconia, monopolising the larger and better for themselves; and they disseminated them into many very small townships, or subordinate little communities, while they concen-

[1] Thucyd. i. 77–95; vi. 105. Isokrates (Panathenaic. Or. xii. p. 283), Σπαρτιάτας δὲ ὑπεροπτικοὺς καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ πλεονέκτας, οἵους περ αὐτοὺς εἶναι πάντες ὑπειλήφασι. Compare his Oratio de Pace (Or. viii. p. 180–181); Oratio Panegyr. (Or. iv. p. 64–67.)

trated themselves entirely at Sparta. To these precautions for ensuring dominion they added another not less important: they established among their own Spartan citizens equality of legal privilege and democratical government, so as to take the greatest securities for internal harmony; and which harmony, according to the judgment of Isokrates, had been but too effectually perpetuated, enabling the Spartans to achieve their dominion over oppressed Greece,—like the accord of pirates[1] for the spoliation of the peaceful. The Periœkic townships (he tells us), while deprived of all the privileges of freemen, were exposed to all the toils, as well as to an unfair share of the dangers, of war: the Spartan authorities put them in situations and upon enterprises which they deemed too dangerous for their own citizens; and what was still worse, the ephors possessed the power of putting to death, without any form of preliminary trial, as many Periœki as they pleased[2].

The statement here delivered by Isokrates, respecting the first origin of the distinction of Spartans and Periœki, is nothing better than a conjecture, nor is it even a probable conjecture, since it is based on the historical truth of the old Herakleid legend, and transports the disputes of his

[1] Isokrates, Panathenaic. Or. xii. p. 280. Ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτοὺς διά γε τὴν ὁμόνοιαν δικαίως ἐπαινέσειεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς καταποντιστὰς καὶ λῃστὰς καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀδικίας ὄντας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμονοοῦντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολλύουσι.

[2] Isokrates, Orat. xii. (Panathenaic.) p. 270–271. The statement in the same oration (p. 246), that the Lacedæmonians "had put to death without trial more *Greeks* (πλείους τῶν Ἑλλήνων) than had ever been tried at Athens since Athens was a city," refers to their allies or dependents out of Laconia.

own time between the oligarchy and the demus into an early period to which such disputes do not belong. Nor is there anything, as far as our knowledge of Grecian history extends, to bear out his assertion that the Spartans took to themselves the least dangerous post in the field, and threw undue peril upon their Periœki. Such dastardly temper was not among the sins of Sparta; but it is undoubtedly true that as the number of citizens continually diminished, so the Periœki came to constitute, in the later times, a larger and larger proportion of the Spartan force. But the power which Isokrates represents to have been vested in the ephors, of putting to death Periœki without preliminary trial, we may fully believe to be real, and to have been exercised as often as the occasion seemed to call for it. We shall notice presently the way in which these magistrates dealt with the Helots, and shall see ample reason from thence to draw the conclusion, that whenever the ephors believed any man to be dangerous to the public peace,—whether an inferior Spartan, a Periœkus, or a Helot,—the most summary mode of getting rid of him would be considered as the best. Towards Spartans of rank and consideration they were doubtless careful and measured in their application of punishment, but the same necessity for circumspection did not exist with regard to the inferior classes: moreover the feeling that the exigences of justice required a fair trial before punishment was inflicted, belongs to Athenian associations much more than to Spartan. How often any such sum-

mary executions may have taken place, we have no information.

Statement of Ephorus —different from Isokrates, yet not wholly irreconcileable.

We may remark that the account which Isokrates has here given of the origin of the Laconian Periœki is not essentially irreconcileable with that of Ephorus[1], who recounted that Eurysthenês and Proklês, on first conquering Laconia, had granted to the pre-existing population equal rights with the Dorians, but that Agis, son of Eurysthenês, had deprived them of this equal position, and degraded them into dependent subjects of the latter. At least the two narratives both agree in presuming that the Periœki had once enjoyed a better position, and had been extruded from it by violence. And the policy which Isokrates ascribes to the victorious Spartan oligarchs,—of driving out the demus from concentrated residence in the city to disseminated residence in many separate and insignificant townships,—seems to be the expression of that proceeding which in his time was numbered among the most efficient precautions against refractory subjects,—the Diœkisis, or breaking up of a town-aggregate into villages. We cannot assign to the statement any historical authority[2]. Moreover the division of Laconia into six districts, to-

[1] Ephorus, Fragm. 18, ed. Marx; ap. Strabo. viii. p. 365.

[2] Dr. Arnold (in his Dissertation on the Spartan Constitution, appended to the first volume of his Thucydides, p. 643) places greater confidence in the historical value of this narrative of Isokrates than I am inclined to do. On the other hand, Mr. G. C. Lewis, in his Review of Dr. Arnold's Dissertation (Philological Museum, vol. ii. p. 45) considers the "account of Isokrates as completely inconsistent with that of Ephorus;" which is saying rather more, perhaps, than the tenor of the two strictly warrants. In Mr. Lewis's excellent article, most

gether with its distribution into townships (or the distribution of settlers into pre-existing townships), which Ephorus ascribed to the first Dorian kings, are all deductions from the primitive legendary account, which described the Dorian conquest as achieved at one stroke, and must all be dismissed, if we suppose it to have been achieved gradually. This gradual conquest is admitted by O. Müller and by many of the ablest subsequent inquirers, who nevertheless seem to have the contrary supposition involuntarily present to their minds when they criticise the early Spartan history, and always unconsciously imagine the Spartans as masters of all Laconia. We cannot even assert that Laconia was ever under one government before the consummation of the successive conquests of Sparta.

Of the assertion of O. Müller—"that the difference of races was strictly preserved, and that the Periœki were always considered as Achæans"—I find no proof, and I believe it to be erroneous. Respecting Pharis, Geronthræ, and Amyklæ, three Periœkic towns, Pausanias gives us to understand that the pre-existing inhabitants either retired or were expelled on the Dorian conquest, and that a

of the difficult points respecting the Spartan constitution will be found raised and discussed in a manner highly instructive.

Another point in the statement of Isokrates is, that the Dorians at the time of the original conquest of Laconia were only 2000 in number (Or. xii. Panath. p. 286). Mr. Clinton rejects this estimate as too small, and observes, "I suspect that Isokrates, in describing the numbers of the Dorians at the original conquest, has adapted to the description the actual numbers of the Spartans in his own time" (Fast. Hellen. ii. p. 408).

This seems to me a probable conjecture, and it illustrates as well the absence of data under which Isokrates or his informants laboured, as the method which they took to supply the deficiency.

Dorian population replaced them[1]. Without placing great faith in this statement, for which Pausanias could hardly have any good authority, we may yet accept it as representing the probabilities of the case and as counterbalancing the unsupported hypothesis of Müller. The Periœkic townships were probably composed either of Dorians entirely, or of Dorians incorporated in greater or less proportion with the pre-existing inhabitants: but whatever difference of race there may once have been, it was effaced before the historical times, during which we find no proof of Achæans, known as such, in Laconia: the Herakleids, the Ægeids, and the Talthybiads, all of whom belong to Sparta, seem to be the only examples of separate races (partially distinguishable from Dorians) known after the beginning of authentic history. The Spartans and the Periœki constitute one political aggregate, and that too so completely melted together in the general opinion (speaking of the times before the battle of Leuktra), that the peace of Antalkidas, which guaranteed autonomy to every separate Grecian city, was never so construed as to divorce the Periœkic towns from Sparta. Both are known as Laconians or Lacedæmonians, and Sparta is regarded by Herodotus only as the first and bravest among the many and brave Lacedæmonian cities[2]. The victors at Olympia are proclaimed not as Spartans,

Spartans and Periœki —no distinction of race known between them in historical times.

[1] Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iii. 22, 5. The statement of Müller is to be found (History of the Dorians, iii. 2, 1): he quotes a passage of Pausanias which is noway to the point.

Mr. G. C. Lewis (Philolog. Mus. *ut sup.* p. 41) is of the same opinion as Müller.

[2] Herod. vii. 234.

but as Laconians,—a title alike borne by the Perioeki; and many of the numerous winners whose names we read in the Olympic lists as Laconians, may probably have belonged to Amyklæ or other Perioekic towns.

The Perioekic hoplites constituted always a large —in later times a preponderant—numerical proportion of the Lacedæmonian army, and must undoubtedly have been trained, more or less perfectly, in the peculiar military tactics of Sparta; since they were called upon to obey the same orders as the Spartans in the field[1], and to perform the same evolutions: some cases appear, though rare, in which a Perioekus has high command in a foreign expedition. In the time of Aristotle, the larger proportion of Laconia (then meaning only the country eastward of Taygetus, since the foundation of Messênê by Epameinondas had been consummated) belonged to Spartan citizens[2], but the remaining

[1] Thucyd. viii. 6-22.

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 23. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἶναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν, οὐκ ἐξετάζουσιν ἀλλήλων τὰς εἰσφοράς.

Mr. G. C. Lewis, in the article above alluded to (Philolog. Mus. ii. p. 54), says about the Perioeki:—"They lived in the country or in small towns of the Laconian territory, and cultivated the land, which they did not hold of any individual citizen, but paid for it a tribute or rent to the state: being exactly in the same condition as the *possessores* of the Roman domain, or the Ryots in Hindostan before the introduction of the Permanent Settlement." It may be doubted, I think, whether the Perioeki paid any such rent or tribute as that which Mr. Lewis here supposes. The passage just cited from Aristotle seems to show that they paid direct taxation individually, and just upon the same principle as the Spartan citizens, who are distinguished only by being larger landed-proprietors. But though the principle of taxation be the same, there was practical injustice (according to Aristotle) in the mode of assessing it. "The Spartan citizens (he observes) being the largest landed-proprietors, take care not to canvass strictly *each other's payment of property-tax*"—*i. e.* they wink mutually at each other's

smaller half must have been the property of the Periœki, who must besides have carried on most of the commerce of export and import—the metallurgic enterprise, and the distribution of internal produce—which the territory exhibited; since no Spartan ever meddled in such occupations. And thus the peculiar training of Lycurgus, by throwing all these employments into the hands of the Periœki, opened to them a new source of importance which the dependent townships of Argos, of Thebes, or of Orchomenus, would not enjoy.

3. Helots—essentially villagers.

The Helots of Laconia were Coloni or serfs bound to the soil, who tilled it for the benefit of the Spartan proprietors certainly—probably, of Periœkic proprietors also. They were the rustic population of the country, who dwelt, not in towns, but either in small villages[1] or in detached farms, both in the district immediately surrounding Sparta, and round the Periœkic Laconian towns also: doubtless there were also Helots who lived in Sparta and other towns, and did the work of domestic slaves, but such was not the general character of the class. We cannot doubt that the Dorian conquest from Sparta found this class in the condition of villagers and detached rustics; but whether they were de-

evasions. If the Spartans had been the *only* persons who paid εἰσφορὰ or property-tax, this observation of Aristotle would have had no meaning: in principle, the tax was assessed both on their larger properties, and on the smaller properties of the Periœki: in practice, the Spartans helped each other to evade the due proportion.

[1] The village-character of the Helots is distinctly marked by Livy, xxxiv. 27, in describing the inflictions of the despot Nabis:—"Ilotarum quidam (hi sunt jam inde antiquitus *castellani*, agreste genus) transfugere voluisse insimulati, per omnes *vicos* sub verberibus acti necantur."

pendent upon pre-existing Achæan proprietors, or independent like much of the Arcadian village population, is a question which we cannot answer. In either case, however, it is easy to conceive that the village lands (with the cultivators upon them) were the most easy to appropriate for the benefit of masters resident at Sparta; while the towns, with the district immediately around them, furnished both dwelling and maintenance to the outgoing detachments of Dorians. If the Spartans had succeeded in their attempt to enlarge their territory by the conquest of Arcadia[1], they might very probably have converted Tegea and Mantineia into Periœkic towns, with a diminished territory inhabited (either wholly or in part) by Dorian settlers,—while they would have made over to proprietors in Sparta much of the village lands of the Mænalii, Azanes, and Parrhasii, helotising the inhabitants. The distinction between a town and a village population seems the main ground of the different treatment of Helots and Periœki in Laconia. A considérable proportion of the Helots were of genuine Dorian race, being the Dorian Messenians west of Mount Taygetus, subsequently conquered and aggregated to this class of dependent cultivators, who, as a class, must have begun to exist from the very first establishment of the invading Dorians in the district round Sparta. From whence the name of Helots arose, we do not clearly make out: Ephorus deduced it from the town of Helus, on the southern coast, which the Spartans are said to have taken

[1] Herodot. i. 66 *ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δέλφοισι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ.*

after a resistance so obstinate as to provoke them to deal very rigorously with the captives. There are many reasons for rejecting this story, and another etymology has been proposed according to which Helot is synonymous with *captive*: this is more plausible, yet still not convincing[1]. The Helots lived in the rural villages as *adscripti glebæ*, cultivating their lands and paying over their rent to the master at Sparta, but enjoying their homes, wives, families, and mutual neighbourly feelings apart from the master's view: they were never sold out of the country, and probably never sold at all: they belonged not so much to the master as to the state, which constantly called upon them for military service, and recompensed their bravery or activity with a grant of freedom. Meno the Thessalian of Pharsalus took out three hundred Penestæ of his own to aid the Athenians against Amphipolis: these Thessalian Penestæ were in many points analogous to the Helots, but no individual Spartan possessed the like power over the latter. The Helots were thus a part of the state, having their domestic and social sympathies developed, a certain power of acquiring property[2], and the consciousness of Grecian lineage and dialect—all points of marked superiority over the foreigners who formed the slave population of Athens or Chios. They seem to have been noway inferior

They were serfs—adscripti glebæ—their condition and treatment.

[1] See O. Müller, Dorians, iii. 3, 1; Ephorus ap. Strabo. viii. p. 365; Harpocration, v. Εἵλωτες.

[2] Kleomenes III. offered manumission to every Helot who could pay down five Attic minæ: he was in great immediate want of money, and he raised by this means 500 talents. Six thousand Helots must thus have been in a condition to find five minæ each, which was a very considerable sum (Plutarch, Kleomenes, c. 23).

to any village population of Greece, and the Grecian observer sympathised with them more strongly than with the bought slaves of other states, not to mention that their homogeneous aspect, their numbers, and their employment in military service, rendered them more conspicuous to the eye.

The service in the Spartan house was all performed by members of the Helot class; for there seem to have been few, if any, other slaves in the country. The various anecdotes which are told respecting their treatment at Sparta betoken less of cruelty than of ostentatious scorn—a sentiment which we are noway surprised to discover among the citizens at the mess-table. But the great mass of the Helots, who dwelt in the country, were objects of a very different sentiment on the part of the Spartan ephors, who knew their bravery, energy, and standing discontent, and yet were forced to employ them as an essential portion of the state army. The Helots commonly served as light-armed, in which capacity the Spartan hoplites could not dispense with their attendance: at the battle of Platæa, every Spartan hoplite had seven Helots[1], and every Periœkic hoplite one Helot to

[1] Herod. ix. 29. The Spartans at Thermopylæ seem to have been attended each by only one Helot (vii. 229).

O. Müller seems to consider that the light-armed who attended the Periœkic hoplites at Platæa were *not* Helots (Dor. iii. 3, 6). Herodotus does not distinctly say that they were so, but I see no reason for admitting two different classes of light-armed in the Spartan military force.

The calculation which Müller gives of the number of Periœki and Helots altogether proceeds upon very untrustworthy data. Among them is to be noticed his supposition that πολιτικὴ χώρα means the district of Sparta as distinguished from Laconia, which is contrary to

attend him[1]: but even in camp, the Spartan arrangements were framed to guard against any sudden mutiny of these light-armed companions, while at home, the citizen habitually kept his shield disjoined from its holding-ring to prevent the possibility of its being snatched for the like purpose. Sometimes select Helots were clothed in heavy armour, and thus served in the ranks, receiving manumission from the state as the reward of distinguished bravery. But Sparta, even at the maximum of her power, was more than once endangered by the reality, and always beset with the apprehension, of Helotic revolt. To prevent or suppress it, the ephors submitted to insert express stipulations for aid in their treaties with Athens—to invite Athenian troops into the heart of Laconia—and to practise combinations of cunning and atrocity which even yet stand without parallel in the long list of precautions for fortifying unjust dominion. It was in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, after the Helots had been called upon for signal military efforts in various ways, and when the Athenians and Messenians were in possession of Pylus, that the ephors felt especially apprehensive of an outbreak. Anxious to single out the most forward and daring Helots, as the men from whom they had most to dread, they

Bravery and energy of the Helots—fear and cruelty of the Spartans.

the passage in Polybius (vi. 45): πολιτικὴ χώρα in Polybius means the territory of the state generally.

[1] Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. 12, 4; Kritias, De Lacedæm. Repub. ap. Libanium, Orat. de Servitute, t. ii. p. 85, Reisk. ὡς ἀπιστίας εἵνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Εἵλωτας ἐξαιρεῖ μὲν Σπαρτιατῆς οἴκοι τῆς ἄσπιδος τὴν πόρπακα, &c.

[2] Thucyd. i. 101; iv. 80; v. 14–23.

issued proclamation that every member of that class who had rendered distinguished services should make his claims known at Sparta, promising liberty to the most deserving. A large number of Helots came forward to claim the boon: not less than 2000 of them were approved, formally manumitted, and led in solemn procession round the temples, with garlands on their heads, as an inauguration to their coming life of freedom. But the treacherous garland only marked them out as victims for the sacrifice: every man of them forthwith disappeared,—the manner of their death was an untold mystery.

Evidence of the character of the Spartan government.

For this dark and bloody deed Thucydides is our witness[1], and Thucydides describing a contemporary matter into which he had inquired. Upon any less evidence we should have hesitated to believe the statement; but standing as it thus does above all suspicion, it speaks volumes as to the inhuman character of the Lacedæmonian government, while it lays open to us at the same time the intensity of their fears from the Helots. In the assassination of this fated regiment of brave men, a large number of auxiliaries and instruments must have been concerned; yet Thucydides with all his inquiries could not find out how any of them perished: he tells us, that no man knew. We see here a fact which demonstrates unequivocally the impenetrable mystery in which the proceedings of the Spartan government were wrapped,—the absence not only of public discussion, but of public curiosity,—and

[1] Thucyd. iv. 80. *οἱ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἠφάνισάν τε αὐτοὺς, καὶ οὐδεὶς ᾔσθετο ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἕκαστος διεφθάρη.*

the perfection with which the ephors reigned over the will, the hands, and the tongues, of their Spartan subjects. The Venetian Council of Ten, with all the facilities for nocturnal drowning which their city presented, could hardly have accomplished so vast a *coup-d'état* with such invisible means. And we may judge from hence, even if we had no other evidence, how little the habits of a public assembly could have suited either the temper of mind, or the march of government, at Sparta.

Other proceedings, ascribed to the ephors against the Helots, are conceived in the same spirit as the incident just recounted from Thucydides, though they do not carry with them the same certain attestation. It was a part of the institutions of Lycurgus (according to a statement which Plutarch professes to have borrowed from Aristotle) that the ephors should every year declare war against the Helots, in order that the murder of them might be rendered innocent; and that active young Spartans should be armed with daggers, and sent about Laconia, in order that they might, either in solitude or at night, assassinate such of the Helots as were considered formidable[1]. This last measure passes by the name of the Krypteia, but we find some difficulty in determining to what extent it was ever realised. That the ephors, indeed, would not be restrained by any scruples of justice or humanity, is plainly shown by the murder of the 2000 Helots above noticed; but this latter incident really answered its purpose, while a standing practice such as that of the Krypteia, and a formal notice of

The Krypteia.

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 28; Heraclides Pontic. p. 504, ed. Crag.

war given beforehand, would provoke the reaction of despair rather than enforce tranquillity. There seems indeed good evidence that the Krypteia was a real practice[1],—that the ephors kept up a system of police or espionage throughout Laconia by the employment of active young citizens, who lived a hard and solitary life, and suffered their motions to be as little detected as possible. The ephors might naturally enough take this method of keeping watch both over the Periœkic townships and the Helot villages, and the assassination of individual Helots by these police-men or Krypts would probably pass unnoticed. But it is impossible to believe in any standing murderous order, or deliberate annual assassination of Helots, for the purpose of intimidation, as Aristotle is alleged to have represented—for we may well doubt whether he really did make such a representation, when we see that he takes no notice of this measure in his Politics, where he speaks at some length both of the Spartan constitution and of the Helots. The well-known hatred and fear, entertained by the Spartans towards their Helots, has probably coloured Plutarch's description of the Krypteia, so as to exaggerate those unpunished murders which occasionally happened into a constant phænomenon with express design; and a similar deduction is to be made from the statement of Myrôn of Priênê[2],

[1] Plato, Legg. i. p. 633: the words of the Lacedæmonian Megillus designate an existing Spartan custom. Compare the same treatise, vi. p. 763, where Ast suspects, without reason, the genuineness of the word κρυπτοί.

[2] Myron. ap. Athenæ. xiv. p. 657. ἐπικόπτειν τοὺς ἀδρουμένους does not strictly mean "to put to death."

who alleged that they were beaten every year without any special fault, in order to put them in mind of their slavery; that those Helots, whose superior beauty or stature placed them above the visible stamp of their condition, were put to death; whilst such masters as neglected to keep down the spirit of their vigorous Helots were punished. That secrecy, for which the ephors were so remarkable, seems enough of itself to refute the assertion that they publicly proclaimed war against the Helots; though we may well believe that this unhappy class of men may have been noticed as objects for jealous observation in the annual ephoric oath of office. Whatever may have been the treatment of the Helots in later times, it is at all events hardly to be supposed that any regulation hostile to them can have emanated from Lycurgus; for the dangers arising from that source did not become serious until after the Messenian war—nor indeed until after the gradual diminution of the number of Spartan citizens had made itself felt.

Manumitted Helots.

The manumitted Helots did not pass into the class of Periœki,—for this purpose a special grant, of the freedom of some Periœkic township, would probably be required,—but constituted a class apart, known at the time of the Peloponnesian war by the name of Neodamôdes. Being persons who had earned their liberty by signal bravery, they were of course regarded by the ephors with peculiar apprehension, and if possible, employed on foreign service[1], or planted on some foreign soil as settlers. In what manner these freedmen employed

[1] Thucyd. v. 34.

themselves, we find no distinct information; but we can hardly doubt that they quitted the Helot village and field, together with the rural costume (the leather cap and sheepskin) which the Helot commonly wore, and the change of which exposed him to suspicion, if not to punishment, from his umbrageous masters. Probably they, as well as the disfranchised Spartan citizens (called Hypomeiones or Inferiors), became congregated at Sparta, and found employment either in various trades or in the service of the government.

Economical and social regulations ascribed to Lycurgus.

It has been necessary to give this short sketch of the orders of men who inhabited Laconia, in order to enable us to understand the statements given about the legislation of Lycurgus. The arrangements ascribed to that lawgiver, in the way that Plutarch describes them, presuppose, and do not create, the three orders of Spartans, Periœki, and Helots. We are told by Plutarch that the disorders which Lycurgus found existing in the state arose in a great measure from the gross inequality of property and from the luxurious indulgence and unprincipled rapacity of the rich, who had drawn to themselves the greater proportion of the lands in the country, leaving a large body of poor, without any lot of land, in hopeless misery and degradation. To this inequality (according to Plutarch) the reforming legislator applied at once a stringent remedy. He redistributed the whole territory belonging to Sparta, as well as the remainder of Laconia: the former in 9000 equal lots, one to each Spartan citizen; the latter in 30,000 equal lots, one to each Periœkus: of this alleged distribution I shall

Partition of lands.

speak farther presently. Moreover he banished the use of gold and silver money, tolerating nothing in the shape of circulating medium but pieces of iron, heavy and scarcely portable; and he forbade[1] to the Spartan citizen every species of industrious or money-seeking occupation, agriculture included. He farther constituted—though not without violent opposition, during the course of which his eye is said to have been knocked out by a violent youth, named Alkander—the Syssitia or public mess. A certain number of joint tables were provided, and every citizen was required to belong to some one of them and habitually to take his meals at it[2]—no new member being admissible without an unanimous ballot in his favour by the previous occupants. Each provided from his lot of land a specified quota of barley-meal, wine, cheese and figs, and a small contribution of money for condiments: game was obtained in addition by hunting in the public forests of the state, and whoever sacrificed to the gods[3], sent a part of the victim killed to his mess-table. From boyhood to old age, every Spartan citizen took his sober meals at this public mess, where all shared alike, and no distinction of any kind was allowed, except on signal occasions of service rendered by an individual to the state.

Syssitia or public mess.

Public training or discipline.

These public Syssitia, under the management of the Polemarchs, were connected with the military distribution, the constant gymnastic train-

[1] Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. 7.

[2] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 15; substantially confirmed by Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. 1, 5.

[3] See the authors quoted in Athenæus, iv. p. 141.

ing, and the rigorous discipline of detail, enforced by Lycurgus. From the early age of seven years throughout his whole life, as youth and man no less than as boy, the Spartan citizen lived habitually in public, always either himself under drill, gymnastic and military, or a critic and spectator of others—always under the fetters and observances of a rule partly military partly monastic—estranged from the independence of a separate home—seeing his wife, during the first years after marriage, only by stealth, and maintaining little peculiar relation with his children. The surveillance not only of his fellow-citizens, but also of authorised censors or captains nominated by the state, was perpetually acting upon him: his day was passed in public exercises and meals, his nights in the public barrack to which he belonged. Besides the particular military drill, whereby the complicated movements, required from a body of Lacedæmonian hoplites in the field, were made familiar to him from his youth, he also became subject to severe bodily discipline of other kinds, calculated to impart to him strength, activity, and endurance. To manifest a daring and pugnacious spirit—to sustain the greatest bodily torture unmoved—to endure hunger and thirst, heat, cold and fatigue—to tread the worst ground barefoot, to wear the same garment winter and summer—to suppress the external manifestations of feeling, and to exhibit in public, when action was not called for, a bearing shy, silent, and motionless as a statue—all these were the virtues of the accomplished Spartan youth[1]. Two squadrons were often

[1] Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 2-3, 3-5, 4-6. The extreme pains taken to

matched against each other to contend (without arms) in the little insular circumscription called the Platanistûs, and these contests were carried on, under the eye of the authorities, with the utmost extremity of fury: nor was the competition among them less obstinate, to bear without murmuring the cruel scourgings inflicted before the altar of Artemis Orthia, supposed to be highly acceptable to the goddess, though they sometimes terminated even in the death of the uncomplaining sufferer[1]. Besides the various descriptions of gymnastic contests, the youths were instructed in the choric dances employed in the festivals of the gods, which contributed to impart to them methodized and harmonious movements. Hunting in the woods and mountains of Laconia was encouraged, as a means of inuring them to fatigue and privation. The nourishment supplied to the youthful Spartans was purposely kept insufficient, but they were allowed to make up the deficiency not only by hunting, but even by stealing whatever they could lay hands upon, provided they could do so without being detected in the fact; in which latter case they were severely

enforce καρτερία (fortitude and endurance) in the Spartan system is especially dwelt upon by Aristotle (Politica, ii. 6, 5–16); compare Plato, De Legibus, i. p. 633; likewise Cragius, De Republica Laced. iii. 8. p. 325.

[1] It is remarkable that these violent contentions of the youth, wherein kicking, biting, gouging out each other's eyes, was resorted to—as well as the διαμαστίγωσις or scourging-match before the altar of Artemis—lasted down to the closing days of Sparta, and were actually seen by Cicero, Plutarch, and even Pausanias. Plutarch had seen several persons die under the suffering (Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 16, 18–30; and Instituta Laconica, p. 239; Pausan. iii. 14, 9. 16, 7; Cicero, Tuscul. Disp. ii. 15).

chastised[1]. In reference simply to bodily results[2], the training at Sparta was excellent, combining strength and agility with universal aptitude and endurance, and steering clear of that mistake by which Thebes and other cities impaired the effect of their gymnastics—the attempt to create an athletic habit, suited for the games, but suited for nothing else.

Manners and training of the Spartan women—opinion of Aristotle.

Of all the attributes of this remarkable community, there is none more difficult to make out clearly than the condition and character of the Spartan women. Aristotle asserts that in his time they were imperious and unruly, without being really so brave and useful in moments of danger as other Grecian females[3]; that they possessed great influence over the men, and even exercised much ascendency over the course of public affairs; and that nearly half the landed property of Laconia

[1] Xenophon, Anab. iv. 6, 14; and De Repub. Lac. c. 2, 6; Isokrates, Or. xii. (Panath.) p. 277. It is these licensed expeditions for thieving, I presume, to which Isokrates alludes when he speaks of *τῆς παίδων αὐτονομίας* at Sparta, which in its natural sense would be the reverse of the truth (p. 277).

[2] Aristotel. Polit. viii. 3, 3—the remark is curious—*νῦν μὲν οὖν αἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαι τῶν πόλεων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν παίδων αἱ μὲν ἀθλητικὴν ἕξιν ἐμποιοῦσι, λωβώμεναι τά τ' εἴδη καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν σωμάτων· οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες ταύτην μὲν οὐχ ἥμαρτον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν*, &c. Compare the remark in Plato, Protagor. p. 342.

[3] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 5; Plutarch, Agesilaus, c. 31. Aristotle alludes to the conduct of the Spartan women on the occasion of the invasion of Laconia by the Thebans, as an evidence of his opinion respecting their want of courage. His judgment in this respect seems hard upon them, and he probably had formed to himself exaggerated notions of what their courage under such circumstances ought to have been, as the result of their peculiar training. We may add that their violent demonstrations on that trying occasion may well have arisen quite as much from the agony of wounded honour as from fear, when we consider what an event the appearance of a conquering army in Sparta was.

had come to belong to them. The exemption of the women from all control formed, in his eye, a pointed contrast with the rigorous discipline imposed upon the men,—and a contrast hardly less pointed with the condition of women in other Grecian cities, where they were habitually confined to the interior of the house, and seldom appeared in public. While the Spartan husband went through the hard details of his ascetic life, and dined on the plainest fare at the Pheidition or mess, the wife (it appears) maintained an ample and luxurious establishment at home, and the desire to provide for such outlay was one of the causes of that love of money which prevailed among men forbidden to enjoy it in the ordinary ways. To explain this antithesis between the treatment of the two sexes at Sparta, Aristotle was informed that Lycurgus had tried to bring the women no less than the men under a system of discipline, but that they made so obstinate a resistance as to compel him to desist[1].

The view here given by the philosopher, and deserving of course careful attention, is not easy to reconcile with that of Xenophon and Plutarch, who look upon the Spartan women from a different side, and represent them as worthy and homogeneous companions to the men. The Lycurgean system (as these authors describe it) considered the women as a part of the state, and not as a part of the house—and placed them under training hardly less than the men: its grand purpose, the maintenance of a vigorous breed of citizens, determined both the treatment of the younger women, and the regulations as to the

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6. 5, 8, 11.

intercourse of the sexes. "Female slaves are good enough (Lycurgus thought) to sit at home spinning and weaving—but who can expect a splendid offspring, the appropriate mission and duty of a free Spartan woman towards her country, from mothers brought up in such occupations[1]?" Pursuant to these views, the Spartan damsels underwent a bodily training analogous to that of the Spartan youth, being formally exercised, and contending with each other in running, wrestling and boxing, agreeably to the forms of the Grecian agônes: they seem to have worn a light tunic, cut open at the skirts, so as to leave the limbs both free and exposed to view, though Plutarch speaks of them as completely uncovered, and though the severe reproaches, which this custom drew forth from other quarters of Greece, sometimes exaggerated the practice as if it had been perfect nakedness[2]. The presence of the Spartan youths, and even of the kings and the body of citizens, at these exercises, lent animation to the scene: in like manner, the young women marched in the religious processions, sung and danced at particular festivals, and witnessed as spectators the exercises and contentions of the youths; so that the two sexes were perpetually intermingled with each other in public, in a way

Statement of Xenophon and Plutarch.

[1] Xenoph. Rep. Lac. i. 3-4; Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 13-14.

[2] Eurip. Androm. 598; Cicero, Tuscul. Quæst. ii. 15. The epithet *φαινομηρίδες*, as old as the poet Ibykus, shows that the Spartan women were not uncovered (see Julius Pollux, vii. 55).

It is scarcely worth while to notice the poetical allusions of Ovid and Propertius.

How completely the practice of gymnastic and military training for young women, analogous to that of the other sex, was approved by Plato, may be seen from the injunctions in his Republic.

foreign to the habits, as well as repugnant to the feelings, of other Grecian states. We may well conceive that such an education imparted to the women both a demonstrative character and an eager interest in masculine accomplishments, so that the expression of their praise was the strongest stimulus, and that of their reproach the bitterest humiliation, to the youthful troop who heard it.

The age of marriage (which in some of the unrestricted cities of Greece was so early as to deteriorate visibly the breed of citizens[1]) was deferred by the Spartan law, both in women and men, until the period supposed to be most consistent with the perfection of the offspring; and when we read the restriction which Spartan custom imposed upon the intercourse even between married persons, we shall conclude without hesitation that the public intermixture of the sexes in the way just described led to no such liberties, between persons not married, as might be likely to arise from it under other circumstances[2]. Marriage was almost universal among the citizens, enforced by general opinion at least, if not by law: the young Spartan carried away his bride by a simulated abduction, but she still seems, for some time at least, to have continued to reside with her family, visiting her husband in his barrack in the disguise of male attire and on short and stolen occasions[3]. To some married couples,

[1] Aristot. Polit. vii. 14, 4.

[2] "It is certain (observes Dr. Thirlwall, speaking of the Spartan unmarried women) that in this respect the Spartan morals were as pure as those of any ancient, perhaps of any modern, people." (History of Greece, ch. viii. vol. i. p. 371.)

[3] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 15; Xenoph. Rep. Lac. i. 5. Xenophon does

according to Plutarch, it happened, that they had been married long enough to have two or three other children, while they had scarcely seen each apart by daylight. Secret intrigue on the part of married women was unknown at Sparta; but to bring together the finest couples was regarded by the citizens as desirable, and by the lawgiver as a duty: no personal feeling or jealousy on the part of the husband found sympathy from any one, and he permitted without difficulty, sometimes actively encouraged, compliances on the part of his wife consistent with this generally acknowledged object. So far was such toleration carried, that there were some married women who were recognised mistresses of two houses[1], and mothers of two distinct families,—a sort of bigamy strictly forbidden to the men, and never permitted except in the remarkable case of king Anaxandrides, when the royal Herakleidan line of Eurysthenes was in danger of becoming extinct. The wife of Anaxandrides being childless, the ephors strongly urged him, on grounds of public necessity, to repudiate her and marry another; but he refused to dismiss a wife who had given him no cause of complaint; and when they found him inexorable on this point,

not make any allusion to the abduction as a general custom. There occurred cases in which it was real and violent: see Herod. v. 65. Demaratus carried off and married the betrothed bride of Leotychides.

[1] Xenoph. Rep. Lac. i. 9. Εἰ δέ τις αὖ γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιτο, τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοίη, καὶ τούτῳ νόμον ἐπαίησεν, ἥντινα ἂν εὔτεκνον καὶ γενναίαν ὁρᾷη, πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα, ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα συνεχώρει. Αἵ τε γὰρ γυναῖκες δίττους οἴκους βούλονται κατέχειν, οἵ τε ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὺς τοῖς παισὶ προσλαμβάνειν, οἱ τοῦ μὲν γένους καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως κοινωνοῦσι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀντιποιοῦνται.

they desired him to retain her, but to marry another wife besides, in order that at any rate there might be issue to the Eurystheneid line. "He thus (says Herodotus) married two wives, and inhabited two family-hearths[1], a proceeding unknown at Sparta;" yet the same privilege which, according to Xenophon, some Spartan women enjoyed without reproach from any one, and with perfect harmony between the inmates of both their houses. O. Müller[2] remarks—and the evidence, as far as we know it, bears him out—that love-marriages and genuine affection towards a wife were more familiar to Sparta than to Athens; though in the former marital jealousy was a sentiment neither indulged nor recognised, while in the latter it was intense and universal[3].

Number of rich women in the time of Aristotle—they had probably procured exemption from the general training.

To reconcile the careful gymnastic training, which Xenophon and Plutarch mention, with that uncontrolled luxury and relaxation which Aristotle condemns in the Spartan women, we may perhaps suppose, that in the time of the latter the women of high position and wealth had contrived to emancipate themselves from the general obligation, and that it is of such particular cases that he chiefly speaks. He dwells especially upon the increasing

[1] Herodot. v. 39–40. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, γυναῖκας ἔχων δύο, διξὰς ἑστίας οἴκεε, ποιέων οὐδαμᾷ Σπαρτιητικά.*

[2] Müller, Hist. of Dorians, iv. 4, 1. The stories recounted by Plutarch (Agis, c. 20; Kleomenês, c. 37–38) of the conduct of Agesistrata and Kratesikleia, the wives of Agis and Kleomenês, and of the wife of Panteus (whom he does not name) on occasion of the deaths of their respective husbands, illustrate powerfully the strong conjugal affection of a Spartan woman, and her devoted adherence and fortitude in sharing with her husband the last extremities of suffering.

[3] See the Oration of Lysias, De Cæde Eratosthenis, Orat. i. p. 94 *seq.*

tendency to accumulate property in the hands of the women[1], which seems to have been still more conspicuous a century afterwards in the reign of Agis III., and we may readily imagine that one of the employments of wealth thus acquired would be to purchase exemption from laborious training,—an object more easy to accomplish in their case than in that of the men, whose services were required by the state as soldiers. By what steps so large a proportion as two-fifths of the landed property of the state came to be possessed by women, he does not clearly explain to us: there were (he says) many sole heiresses,—the dowries given by fathers to their daughters were very large,—and the father seems to have had unlimited power of testamentary bequest, which he was disposed to use to the advantage of his daughter over his son. But the first two reasons are not very satisfactory, and the third is hardly available to any great extent, unless we admit in conjunction with it a peculiar sympathy and yielding disposition towards women in the Spartan mind,—a disposition of which Aristotle also speaks[2], and which he ascribes to the warlike temper both of the citizen and the state,—Arês bearing the yoke of Aphroditê.

Xenophon, a warm panegyrist of Spartan manners, points with some pride to the tall and vigorous breed of citizens to which the Lycurgic institutions had given birth: the beauty of the Lacedæ-

[1] Plutarch, Agis, c. 4.

[2] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 6; Plutarch, Agis, c. 4. *τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κατηκόους ὄντας ἀεὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ πλεῖον ἐκείναις τῶν δημοσίων, ἢ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῖς, πολυπραγμονεῖν δίδοντας.*

monian women was notorious throughout Greece, and Lampitô, the Lacedæmonian woman introduced in the Lysistrata of Aristophanes, is made to receive from the Athenian women the loudest compliments upon her fine shape and masculine vigour[1]. And we may remark that, on this as well as on the other points, Xenophon emphatically insists on the peculiarity of Spartan institutions, contradicting thus the views of those who regard them merely as something a little Hyper-Dorian. Indeed such peculiarity seems never to have been questioned in antiquity, either by the enemies or by the admirers of Sparta. And those who censured the public masculine exercises of the Spartan maidens, as well as the liberty tolerated in married women, allowed at the same time that the feelings of both were actively identified with the state to a degree hardly known in Greece; that the patriotism of the men greatly depended upon the sympathy of the other sex, which manifested itself publicly, in a manner not compatible with the recluse life of Grecian women generally, to the exaltation of the brave as well as to the abasement of the recreant; and that the dignified bearing of the Spartan matrons under private family loss seriously assisted the state in the task of bearing up against public reverses. "Return either with your shield or upon it," was their exhortation to their sons when departing for foreign service: and after the fatal day of Leuktra, those mothers who had to welcome home their surviving sons in dishonour and defeat, were the bitter sufferers;

Earnest and lofty patriotism of the Spartan women.

[1] Aristophan. Lysistr. 80.

while those whose sons had perished, maintained a bearing comparatively cheerful[1].

Such were the leading points of the memorable Spartan discipline, strengthened in its effect on the mind by the absence of communication with strangers: for no Spartan could go abroad without leave, nor were strangers permitted to stay at Sparta; they came thither, it seems, by a sort of sufferance, but the uncourteous process called xenêlasy[2] was always available to remove them, nor could there arise in Sparta that class of resident metics or aliens who constituted a large part of the population of Athens, and seem to have been found in most other Grecian towns. It is in this universal schooling, training and drilling, imposed alike upon boys and men, youths and virgins, rich and poor, that the distinctive attribute of Sparta is to be sought —not in her laws or political constitution.

Lycurgus (or the individual to whom this system is owing, whoever he was) is the founder of a warlike brotherhood rather than the lawgiver of a political community; his brethren live together like bees in a hive (to borrow a simile from Plutarch), with all their feelings implicated in the commonwealth,

Lycurgus is the trainer of a military brotherhood, more than the framer of a political constitution.

[1] See the remarkable account in Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 16; Plutarch, Agesilaus, c. 29; one of the most striking incidents in Grecian history.

[2] How offensive the Lacedæmonian xenêlasy or expulsion of strangers appeared in Greece, we may see from the speeches of Perikles in Thucydides (i. 144; ii. 39). Compare Xenophon, Rep. Lac. xiv. 4; Plutarch, Agis, c. 10; Lycurgus, c. 27; Plato, Protagoras, p. 348.

No Spartan left the country without permission: Isokrates, Orat. xi. (Busiris), p. 225; Xenophon, *ut sup.*

Both these regulations became much relaxed after the close of the Peloponnesian war.

and divorced from house and home[1]. Far from contemplating the society as a whole, with its multifarious wants and liabilities, he interdicts beforehand, by one of the three primitive Rhetræ, all written laws, that is to say, all formal and premeditated enactments on any special subject. When disputes are to be settled or judicial interference is required, the magistrate is to decide from his own sense of equity; that the magistrate will not depart from the established customs and recognized purposes of the city, is presumed from the personal discipline which he and the select body to whom he belongs, have undergone. It is this select body, maintained by the labour of others, over whom Lycurgus exclusively watches, with the provident eye of a trainer, for the purpose of disciplining them into a state of regimental preparation[2], single-minded obedience, and bodily efficiency and endurance, so that they may be always fit and ready for defence, for conquest and for dominion. The parallel of the Lycurgean institutions is to be found in the Republic of Plato, who approves the Spartan principle of select guardians carefully trained and administering the community at discre-

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 25.

[2] Plutarch observes justly about Sparta under the discipline of Lycurgus, that it was "not the polity of a city, but the life of a trained and skilful man"—*οὐ πόλεως ἡ Σπάρτη πολίτειαν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀσκητοῦ καὶ σοφοῦ βίον ἔχουσα* (Plutarch, Lyc. c. 30).

About the perfect habit of obedience at Sparta, see Xenophon, Memorab. iii. 5, 9, 15-iv. 4, 15, the grand attributes of Sparta in the eyes of its admirers (Isokrates, Panathen. Or. xii. p. 256-278), *πειθαρχία—σωφροσύνη—τὰ γυμνάσια τάκει καθεστῶτα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄσκησιν τῆς ἀνδρίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συνόλως τὴν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρίαν.*

tion; with this momentous difference indeed, that the Spartan character[1] formed by Lycurgus is of a low type, rendered savage and fierce by exclusive and overdone bodily discipline,—destitute even of the elements of letters,—immersed in their own narrow specialities, and taught to despise all that lay beyond,—possessing all the qualities requisite to procure dominion, but none of those calculated to render dominion popular or salutary to the subject; while the habits and attributes of the guardians, as shadowed forth by Plato, are enlarged as well as philanthropic, qualifying them not simply to govern, but to govern for purposes protective, conciliatory and exalted. Both Plato and Aristotle conceive as the perfection of society something of the Spartan type—a select body of equally privileged citizens, disengaged from industrious pursuits, and subjected to public and uniform training: both admit (with Lycurgus) that the citizen belongs neither to himself nor to his family, but to his city; both at the same time note with regret, that the Spartan training was turned only to one portion of human virtue—that which is called forth in a state

[1] Aristot. Polit. viii. 3. 3. Οἱ Λάκωνες.....*θηριώδεις ἀπεργάζονται τοῖς πόνοις.*

That the Spartans were absolutely ignorant of letters, and could not read, is expressly stated by Isokrates (Panathen. Or. xii. p. 277. *οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελειμμένοι τῆς κοινῆς παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰσὶν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ γράμματα μανθάνουσιν*, &c.

The preference of rhetoric to accuracy is so manifest in Isokrates, that we ought to understand his expressions with some reserve; but in this case it is evident that he means literally what he says, for in another part of the same discourse there is an expression dropt almost unconsciously which confirms it. "The most rational Spartans (he says) will appreciate this discourse, if they *find any one to read it to them*" —*ἢν λάβωσι τὸν ἀναγνωσόμενον* (p. 255).

of war[1]: the citizens were converted into a sort of garrison, always under drill, and always ready to be called forth either against Helots at home or against enemies abroad. Such exclusive tendency will appear less astonishing if we consider the very early and insecure period at which the Lycurgean institutions arose, when none of those guarantees which afterwards maintained the peace of the Hellenic world had as yet become effective—no constant habits of intercourse, no custom of meeting in Amphiktyony from the distant parts of Greece, no common or largely frequented festivals, no multiplication of proxenies (or standing tickets of hospitality) between the important cities, no pacific or industrious habits anywhere. When we contemplate the general insecurity of Grecian life in the ninth or eighth century before the Christian æra, and especially the precarious condition of a small band of Dorian conquerors in Sparta and its district, with subdued Helots on their own lands and Achæans unsubdued all around them—we shall not be surprised that the language which Brasidas in the Peloponnesian war addresses to his army in reference to the original Spartan settlement, was still more powerfully present to the mind of Lycurgus four centuries earlier—"We are a few in the midst of many enemies; we can only maintain ourselves by fighting and conquering[2]."

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 22; vii. 13, 11; viii. 1, 3; viii. 3, 3. Plato, Legg. i. p. 626–629. Plutarch, Solon, c. 22.

[2] Thucyd. iv. 126. Οἵ γε μηδὲ ἀπὸ πολιτείων τοιούτων ἥκετε, ἐν αἷς οὐ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων ἄρχουσι, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων μᾶλλον ἐλάσσους. οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινι κτησάμενοι τὴν δυνάστειαν ἢ τῷ μαχόμενοι κρατεῖν.

The most remarkable circumstance is, that these words are addressed

His end, exclusively warlike—his means, excessively severe.

Under such circumstances, the exclusive aim which Lycurgus proposed to himself is easily understood; but what is truly surprising, is the violence of his means and the success of the result. He realised his project of creating in the 8000 or 9000 Spartan citizens unrivalled habits of obedience, hardihood, self-denial, and military aptitude—complete subjection on the part of each individual to the local public opinion, and preference of death to the abandonment of Spartan maxims—intense ambition on the part of every one to distinguish himself within the prescribed sphere of duties, with little ambition for anything else. In what manner so rigorous a system of individual training can have been first brought to bear upon any community, mastering the course of the thoughts and actions from boyhood to old age—a work far more difficult than any political revolution—we are not permitted to discover; nor does even the influence of an earnest and energetic Herakleid man, seconded by the still more powerful working of the Delphian god behind, upon the strong pious susceptibilities of the Spartan mind, sufficiently explain a phænomenon so remarkable in the history of mankind, unless we suppose them aided by some combination of co-operating circumstances which history has not transmitted to us[1], and preceded by disorders so exaggerated as to render the citizens glad to escape from them at any price.

by Brasidas to an army composed in large proportion of manumitted Helots (Thucyd. iv. 81).

[1] Plato treats the system of Lycurgus as emanating from the Delphian Apollo, and Lycurgus as his missionary (Legg. i. p. 632).

Respecting the ante-Lycurgean Sparta we possess no positive information whatever; but although this unfortunate gap cannot be filled up, we may yet master the negative probabilities of the case sufficiently to see that in what Plutarch has told us (and from Plutarch the modern views have, until lately, been derived), there is indeed a basis of reality, but there is also a large superstructure of romance,—in not a few particulars essentially misleading. For example, Plutarch treats Lycurgus as introducing his reforms at a time when Sparta was mistress of Laconia, and distributing the whole of that territory among the Perioeki. Now we know that Laconia was not then in possession of Sparta, and that the partition of Lycurgus (assuming it to be real) could only have been applied to the land in the immediate vicinity of the latter; for even Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, were not conquered until the reign of Têleklus, posterior to any period which we can reasonably assign to Lycurgus: no such distribution of Laconia can really have occurred. Farther, we are told that Lycurgus banished from Sparta coined gold and silver, useless professions and frivolities, eager pursuit of gain, and ostentatious display. Without dwelling upon the improbability that any one of these anti-Spartan characteristics should have existed at so early a period as the ninth century before the Christian æra, we may at least be certain that coined silver was not then to be found, since it was first introduced into Greece by Pheidon of Argos in the succeeding century, as has been stated in the preceding section.

Statements of Plutarch about Lycurgus —much romance in them.

But amongst all the points stated by Plutarch, the most suspicious by far, and the most misleading, because endless calculations have been built upon it, is the alleged redivision of landed property. He tells us that Lycurgus found fearful inequality in the landed possessions of the Spartans; nearly all the land in the hands of a few, and a great multitude without any land; that he rectified this evil by a redivision of the Spartan district into 9000 equal lots, and the rest of Laconia into 30,000, giving to each citizen as much as would produce a given quota of barley, &c.; and that he wished moreover to have divided the moveable property upon similar principles of equality, but was deterred by the difficulties of carrying his design into execution. Now we shall find on consideration that this new and equal partition of lands by Lycurgus is still more at variance with fact and probability than the two former proceedings. All the historical evidences exhibit decided inequalities of property among the Spartans—inequalities which tended constantly to increase; moreover, the earlier authors do not conceive this evil as having grown up by way of abuse out of a primæval system of perfect equality, nor do they know anything of the original equal redivision by Lycurgus. Hellanikus certainly knew nothing of it, for he ascribed the whole Spartan polity to Eurysthenês and Proklês, the original founders, and hardly noticed Lycurgus at all. In the brief but impressive description of the Spartan lawgiver by Herodotus, several other institutions are alluded to, but nothing is said about a redivision of the lands; and this latter point is in itself of such

New partition of lands—no such measure ascribed to Lycurgus by earlier authors down to Aristotle.

transcendent moment, and was so recognised among all Grecian thinkers, that the omission is almost a demonstration of ignorance. Thucydides certainly could not have believed that equality of property was an original feature in the Lycurgean system; for he says that at Lacedæmon "the rich men assimilated themselves greatly in respect of clothing and general habits of life to the simplicity of the poor, and thus set an example which was partially followed in the rest of Greece:" a remark which both implies the existence of unequal property, and gives a just appreciation of the real working of Lycurgic institutions[1]. The like is the sentiment of Xenophon[2]: he observes that the rich at Sparta gained little by their wealth in point of superior comfort; but he never glances at any original measure carried into effect by Lycurgus for equalising possessions. Plato too[3], while he touches upon the great advantage possessed by the Dorians, immediately after their conquest of Peloponnesus, in being able to apportion land suitably to all, never hints that this original distribution had degenerated into an abuse, and that an entire subsequent redivision had been resorted to by Lycurgus: moreover, he is himself deeply sensible of the hazards of that formidable proceeding. Lastly, Aristotle clearly did not believe that Lycurgus had redivided the soil; for not only does he state that

[1] Thucydid. i. 6. *μετρίᾳ δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδίαιτοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν.* See also Plutarch, Apophthegm. Lacon. p. 226.

[2] Xenoph. Republ. Laced. c. 7.

[3] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 684.

in his time the inequality of property at Sparta was so great as to have become a serious public evil, but he nowhere treats this as having grown out of a system of absolute equality once enacted by the lawgiver as a part of the primitive constitution: he expressly notices inequality of property so far back as the second Messenian war. Moreover, in that valuable chapter of his Politics where the scheme of equality of possessions is discussed, Phaleas of Chalkedôn is expressly mentioned as the first author of it, thus indirectly excluding Lycurgus[1]. Isokrates[2] too speaks much about Sparta for good and for evil—mentions Lycurgus as having established a political constitution much like that of the earliest days of Athens—praises the gymnasia and the discipline, and compliments the Spartans upon the many centuries which they have gone through without violent sedition, extinction of debts, and redivision of the land—those monstrous evils as he

[1] Aristot. Politic. ii. 4, 1. about Phaleas; and about Sparta and Crete, generally, the whole sixth and seventh chapters of the second book; also v. 6, 2 7.

Theophrastus (apud Plutarch. Lycurg. c. 10) makes a similar observation, that the public mess, and the general simplicity of habits, tended to render wealth of little service to the possessor: *τὸν πλοῦτον ἄπλουτον ἀπεργάσασθαι τῇ κοινότητι τῶν δείπνων, καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐτελείᾳ.* The wealth therefore was not formally done away with in the opinion of Theophrastus: there was no positive equality of possessions.

Both the Spartan kings dined at the public mess at the same pheidition (Plutarch, Agesilaus, c. 30).

Herakleides Ponticus mentions nothing either about equality of Spartan lots or fresh partition of lands by Lycurgus (ad calcem Cragii, De Spartanorum Repub. p. 504), though he speaks about the Spartan lots and law of succession as well as about Lycurgus.

[2] Isokrates, Panathen. Or. xii. pp. 266, 270, 278: *οὐδὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς οὐδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμὸν οὔδ' ἀλλ' οὐδὲν στῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν.*

terms them. Had he conceived Lycurgus as being himself the author of a complete redivision of land, he could hardly have avoided some allusion to it.

It appears then that none of the authors down to Aristotle ascribe to Lycurgus a redivision of the lands, either of Sparta or of Laconia: the statement to this effect in Plutarch, given in great detail and with precise specification of number and produce, must have been borrowed from some author later than Aristotle; and I think we may trace the source of it, when we study Plutarch's biography of Lycurgus in conjunction with that of Agis and Kleomenês. The statement is taken from authors of the century after Aristotle, either in, or shortly before, the age when both those kings tried extreme measures to renovate the sinking state: the former by a thorough change of system and property, yet proposed and accepted according to constitutional forms; the latter by projects substantially similar, with violence to enforce them. The accumulation of landed property in few hands, the multiplication of poor, and the decline in the number of citizens, which are depicted as grave mischiefs by Aristotle, had become greatly aggravated during the century between him and Agis. The number of citizens, reckoned by Herodotus in the time of the Persian invasion at 8000, had dwindled down in the time of Aristotle to 1000, and in that of Agis to 700, out of which latter number 100 alone possessed most of the landed property of the state[1]. Now by the ancient rule of Lycurgus, the qualification for citizenship was

The idea of Lycurgus as an equal partitioner of lands belongs to the century of Agis and Kleomenês.

[1] Plutarch, Agis, c. iv.

the ability to furnish the prescribed quota, incumbent on each individual, at the public mess: so soon as a citizen became too poor to answer to this requisition, he lost his franchise and his eligibility to offices[1]. The smaller lots of land, though it was held discreditable either to buy or sell them[2], and though some have asserted (without ground I think) that it was forbidden to divide them,

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 21. Παρὰ δὲ τοις Λακωσιν ἕκαστον δεῖ φέρειν, καὶ σφοδρα πενήτων ἐνίων ὄντων, καὶ τουτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα οὐ δυναμένων διαπαφαν.....Ὅρος δὲ της πολιτείας οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πάτριος, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος φέρειν, μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῆς. So also Xenophon, Rep. Lac. c. vii. ἴσα μὲν φέρειν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁμοίως δὲ διαιτασθαι τάξας.

The existence of this rate-paying qualification is the capital fact in the history of the Spartan constitution; especially when we couple it with the other fact, that no Spartan acquired anything by any kind of industry.

[2] Herakleides Ponticus, ad calcem Cragii De Repub. Laced. p. 504. Compare Cragius, iii. 2. p. 196.

Aristotle (ii. 6, 10) states that it was discreditable to buy or sell a lot of land, but that the lot might be either given or bequeathed at pleasure. He mentions nothing about the prohibition to divide, and he even states what contradicts it,—that it was the practice to give a large dowry when a rich man's daughter married (ii. 6, 11). The sister of Agesilaus, Kyniska, was a person of large property, which apparently implies the division of his father's estate (Plutarch, Agesilaus, 30).

Whether there was ever any law prohibiting a father from dividing his lot among his children may well be doubted. The Rhetra of the ephor Epitadeus (Plutarch, Agis, 5), granted unlimited power of testamentary disposition to the possessor, so that he might give away or bequeathe his land to a stranger if he chose. To this law great effects are ascribed: but it is evident that the tendency to accumulate property in few hands, and the tendency to diminution in the number of qualified citizens, were powerfully manifested before the time of Epitadeus, who came after Lysander. Plutarch in another place notices Hesiod, Xenokrates and Lycurgus, as having concurred with Plato in thinking that it was proper to leave only one single heir (ἕνα μόνον κληρονομον καταλιπεῖν) (Ὑπομνήματα εἰς Ἡσίοδον, Fragm. vol. v. p. 777, Wyttenb.). But Hesiod does not lay down this as a necessity or as a universal rule; he only says that a man is better off who has only one son (Opp. Di. 374). And if Plato had been able to cite Lycurgus as an authority for

Circumstances of Sparta down to the reign of Agis.

became insufficient for numerous families, and seem to have been alienated in some indirect manner to the rich; while every industrious occupation being both interdicted to a Spartan citizen and really inconsistent with his rigorous personal discipline, no other means of furnishing his quota, except the lot of land, was open to him. The difficulty felt with regard to these smaller lots of land may be judged of from the fact stated by Polybius[1], that three or four Spartan brothers had often one and the same wife, the paternal land being just sufficient to furnish contributions for all to the public mess, and thus to keep alive the citizen-rights of all the sons. The tendency to diminution in the number of Spartan citizens seems to have gone on uninterruptedly from the time of the Persian war, and must have been aggravated by the foundation of Messênê, with its independent territory around, after the battle of Leuktra, an event which robbed the Spartans of a large portion of their property. Apart from these special causes, moreover, it has been observed often as a statistical fact, that

that system of an invariable number of separate κλῆροι or lots, which he sets forth in his treatise De Legibus (p. 740), it is highly probable that he would have done so. Still less can Aristotle have supposed that Lycurgus or the Spartan system either ensured, or intended to ensure, the maintenance of an unalterable number of distinct proprietary lots; for he expressly notices that scheme as the peculiarity of Philolaus the Corinthian, in his laws for the Thebans (Polit. ii. 9, 7).

[1] Polybius, Fragm. ap. Maii. Collect. Vett. Scrip. vol. ii. p. 384.

Perhaps, as O. Müller remarks, this may mean only, that none except the eldest brother could afford to marry; but the feelings of the Spartans in respect to marriage were in many other points so different from ours, that we are hardly authorised to reject the literal statement (History of the Dorians, iii. 10, 2).

I may observe, that of Müller's statements respecting the lots of land at Sparta, several are unsupported and some incorrect.

a close corporation of citizens, or any small number of families, intermarrying habitually among one another, and not reinforced from without, have usually a tendency to diminish.

The present is not the occasion to enter at length into that combination of causes which partly sapped, partly overthrew, both the institutions of Lycurgus and the power of Sparta; but taking the condition of that city as it stood in the time of Agis III. (say about 250 B.C.), we know that its citizens had become few in number, the bulk of them miserably poor, and all the land in a small number of hands—the old discipline and the public mess (as far as the rich were concerned) degenerated into mere forms—a numerous body of strangers or non-citizens (the old xenêlasy, or prohibition of resident strangers, being long discontinued) domiciled in the town, and forming a powerful moneyed interest; and lastly, the dignity and ascendency of the state amongst its neighbours altogether ruined. It was unsupportable to a young enthusiast like king Agis, and to many ardent spirits among his contemporaries, to contrast this degradation with the previous glories of their country; and they saw no other way of reconstructing the old Sparta except by again admitting the disfranchised poor citizens, redividing the lands, cancelling all debts, and restoring the public mess and military training in all their strictness. Agis endeavoured to carry through these subversive measures, (such as no demagogue in the extreme democracy of Athens would ever have ventured to glance at,) with the consent of the senate and public assembly, and the acquies-

Diminished number of citizens and degradation of Sparta in the reign of Agis. His ardent wish to restore the dignity of the state.

cence of the rich. His sincerity is attested by the fact, that his own property, and that of his female relatives, among the largest in the state, was cast as the first sacrifice into the common stock. But he became the dupe of unprincipled coadjutors, and perished in the unavailing attempt to realise his scheme by persuasion. His successor Kleomenês afterwards accomplished by violence a change substantially similar, though the intervention of foreign arms speedily overthrew both himself and his institutions.

Historic fancy of Lycurgus as an equal partitioner of lands grew out of this feeling.

Now it was under the state of public feeling which gave birth to these projects of Agis and Kleomenês at Sparta, that the historic fancy, unknown to Aristotle and his predecessors, first gained ground, of the absolute equality of property as a primitive institution of Lycurgus. How much such a belief would favour the schemes of innovation is too obvious to require notice; and without supposing any deliberate imposture, we cannot be astonished that the predispositions of enthusiastic patriots interpreted according to their own partialities an old unrecorded legislation from which they were separated by more than five centuries. The Lycurgean discipline tended forcibly to suggest to men's minds the *idea* of equality among the citizens,—that is, the negation of all inequality not founded on some personal attribute—inasmuch as it assimilated the habits, enjoyments and capacities of the rich to those of the poor; and the equality thus existing in idea and tendency, which seemed to proclaim the wish of the founder, was strained by the later reformers into a positive institution which he had at

first realised, but from which his degenerate followers had receded. It was thus that the fancies, longings, and indirect suggestions of the present assumed the character of recollections out of the early, obscure, and extinct historical past. Perhaps the philosopher Sphærus of Borysthenês (the friend and companion of Kleomenês [1] and the disciple of Zeno the Stoic), author of works now lost both on Lycurgus and Socrates and on the constitution of Sparta, may have been one of those who gave currency to such an hypothesis; and we shall readily believe that if advanced, it would find easy and sincere credence, when we recollect how many similar delusions have obtained vogue in modern times far more favourable to historical accuracy—how much false colouring has been attached by the political feeling of recent days to matters of ancient history, such as the Saxon Wittenagemote, the Great

[1] Plutarch, Kleomenês, cap. 11; also Lycurg. cap. 8; Athenæ. iv. p. 141.

Phylarchus also described the proceedings of Kleomenês, seemingly with favour (Athenæ. ib.); compare Plutarch, Agis, c. 9.

Polybius believed that Lycurgus had introduced equality of landed possession both in the district of Sparta and throughout Laconia: his opinion is probably borrowed from these same authors, of the third century before the Christian æra. For he expresses his great surprise how the best-informed ancient authors (*οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων*), Plato, Xenophon, Ephorus, Kallisthenês, can compare the Cretan polity to the old Lacedæmonian, the main features of the two being (as he says) so different—equality of property at Sparta, great inequality of property in Crete, among other differences (Polyb. vi. 45–48).

This remark of Polybius exhibits the difference of opinion of the earlier writers, as compared with those during the third century before the Christian æra. The former compared Spartan and Cretan institutions, because they did *not* conceive equality of landed property as a feature in old Sparta.

Charter, the rise and growth of the English House of Commons, or even the Poor Law of Elizabeth.

Partition proposed by Agis.

When we read the division of lands really proposed by king Agis, it is found to be a very close copy of the original division ascribed to Lycurgus. He parcels the lands bounded by the four limits of Pellênê, Sellasia, Malea, and Taygetus, into 4500 lots, one to every Spartan; and the lands beyond these limits into 15,000 lots, one to each Periœkus; and he proposes to constitute in Sparta fifteen Pheiditia or public mess-tables, some including 400 individuals, others 200,—thus providing a place for each of his 4500 Spartans. With respect to the division originally ascribed to Lycurgus, different accounts were given: some considered it to have set out 9000 lots for the district of Sparta, and 30,000 for the rest of Laconia[1]; others affirmed that 6000 lots had been given by Lycurgus, and 3000 added afterwards by king Polydorus; a third tale was, that Lycurgus had assigned 4500 lots, and king Polydorus as many more. This last scheme is much the same as what was really proposed by Agis.

In the preceding argument respecting the redivision of land ascribed to Lycurgus, I have taken that measure as it is described by Plutarch. But there has been a tendency, in some able modern writers, while admitting the general fact of such redivision, to reject the account given by Plutarch in some of its main circumstances. That, for in-

[1] Respecting Sphærus, see Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 8; Kleomen. c. 2; Athenæ. iv. p. 141; Diogen. Laërt. vii. sect. 137.

stance, which is the capital feature in Plutarch's narrative, and which gives soul and meaning to his picture of the lawgiver—the equality of partition—is now rejected by many as incorrect, and it is supposed that Lycurgus made some new agrarian regulations tending towards a general equality of landed property, but not an entirely new partition; that he may have resumed from the wealthy men lands which they had unjustly taken from the conquered Achæans, and thus provided allotments both for the poorer citizens and for the subject Laconians. Such is the opinion of Dr. Thirlwall, who at the same time admits that the exact proportion of the Lycurgean distribution can hardly be ascertained[1].

Opinion that Lycurgus proposed some agrarian interference, but not an entire repartition, gratuitous and improbable.

[1] Hist. of Greece, ch. viii. vol. i. p. 344–347.

C. F. Hermann, on the contrary, considers the equal partition of Laconia into lots indivisible and inalienable as "an essential condition" (eine wesentliche Bedingung) of the whole Lycurgean system (Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer, sect. 28).

Tittmann (Griechische Staatsverfassungen, p. 588–596) states and seems to admit the equal partition as a fact, without any commentary.

Wachsmuth (Hellenisch. Alterthumskunde, v. 4. 42. p. 217) supposes "that the best land was already parcelled, before the time of Lycurgus, into lots of equal magnitude, corresponding to the number of Spartans, which number afterwards increased to nine thousand." For this assertion I know no evidence: it departs from Plutarch, without substituting anything better authenticated or more plausible. Wachsmuth notices the partition of Laconia among the Periœki in 30,000 equal lots, without any comment, and seemingly as if there were no doubt of it (p. 218).

Manso also supposes that there had once been an equal division of and prior to Lycurgus—that it had degenerated into abuse—and that Lycurgus corrected it, restoring, not absolute equality, but something near to equality (Manso, Sparta, vol. i. p. 110–121). This is the same gratuitous supposition as that of Wachsmuth.

O. Müller admits the division as stated by Plutarch, though he says that the whole number of 9000 lots cannot have been set out before the Messenian war; and he adheres to the idea of equality as contained in Plutarch; but he says that the equality consisted in "equal estimate of average produce,"—not in equal acreable dimensions. He goes so far

I cannot but take a different view of the statement made by Plutarch. The moment that we depart from that rule of equality, which stands so prominently marked in his biography of Lycurgus, we step into a boundless field of possibility, in which there is nothing to determine us to one point more than to another. The surmise started by Dr. Thirlwall, of lands unjustly taken from the conquered Achæans by wealthy Spartan proprietors, is altogether gratuitous; and granting it to be correct, we have still to explain how it happened that this correction of a partial injustice came to be transformed into the comprehensive and systematic measure which Plutarch describes; and to explain, farther, from whence it arose that none of the authors earlier than Plutarch take any notice of Lycurgus as an agrarian regulator. These two difficulties will still remain, even if we overlook the gratuitous nature of Dr. Thirlwall's supposition, or of any other supposition which can be proposed respecting the real Lycurgean measure which Plutarch is affirmed to have misrepresented.

It appears to me that these difficulties are best obviated by adopting a different canon of historical interpretation. We cannot accept as real the Lycurgean land-division described in the life of the

as to tell us that "the lots of the Spartans, which supported twice as many men as the lots of the Periœki, must upon the whole have been twice as extensive (*i. e.* in the aggregate): each lot must therefore have been seven times greater" (compare History of the Dorians, iii. 3, 6; iii. 10, 2). He also supposes that "similar partitions of land had been made from the time of the first occupation of Laconia by the Dorians." Whoever compares his various positions with the evidence brought to support them, will find a painful disproportion between the basis and the superstructure.

lawgiver; but treating this account as a fiction, two modes of proceeding are open to us. We may either consider the fiction, as it now stands, to be the exaggeration and distortion of some small fact, and then try to guess, without any assistance, what the small fact was; or we may regard it as fiction from first to last, the expression of some large idea and sentiment so powerful in its action on men's minds at a given time, as to induce them to make a place for it among the realities of the past. Now the latter supposition, applied to the times of Agis III., best meets the case before us. The eighth chapter of the life of Lycurgus by Plutarch, in recounting the partition of land, describes the dream of king Agis, whose mind is full of two sentiments—grief and shame for the actual condition of his country, and reverence for its past glories, as well as for the lawgiver from whose institutions those glories had emanated. Absorbed with this double feeling, the reveries of Agis go back to the old ante-Lycurgean Sparta as it stood more than five centuries before: he sees in the spirit the same mischiefs and disorders as those which afflict his waking eye —gross inequalities of property, with a few insolent and luxurious rich, a crowd of mutinous and suffering poor, and nothing but fierce antipathy reigning between the two. Into the midst of this froward, lawless and distempered community steps the venerable missionary from Delphi,—breathes into men's minds new impulses, and an impatience to shake off the old social and political Adam—and persuades the rich, voluntarily abnegating their temporal advantages, to welcome with satisfaction

The statement of Plutarch is best explained by supposing it a fiction of the time of Agis.

a new system wherein no distinction shall be recognised, except that of good or evil desert[1]. Having thus regenerated the national mind, he parcels out the territory of Laconia into equal lots, leaving no superiority to any one: fraternal harmony becomes the reigning sentiment, and the coming harvests present the gratifying spectacle of a paternal inheritance recently distributed, with the brotherhood contented, modest and docile. Such is the picture with which "mischievous Oneirus" cheats the fancy of the patriotic Agis, whispering the treacherous message that the gods have promised *him* success in a similar attempt, and thus seducing him into that fatal revolutionary course, which is destined to bring himself, his wife and his aged mother to the dungeon and the hangman's rope[2].

That the golden dream just described was dreamt by some Spartan patriots is certain, because it stands recorded in Plutarch; that it was not dreamt by the authors of centuries preceding Agis, I have already endeavoured to show; that the earnest feelings, of sickness of the present and yearning for a better future under the colours of a restored past, which filled the soul of this king and his brother reformers—combined with the levelling tendency between rich and poor which really was inherent in the Lycurgean discipline—were amply sufficient to

[1] Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 8. *συνέπεισε τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς μέσον θέντας, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναδάσασθαι, καὶ ζῆν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἅπαντας, ὁμαλεῖς καὶ ἰσοκλήρους τοῖς βίοις γενομένους, τὸ δὲ πρωτεῖον ἀρετῇ μετιόντας· ὡς ἄλλης ἑτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον οὐκ οὔσης διαφορᾶς, οὐδ' ἀνισότητος, πλὴν ὅσην αἰσχρῶν ψόγος ὁρίζει καὶ καλῶν ἔπαινος. Ἐπάγων δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον, διένειμε,* &c.

[2] Plutarch, Agis, c. 19–20.

beget such a dream and to procure for it a place among the great deeds of the old lawgiver, so much venerated and so little known,—this too I hold to be unquestionable. Had there been any evidence that Lycurgus had interfered with private property, to the limited extent which Dr. Thirlwall and other able critics imagine—that he had resumed certain lands unjustly taken by the rich from the Achæans —I should have been glad to record it; but finding no such evidence, I cannot think it necessary to presume the fact simply in order to account for the story in Plutarch.

The various items in that story all hang together, and must be understood as forming parts of the same comprehensive fact, or comprehensive fancy. The fixed total of 9000 Spartan, and 30,000 Laconian lots[1], the equality between them, and the rent accruing from each, represented by a given quantity of moist and dry produce,—all these particulars are alike true or alike uncertified. Upon the various numbers here given, many authors have raised calculations as to the population and produce of Laconia, which appear to me destitute of any trustworthy foundation. Those who accept the history, that Lycurgus constituted the above-mentioned numbers both of citizens and of lots of land, and that he contemplated the maintenance of both numbers in unchangeable proportion, are perplexed to assign the means whereby this adjustment

Acknowledged difficulty of understanding by what means the fixed number and integrity of the lots was maintained.

[1] Aristotle (Polit. ii. 6, 11) remarks that the territory of the Spartans would maintain 1500 horsemen and 30,000 hoplites, while the number of citizens was in point of fact less than 1000. Dr. Thirlwall seems to prefer the reading of Göttling—3000 instead of 30,000; but the latter seems better supported by MSS., and most suitable.

was kept undisturbed. Nor are they much assisted in the solution of this embarrassing problem by the statement of Plutarch, who tells us that the number remained fixed of itself, and that the succession ran on from father to son without either consolidation or multiplication of parcels, down to the period when foreign wealth flowed into Sparta, as a consequence of the successful conclusion of the Peloponnesian war. Shortly after that period (he tells us) a citizen named Epitadeus became ephor, a vindictive and malignant man, who, having had a quarrel with his son, and wishing to oust him from the succession, introduced and obtained sanction to a new Rhetra, whereby power was granted to every father of a family either to make over during life, or to bequeathe after death, his house and his estate to any one whom he chose[1]. But it is plain that this story (whatever be the truth about the family-quarrel of Epitadeus) does not help us out of the difficulty. From the time of Lycurgus to that of this disinheriting ephor, more than four centuries must be reckoned: had there been real causes at work sufficient to maintain inviolate the identical number of lots and families during this long period, we see no reason why his new law, simply permissive and nothing more, should have overthrown it. We are not told by Plutarch what was the law of succession prior to Epitadeus. If the whole estate went by law to one son in the family, what became of the other sons, to whom industrious acquisition in any shape was repulsive as well as interdicted? If, on the other hand, the

Plutarch's story about the ephor Epitadeus.

[1] Plutarch, Agis, c. 5.

estate was divided between the sons equally (as it was by the law of succession at Athens), how can we defend the maintenance of an unchanged aggregate number of parcels?

Dr. Thirlwall, after having admitted a modified interference with private property by Lycurgus, so as to exact from the wealthy a certain sacrifice in order to create lots for the poor, and to bring about something approaching to equi-producing lots for all, observes:—"The average amount of the rent (paid by the cultivating Helots from each lot) seems to have been no more than was required for the frugal maintenance of a family with six persons. The right of transfer was as strictly confined as that of enjoyment: the patrimony was indivisible, inalienable, and descended to the eldest son; in default of a male heir, to the eldest daughter. The object seems to have been, after the number of the allotments became fixed, that each should be constantly represented by one head of a household. But the nature of the means employed for this end is one of the most obscure points of the Spartan system..... In the better times of the commonwealth, this seems to have been principally effected by adoptions and marriages with heiresses, which provided for the marriages of younger sons in families too numerous to be supported on their own hereditary property. It was then probably seldom necessary for the state to interfere, in order to direct the childless owner of an estate, or the father of a rich heiress, to a proper choice. But as all adoption required the sanction of the kings, and they had also the disposal of the hand of orphan heiresses, there can be

little doubt that the magistrate had the power of interposing on such occasions, even in opposition to the wishes of individuals, to relieve poverty and check the accumulation of wealth." (Hist. Gr. ch. 8. vol. i. p. 367.)

Landed property was always unequally divided at Sparta.

I cannot concur in the view which Dr. Thirlwall here takes of the state of property, or the arrangements respecting its transmission, in ancient Sparta. Neither the equal modesty of possession which he supposes, nor the precautions for perpetuating it, can be shown to have ever existed among the pupils of Lycurgus. Our earliest information intimates the existence of rich men at Sparta: the story of king Aristo and Agêtus, in Herodotus, exhibits to us the latter as a man who cannot be supposed to have had only just "enough to maintain six persons frugally," while his beautiful wife, whom Aristo coveted and entrapped from him, is expressly described as the daughter of opulent parents: Sperthiês and Bulis the Talthybiads are designated as belonging to a distinguished race, and among the wealthiest men in Sparta[1]. Demaratus was the only king of Sparta, in the days of Herodotus, who had ever gained a chariot-victory in the Olympic games; but we know by the case of Lichas during the Peloponnesian war that private Spartans were equally successful[2]; and for one Spartan who won the prize, there must of course have been many who bred their horses and started their chariots unsuccessfully. It need hardly be remarked that chariot-competition at Olympia was one of the most signi-

[1] Herod. vi. 61. *οἷα ἀνθρώπων τε ὀλβίων θυγατέρα*, &c.; vii. 134.
[2] Herod. vi. 70; Thucyd. v. 50.

ficant evidences of a wealthy house: nor were there wanting Spartans who kept horses and dogs without any exclusive view to the games. We know from Xenophon, that at the time of the battle of Leuktra, "the very rich Spartans" provided the horses to be mounted for the state-cavalry[1]. These and other proofs, of the existence of rich men at Sparta, are inconsistent with the idea of a body of citizens each possessing what was about enough for the frugal maintenance of six persons, and no more.

As we do not find that such was in practice the state of property in the Spartan community, so neither can we discover that the lawgiver ever tried either to make or to keep it so. What he did was to impose a rigorous public discipline, with simple clothing and fare, incumbent alike upon the rich and the poor (this was his special present to Greece, according to Thucydides[2], and his great point of contact with democracy, according to Aristotle); but he took no pains either to restrain the enrichment of the former, or to prevent the impoverishment of the latter: he meddled little with the distribution of property, and such neglect is one of the capital deficiencies for which Aristotle censures him. That philosopher tells us, indeed, that the Spartan law had made it dishonourable (he does not say, peremptorily forbidden) to buy or sell landed property, but that there was the fullest liberty both of donation and bequest: and the same results (he justly observes) ensued from the practice tolerated

Nor were there any laws which tended to equalise it.

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 4, 11; Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. v. 3; Moëris ap. Athenæ. iv. p. 141; Aristot. Polit. ii. 2, 5.

[2] Thucyd. i. 6; Aristot. Polit. iv. 7, 4, 5; viii. 1, 3.

as would have ensued from the practice discountenanced—since it was easy to disguise a real sale under an ostensible donation. He notices pointedly the tendency of property at Sparta to concentrate itself in fewer hands, unopposed by any legal hindrances: the fathers married their daughters to whomsoever they chose, and gave dowries according to their own discretion, generally very large: the rich families moreover intermarried among one another habitually and without restriction. Now all these are indicated by Aristotle as cases in which the law might have interfered, and ought to have interfered, but did not—for the great purpose of disseminating the benefits of landed property as much as possible among the mass of the citizens. Again, he tells us that the law encouraged the multiplication of progeny, and granted exemptions to such citizens as had three or four children, but took no thought how the numerous families of poorer citizens were to live, or to maintain their qualification at the public tables, most of the lands of the state being in the hands of the rich[1]. His notice, and condemnation, of that law, which made the franchise of the Spartan citizen dependent upon his continuing to furnish his quota to the public table—has been already adverted to; as well as the potent love of money[2] which he notes in the Spartan character, and which must have tended continually to keep together the richer families among them-

Opinions of Aristotle.

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 10–13; v. 6, 7.

[2] The panegyrist Xenophon acknowledges much the same respecting the Sparta which he witnessed; but he maintains that it had been better in former times (Repub. Lac. c. 14).

selves; while amongst a community where industry was unknown, no poor citizen could ever become rich.

Erroneous suppositions with regard to the Spartan law and practice of succession.

If we duly weigh these evidences, we shall see that equality of possessions neither existed in fact, nor ever entered into the scheme and tendencies of the lawgiver, at Sparta. And the picture which Dr. Thirlwall[1] has drawn of a body of citizens each

[1] The view of Dr. Thirlwall agrees in the main with that of Manso and O. Müller (Manso, Sparta, vol. i. p. 118–128; and vol. ii. Beilage, 9. p. 129; and Müller, History of the Dorians, vol. ii. B. iii. c. 10. sect. 2, 3).

Both these authors maintain the proposition stated by Plutarch (Agis, c. 5, in his reference to the ephor Epitadeus and the new law carried by that ephor), that the number of Spartan lots, nearly equal and rigorously indivisible, remained with little or no change from the time of the original division down to the return of Lysander after his victorious close of the Peloponnesian war. Both acknowledge that they cannot understand by what regulations this long unalterability, so improbable in itself, was maintained: but both affirm the fact positively. The period will be more than 400 years, if the original division be referred to Lycurgus: more than 300 years, if the 9000 lots are understood to date from the Messenian war.

If this fact be really a fact, it is something almost without a parallel in the history of mankind: and before we consent to believe it, we ought at least to be satisfied that there is considerable show of positive evidence in its favour, and not much against it. But on examining Manso and Müller, it will be seen that not only is there very slender evidence in its favour—there is a decided balance of evidence against it.

The evidence produced to prove the indivisibility of the Spartan lot is a passage of Herakleides, Ponticus, c. 2 (ad. calc. Cragii, p. 504), *πωλεῖν δὲ γῆν Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰσχρὸν νενόμισται—τῆς ἀρχαίας μοίρας ἀνανέμεσθαι* (or *νενεμῆσθαι*) *οὐδὲν ἔξεστι*. The first portion of this assertion is confirmed by, and probably borrowed from, Aristotle, who says the same thing in the same words: the second portion of the sentence ought, according to all reasonable rules of construction, to be understood with reference to the first part; that is, to the *sale* of the original lot. "To sell land is held disgraceful among the Lacedæmonians, nor is it permitted to sever off any portion of the original lot," i. e. *for sale*. Herakleides is not here speaking of the law of *succession* to property at Lacedæmon, nor can we infer from his words that the whole lot was transmitted entire to one son. No evidence except this very irrelevant

possessing a lot of land about adequate to the frugal maintenance of six persons—of adoptions and

sentence is produced by Müller and Manso to justify their positive assertion, that the Spartan lot of land was indivisible in respect to inheritance.

Having thus determined the indivisible transmission of lots to one son of a family, Manso and Müller presume, without any proof, that that son must be the eldest: and Müller proceeds to state something equally unsupported by proof:—"The extent of his rights, however, was perhaps no farther than that he was considered master of the house and property; while the other members of the family had an equal right to the enjoyment of it.....The master of the family was therefore obliged to contribute for all these to the syssitia, without which contribution no one was admitted."—pp. 199, 200.

All this is completely gratuitous, and will be found to produce as many difficulties in one way as it removes in another.

The next law as to the transmission of property which Manso states to have prevailed, is, that all daughters were to marry without receiving any dowry—the case of a sole daughter is here excepted. For this proposition he cites Plutarch, Apophtheg. Laconic. p. 227; Justin, iii. 3; Ælian. V. H. vi. 6. These authors do certainly affirm that there was such a regulation, and both Plutarch and Justin assign reasons for it, real or supposed. "Lycurgus being asked why he directed that maidens should be married without dowry, answered,—In order that maidens of poor families might not remain unmarried, and that character and virtue might be exclusively attended to in the choice of a wife." The same general reason is given by Justin. Now the *reason* here given for the prohibition of dowry, goes indirectly to prove that there existed no such law of general succession as that which had been before stated, viz. the sacred indivisibility of the primitive lot. For had this latter been recognised, the reason would have been obvious why daughters could receive no dowry: the father's whole landed property (and a Spartan could have little of any other property, since he never acquired anything by industry) was under the strictest entail to his eldest son. Plutarch and Justin, therefore, while in their statement as to the matter of fact they warrant Manso in affirming the prohibition of dowry (about this matter of fact, more presently), do by the reason which they give, discountenance his former supposition as to the indivisibility of the primitive family lots.

Thirdly, Manso understands Aristotle (Polit. ii. 6, 11), by the use of the adverb νῦν, to affirm something respecting his own time specially, and to imply at the same time that the ancient custom had been the reverse. I cannot think that the adverb, as Aristotle uses it in that passage, bears out such a construction: νῦν δὲ there does not signify

marriages of heiresses arranged with a deliberate view of providing for the younger children of nu-

present time as opposed to past, but the antithesis between the actual custom and that which Aristotle pronounces to be expedient. Aristotle gives no indication of being aware that any material change had taken place in the laws of succession at Sparta: this is one circumstance, for which both Manso and Müller, who both believe in the extraordinary revolution caused by the permissive law of the ephor Epitadeus, censure him.

Three other positions are laid down by Manso about the laws of property at Sparta. 1. A man might give away or bequeathe his land to whomsoever he pleased. 2. But none except childless persons could do this. 3. They could only give or bequeathe it to citizens who had no land of their own. Of these three regulations, the first is distinctly affirmed by Aristotle, and may be relied upon: the second is a restriction not noticed by Aristotle, and supported by no proof except that which arises out of the story of the ephor Epitadeus, who is said to have been unable to disinherit his son without causing a new law to be passed: the third is a pure fancy.

So much for the positive evidence, on the faith of which Manso and Müller affirm the startling fact, that the lots of land in Sparta remained distinct, indivisible, and unchanged in number, down to the close of the Peloponnesian war. I venture to say that such positive evidence is far too weak to sustain an affirmation in itself so improbable, even if there were no evidence on the other side for contradiction. But in this case there is powerful contradictory evidence.

First, the assertions of these authors are distinctly in the teeth of Aristotle, whose authority they try to invalidate by saying that he spoke altogether with reference to his own time at Sparta, and that he misconceived the primitive Lycurgean constitution. Now this might form a reasonable ground of presumption against the competency of Aristotle, if the witnesses produced on the other side were older than he. But it so happens that *every one* of the witnesses produced by Manso and Müller are *younger* than Aristotle: Herakleides Ponticus, Plutarch, Justin, Ælian, &c.; nor is it shown that these authors copied from any source earlier than Aristotle, whose testimony cannot be contradicted by any inferences drawn from Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Isokrates or Ephorus. None of these writers, anterior to or contemporary with Aristotle, countenance the fancy of equal, indivisible, perpetual lots, or prohibition of dowry.

The fact is, that Aristotle is not only our best witness, but also our oldest witness, respecting the laws of property in the Spartan commonwealth. I could have wished indeed that earlier testimonies had existed, and I admit that even the most sagacious observer of 340–330

merous families—of interference on the part of the kings to ensure this object—of a fixed number of

B.C. is liable to mistake when he speaks of one or two centuries before. But if Aristotle is to be discredited on the ground of late date, what are we to say to Plutarch? To insist on the intellectual eminence of Aristotle would be superfluous: and on this subject he is a witness the more valuable, as he had made careful, laborious and personal inquiries into the Grecian governments generally, and that of Sparta among them—the great *point de mire* for ancient speculative politicians.

Now the statements of Aristotle distinctly exclude the idea of equal, indivisible, inalienable, perpetual lots,—and prohibition of dowry. He particularly notices the habit of giving very large dowries, and the constant tendency of the lots of land to become consolidated in fewer and fewer hands. He tells us nothing upon the subject which is not perfectly consistent, intelligible, and uncontradicted by any known statements belonging to his own or to earlier times. But the reason why men refuse to believe him, and either set aside or explain away his evidence, is, that they sit down to the study with their minds full of the division of landed property ascribed to Lycurgus by Plutarch. I willingly concede that on this occasion we have to choose between Plutarch and Aristotle: we cannot reconcile them except by arbitrary suppositions, every one of which breaks up the simplicity, beauty and symmetry of Plutarch's agrarian idea, and every one of which still leaves the perpetuity of the original lots unexplained. And I have no hesitation in preferring the authority of Aristotle (which is in perfect consonance with what we indirectly gather from other authors, his contemporaries and predecessors) as a better witness on every ground; rejecting the statement of Plutarch, and rejecting it altogether with all its consequences.

But the authority of Aristotle is not the only argument which may be urged to refute this supposition that the distinct Spartan lots remained unaltered in number down to the time of Lysander. For if the number of distinct lots remained undiminished, the number of citizens cannot have greatly diminished. Now the conspiracy of Kinadôn falls during the life of Lysander, and within the first ten years after the close of the Peloponnesian war: and in the account which Xenophon gives of that conspiracy, the paucity of the number of citizens is brought out in the clearest and most emphatic manner. And this must be before the time when the new law of Epitadeus is said to have passed, at least before that law can have had room to produce any sensible effects. If then the ancient 9000 lots still remained all separate, without either consolidation or subdivision, how are we to account for the small number of citizens at the time of the conspiracy of Kinadôn?

This examination of the evidence (for the purpose of which I have

lots of land, each represented by one head of a household—this picture is one, of which the reality must not be sought on the banks of the Eurotas. The "better times of the commonwealth," to which he refers, may have existed in the glowing retrospect of Agis, but are not acknowledged in the sober appreciation of Aristotle. That the citizens were far more numerous in early times, the philosopher tells us, and that the community had in his day greatly declined in power, we also know: in this sense the times of Sparta had doubtless once been better. We may even concede that during the three centuries succeeding Lycurgus, when they were continually acquiring new territory, and when Aristotle had been told that they had occasionally admitted new citizens, so that the aggregate number of citizens had once been 10,000—we may concede that in these previous centuries the distribution of land had been less unequal, so that the disproportion between the great size of the territory and the small number of citizens was not so marked as it had become at the period which the philosopher personally witnessed; for the causes tending to augmented inequality were constant and uninterrupted in their working. But this admission will still leave us far removed from the sketch drawn by Dr. Thirlwall, which depicts the Ly-

been compelled to prolong the present note) shows—1. That the hypothesis of indivisible, inalienable lots, maintained for a long period in undiminished number at Sparta, is not only sustained by the very minimum of affirmative evidence, but is contradicted by very good negative evidence. 2. That the hypothesis which represents dowries to daughters as being prohibited by law, is indeed affirmed by Plutarch, Ælian and Justin, but is contradicted by the better authority of Aristotle.

curgean Sparta as starting from a new agrarian scheme not far removed from equality of landed property—the citizens as spontaneously disposed to uphold this equality, by giving to unprovided men the benefit of adoptions and heiress-marriages, and the magistrate as interfering to enforce this latter purpose, even in cases where the citizens were themselves unwilling. All our evidence exhibits to us both decided inequality of possessions and inclinations on the part of rich men the reverse of those which Dr. Thirlwall indicates; nor will the powers of interference which he ascribes to the magistrate be found sustained by the chapter of Herodotus on which he seems to rest them[1].

[1] Herod. vi. 57, in enumerating the privileges and perquisites of the kings—*δικάζειν δὲ μούνους τοὺς βασιλῆας τόσαδε μοῦνα· πατροῦχον τε παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἱκνέεται ἔχειν, ἢν μήτηρ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ· καὶ ὁδῶν δημοσιέων πέρι· καὶ ἤν τις θετὸν παῖδα ποιέεσθαι ἐθέλῃ, βασιλήων ἐνάντιον ποιέεσθαι.*

It seems curious that *πατροῦχος πάρθενος* should mean a damsel who has *no father* (literally *lucus a non lucendo*); but I suppose that we must accept this upon the authority of Julius Pollux and Timæus. Proceeding on this interpretation, Valckenaer gives the meaning of the passage very justly: "Orbæ nuptias, necdum a patre desponsatæ, si plures sibi vindicarent, fieretque *ἡ ἐπίκληρος*, ut Athenis loquebantur, *ἐπίδικος*, Spartæ lis ista dirimebatur a regibus solis."

Now the judicial function here described is something very different from the language of Dr. Thirlwall, that "the kings had the disposal of the hand of orphan heiresses in cases where the father had not signified his will." Such disposal would approach somewhat to that omnipotence which Aristophanes (Vesp. 585) makes old Philokleon claim for the Athenian dicasts (an exaggeration well-calculated to serve the poet's purpose of making the dicasts appear monsters of caprice and injustice), and would be analogous to the power which English kings enjoyed three centuries ago as feudal guardians over wards. But the language of Herodotus is inconsistent with the idea that the kings *chose* a husband for the orphan heiress. She was claimed as of right by persons in certain degrees of relationship to her. Whether the law about *ἀγχίστεια* (affinity carrying legal rights) was the same as at Athens we cannot tell: the kings adjudicated on the question, to whom, among

To conceive correctly, then, the Lycurgean system, as far as obscurity and want of evidence will permit, it seems to me that there are two current misconceptions which it is essential to discard. One of these is, that the system included a repartition of landed property, upon principles of exact or approximative equality, distinct from that appropriation which belonged to the Dorian conquest and settlement, and provisions for perpetuating the number of distinct and equal lots; the other is, that it was first brought to bear when the Spartans were masters of all Laconia. The illusions created by the old legend, which depicts Laconia as all one country, and all conquered at one stroke, yet survive after the legend itself has been set aside as bad evidence: we cannot conceive Sparta as subsisting by itself without dominion over Laconia, nor Amyklæ, Pharis, and Geronthræ, as really and truly independent of Sparta. Yet, if these towns were independent in the time of Lycurgus, much more confidently may the same independence be affirmed

the various claimants, the privilege legally devolved. It is indeed probable enough, that the two royal descendants of Hêraklês might abuse their judicial function, as there are examples enough in which they take bribes; but they were not likely to abuse it in favour of an unprovided youth.

Next, as to adoption: Herodotus tells us that the ceremony of adoption was performed before the kings: probably enough there was some fee paid with it. But this affords no ground for presuming that they had any hand in determining *whom* the childless father was to adopt. According to the Attic law about adoption, there were conditions to be fulfilled, consents to be obtained, the absence of disqualifying circumstances verified, &c.; and some authority before which this was to be done was indispensable (see Meier und Schömann, Attisch. Prozess, b. iii. ch. ii. p. 436). At Sparta such authority was vested by ancient custom in the king; but we are not told, nor is it probable, "that he could interpose, in opposition to the wishes of individuals, to relieve poverty," as Dr. Thirlwall supposes.

of the portions of Laconia which lie lower than Amyklæ down the valley of the Eurotas, as well as of the eastern coast, which Herodotus expressly states to have been originally connected with Argos.

Lycurgean system—originally applied only to Sparta—introduced equal severity of discipline, not equality of property.

Discarding then these two suppositions, we have to consider the Lycurgean system as brought to bear upon Sparta and its immediate circumjacent district, apart from the rest of Laconia, and as not meddling systematically with the partition of property, whatever that may have been, which the Dorian conquerors established at their original settlement. Lycurgus does not try to make the poor rich, nor the rich poor; but he imposes upon both the same subjugating drill—the same habits of life, gentlemanlike idleness and unlettered strength—the same fare, clothing, labours, privations, endurance, punishments, and subordination. It is a lesson instructive at least, however unsatisfactory, to political students—that with all this equality of dealing, he ends in creating a community in whom the love of money stands powerfully and specially developed.

How far the original peculiar of Sparta extended we have no means of determining; but its limits down the valley of the Eurotas were certainly narrow, inasmuch as it did not reach so far as Amyklæ.

Original Dorian allotment of land in Sparta unknown—probably not equal.

Nor can we tell what principles the Dorian conquerors may have followed in the original allotment of lands within the limits of that peculiar. Equal apportionment is not probable, because all the individuals of a conquering band are seldom regarded as possessing equal claims; but whatever the original apportionment may have been, it remained without any general or avowed disturbance until the days of Agis III. and Kleomenês III. Here

then we have the primitive Sparta, including Dorian warriors with their Helot subjects, but no Periœki; and it is upon these Spartans separately, perhaps after the period of aggravated disorder and lawlessness noticed by Herodotus and Thucydides, that the painful but invigorating discipline above sketched must have been originally brought to bear.

The gradual conquest of Laconia, with the acquisition of additional lands and new Helots, and the formation of the order of Periœki, both of which were a consequence of it—is to be considered as posterior to the introduction of the Lycurgean system at Sparta, and as resulting partly from the increased force which that system imparted. The career of conquest went on, beginning from Têleklus, for nearly three centuries—with some interruptions indeed, and in the case of the Messenian war, with a desperate and even precarious struggle—so that in the time of Thucydides, and for some time previously, the Spartans possessed two-fifths of Peloponnesus. And this series of new acquisitions and victories disguised the really weak point of the Spartan system, by rendering it possible either to plant the poorer citizens as Periœki in a conquered township, or to supply them with lots of land, of which they could receive the produce without leaving the city—so that their numbers and their military strength were prevented from declining: it is even affirmed by Aristotle, that during these early times they augmented the numbers of their citizens by fresh admissions, which of course implies the acquisition of additional lots of land[1]. But success-

Gradual conquest of Laconia, the result of the new force imparted by the Lycurgean discipline.

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 12.

ful war (to use an expression substantially borrowed from the same philosopher) was necessary to their salvation: the establishment of their ascendency, and of their maximum of territory, was followed, after no very long interval, by symptoms of decline[1]. It will hereafter be seen that at the period of the conspiracy of Kinadôn (395 B.C.), the full citizens (called Homoioi or Peers) were considerably inferior in number to the Hypomeiŏnes, or Spartans who could no longer furnish their qualification, and had become disfranchised; and the loss thus sustained was very imperfectly repaired by the admitted practice sometimes resorted to by rich men, of associating with their own children the children of poorer citizens, and paying the contribution for these latter to the public tables, so as to enable them to go through the prescribed course of education and discipline, whereby they became, under the title or sobriquet of Mothăkes[2] citizens, with a certain taint of inferiority, yet were sometimes appointed to honourable commands.

Laconia, the state and territory of the Lacedæmonians, was affirmed at the time of its greatest extension to have comprehended 100 cities[3]—this after

[1] Aristot. Polit. ii. 6, 22. Τοιγαροῦν ἐσώζοντο πολεμοῦντες, ἀπώλοντο δὲ ἄρξαντες, &c. Compare also vii. 13, 15.

[2] Plutarch, Kleomen. c. 8; Phylarch. ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 271.

The strangers called Τρόφιμοι, and the illegitimate sons of Spartans, whom Xenophon mentions with eulogy, as "having partaken in the honourable training of the city," must probably have been introduced in this same way, by private support from the rich (Xenoph. Hellen. v. 3, 9). The xenêlasy must have then becôme practically much relaxed, if not extinct.

[3] Strabo, viii. p. 362; Steph. Byz. Αἴθεια.

Construing the word πόλεις extensively, so as to include townships small as well as considerable, this estimate is probably inferior to the

the conquest of Messenia, so that it would include all the southern portion of Peloponnesus, from Thyrea on the Argolic Gulf to the southern bank of the river Nedon in its course into the Ionian Sea. But Laconia, more strictly so called, was distinguished from Messenia, and was understood to designate the portion of the above-mentioned territory which lay to the east of Mount Taygetus. The conquest of Messenia by the Spartans we shall pre-

truth; since even during the depressed times of modern Greece a fraction of the ancient Laconia (including in that term Messenia) exhibited much more than 100 *bourgs*.

In reference merely to the territory called La Magne, between Calamata in the Messenian Gulf and Capo di Magna, the lower part of the peninsula of Tænarus, see a curious letter addressed to the Duc de Nevers in 1618 (on occasion of a projected movement to liberate the Morea from the Turks, and to ensure to him the sovereignty of it, as descendant of the Palæologi) by a confidential agent whom he despatched thither—M. Chateaurenaud—who sends to him "une sorte de tableau statistique du Magne, ou sont énumerés 125 bourgs ou villages renfermans 4913 feux, et pouvans fournir 10,000 combattans, dont 4000 armés, et 6000 sans armes (between Calamata and Capo di Magna)." (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. 1842, p. 329. Mémoire de M. Berger de Xivrey.)

This estimate is not far removed from that of Colonel Leake towards the beginning of the present century, who considers that there were then in Mani (the same territory) 130 towns and villages; and this too in a state of society exceedingly disturbed and insecure—where private feuds and private towers, (or pyrghi) for defence, were universal, and in parts of which, Colonel Leake says, "I see men preparing the ground for cotton, with a dagger and pistols at their girdles. This, it seems, is the ordinary armour of the cultivator when there is no particular suspicion of danger; the shepherd is almost always armed with a musket."....."The Maniotes reckon their population at 30,000, and their muskets at 10,000." (Leake, Travels in Morea, vol. i. ch. vii. pp. 243, 263–266.)

Now under the dominion of Sparta all Laconia doubtless enjoyed complete internal security, so that the idea of the cultivator tilling his land in arms would be unheard-of. Reasoning upon the basis of what has just been stated about the Maniote population and number of townships, 100 πόλεις for all Laconia is a very moderate computation.

sently touch upon; but that of Laconia proper is very imperfectly narrated to us. Down to the reign of Têleklus, as has been before remarked, Amyklæ, Pharis and Geronthræ were still Achæan: in the reign of that prince they were first conquered, and the Achæans either expelled or subjugated. It cannot be doubted that Amyklæ had been previously a place of consequence: in point of heroic antiquity and memorials, this city, as well as Therapnæ, seems to have surpassed Sparta. And the war of the Spartans against it is represented as a struggle of some moment—indeed in those times the capture of any walled city was tedious and difficult. Timomachus, an Ægeid from Thebes[1], at the head of a body of his countrymen, is said to have rendered essential service to the Spartans in the conquest of the Achæans of Amyklæ; and the brave resistance of the latter was commemorated by a monument erected to Zeus Tropæus at Sparta, which was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias[2]. The Achæans of Pharis and Geronthræ, alarmed by the fate of Amyklæ, are said to have surrendered their towns with little or no resistance: the inhabitants of all the three cities, either wholly or in part, went into exile beyond sea, and gave place to colonists from Sparta[3]. From this time forward, according to Pausanias, Amyklæ continued as a

Conquest of Amyklæ, Pharis and Geronthræ, by king Têleklus.

[1] Aristot. Λακων. Πολιτεία, ap. Schol. Pindar. Isthm. vii. 18.

I agree with M. Boeckh, that Pindar himself identifies this march of the Ægeids to Amyklæ with the original Herakleid conquest of Peloponnesus. (Notæ Criticæ ad Pindar. Pyth. v. 74. p. 479.)

[2] Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iii. 12, 7.

[3] Pausan. iii. 22, 5.

village[1]; but as the Amyklæan hoplites constituted a valuable portion of the Spartan army, it must have been numbered among the cities of the Perioeki, as one of the hundred[2]; the distinction between a dependent city and a village not being very strictly drawn. The festival of the Hyacinthia, celebrated at the great temple of the Amyklæan Apollo, was among the most solemn and venerated in the Spartan calendar.

Helus conquered by Alkamenês.

It was in the time of Alkamenês the son of Têleklus that the Spartans conquered Helus, a maritime town on the left bank of the Eurotas, and reduced its inhabitants to bondage—from whose name[3], according to various authors, the general title *Helots*, belonging to all the serfs of Laconia, was derived. But of the conquest of the other towns of Laconia—Gytheium, Akriæ, Therapnæ, &c.—or of the eastern land on the coast of the Argolic Gulf, including Brasiæ and Epidaurus Limêra, or the island of Cythêra, all which at one time belonged to the Argeian confederacy, we have no accounts.

Progressive increase of Sparta.

Scanty as our information is, it just enables us to make out a progressive increase of force and dominion on the part of the Spartans, resulting from the organization of Lycurgus. Of this progress a far-

[1] Pausan. iii. 19, 5.

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 5, 11.

[3] Pausan. iii. 2, 7; iii. 20, 6. Strabo, viii. p. 363.

If it be true (as Pausanias states) that the Argeians aided Helus to resist, their assistance must probably have been given by sea, perhaps from Epidaurus Limêra, or Prasiæ, when they formed part of the Argeian federation.

ther manifestation is found, besides the conquest of the Achæans in the south by Têleklus and Alkamenês, in their successful opposition to the great power of Pheidôn the Argeian, related in a previous chapter. We now approach the long and arduous efforts by which they accomplished the subjugation of their brethren the Messenian Dorians.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST AND SECOND MESSENIAN WARS.

Authorities for the history of the Messenian wars.

THAT there were two long contests between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, and that in both the former were completely victorious, is a fact sufficiently attested; and if we could trust the statements in Pausanias—our chief and almost only authority on the subject—we should be in a situation to recount the history of both these wars in considerable detail. But unfortunately, the incidents narrated in that writer have been gathered from sources which are, even by his own admission, undeserving of credit—from Rhianus, the poet of Bênê in Crete, who had composed an epic poem on Aristomenês and the second Messenian war, about B.C. 220—and from Myrôn of Priênê, a prose author whose date is not exactly known, but belonging to the Alexandrine age, and not earlier than the third century before the Christian æra. From Rhianus we have no right to expect trustworthy information, and the accuracy of Myrôn is much depreciated by Pausanias himself—on some points even too much, as will presently be shown; but apart from the mental habits either of the prose writer or the poet, it does not seem that any good means of knowledge were open to either of them, except the poems of Tyrtæus, which we are by no means sure that they ever consulted. The account of the two

wars, extracted from these two authors by Pausanias, is a string of *tableaux*, several of them indeed highly poetical, but destitute of historical coherence or sufficiency; and O. Müller has justly observed, that "absolutely no reason is given in them for the subjection of Messenia[1]." They are accounts unworthy of being transcribed in detail into the pages of genuine history, nor can we pretend to do anything more than verify a few leading facts of the war.

The poet Tyrtæus was himself engaged on the side of the Spartans in the second war, and it is from him that we learn the few indisputable facts respecting both the first and the second. If the Messenians had never been re-established in Peloponnesus, we should probably never have heard any farther details respecting these early contests. That re-establishment, and the first foundation of the city called Messênê on Mount Ithomê, was among the capital wounds inflicted on Sparta by Epameinondas, in the year B.C. 369—between 300 and 250 years after the conclusion of the second Messenian war. The descendants of the old Messenians, who had remained for so long a period without any fixed position in Greece, were incorporated in the new

[1] History of the Dorians, i. 7, 10 (note). It seems that Diodorus had given a history of the Messenian wars in considerable detail, if we may judge from a fragment of the last seventh book, containing the debate between Kleonnis and Aristomenês. Very probably it was taken from Ephorus, though this we do not know.

For the statements of Pausanias respecting Myrôn and Rhianus, see iv. 6. Besides Myrôn and Rhianus, however, he seems to have received oral statements from contemporary Messenians and Lacedæmonians; at least on some occasions he states and contrasts the two contradictory stories (iv. 4, 4; iv. 5, 1).

city, together with various Helots and miscellaneous settlers who had no claim to a similar genealogy. The gods and heroes of the Messenian race were reverentially invoked at this great ceremony, especially the great Hero Aristomenês[1]; and the site of Mount Ithomê, the ardour of the newly established citizens, the hatred and apprehension of Sparta, operating as a powerful stimulus to the creation and multiplication of what are called *traditions*, sufficed to expand the few facts known respecting the struggles of the old Messenians into a variety of details. In almost all these stories we discover a colouring unfavourable to Sparta, contrasting forcibly with the account given by Isokratês in his Discourse called Archidamus, wherein we read the view which a Spartan might take of the ancient conquests of his forefathers. But a clear proof that these Messenian stories had no real basis of tradition, is shown in the contradictory statements respecting the prime Hero Aristomenês; for some place him in the first, others in the second, of the two wars. Diodôrus and Myrôn both placed him in the first; Rhianus in the second. Though Pausanias gives it as his opinion that the account of the latter is preferable, and that Aristomenês really belongs to the second Messenian war, it appears to me that the one statement is as much worthy of belief as the other, and that there is no sufficient evidence for deciding between them—a conclusion which is substantially the same with that of Wesseling, who thinks that there were two persons named

Chiefly belong to the time after the foundation of Messênê by Epameinondas.

[1] Pausan. iv. 27, 2-3; Diodor. xv. 77.

Absence of real or ancient traditions concerning these wars: contradictions about the Messenian hero Aristomenês.

Aristomenes, one in the first and one in the second war[1]. This inextricable confusion respecting the greatest name in Messenian antiquity, shows how little any genuine stream of tradition can here be recognised.

Dates of the first wars—B.C. 743–724.

Pausanias states the first Messenian war as beginning in B.C. 743 and lasting till B.C. 724—the second as beginning in B.C. 685 and lasting till B.C. 668. Neither of these dates rest upon any assignable positive authority; but the time assigned to the first war seems probable, that of the second is apparently too early. Tyrtæus authenticates both the duration of the first war, twenty years, and the eminent services rendered in it by the Spartan king Theopompus[2]: he says moreover (speaking

[1] See Diodor. Fragm. lib. viii. vol. iv. p. 30: in his brief summary of Messenian events (xv. 66) he represents it as a matter on which authors differed, whether Aristomenes belonged to the first or second war. Clemens Alexand. (Prot. p. 36) places him in the *first*, the same as Myrôn, by mentioning him as having killed Theopompus.

Wesseling observes, (ad Diod. l. c.) "Duo fuerunt Aristomenes, uterque in Messeniorum contra Spartanos bello illustrissimus, alter posteriore, priore alter bello."

Unless this duplication of homonymous persons can be shown to be probable, by some collateral evidence, I consider it only as tantamount to a confession, that the difficulty is insoluble.

Pausanias is reserved in his manner of giving judgment,—ὁ μέντοι Ἀριστομένης δόξῃ γε ἐμῇ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ὑστέρου (iv. 6). Müller (Dorians, i. 7, 9) goes much too far when he affirms that the statement of Myrôn was "in the teeth of all tradition." Müller states incorrectly the citation from Plutarch, Agis, c. 21 (see his Note *h*). Plutarch there says nothing about *Tyrtæus*: he says that the Messenians affirmed that their hero Aristomenês had *killed* the Spartan king Theopompus, whereas the Lacedæmonians said, that he had only *wounded* the king. According to *both* accounts, then, it would appear that Aristomenês belonged to the *first* Messenian war, *not to the second*.

[2] Tyrtæus, Fragm. 6, Gaisford. But Tyrtæus ought not to be understood to affirm distinctly (as Pausanias, Mr. Clinton, and Müller, all

during the second war), "the fathers of our fathers conquered Messênê;" thus loosely indicating the relative dates of the two.

Causes alleged by the Spartans.

The Spartans (as we learn from Isokrates, whose words date from a time when the city of Messênê was only a recent foundation) professed to have seized the territory, partly in revenge for the impiety of the Messenians in killing their king the Heraklied Kresphontês, whose relative had appealed to them for aid—partly by sentence of the Delphian oracle: such were the causes which had induced them first to invade the country, and they had conquered it after a struggle of twenty years[1]. The Lacedæmonian explanations, as given in Pausanias, seem for the most part to be counter-statements arranged after the time when the Messenian version, evidently the interesting and popular account, had become circulated.

It has already been stated that the Lacedæmonians and Messenians had a joint border temple and sacrifice in honour of Artemis Limnatis, dating from the earliest times of their establishment in Peloponnesus. The site of this temple near the upper course of the river Nedon, in the mountainous

think) that Theopompus survived and put a close to the war: his language might consist with the supposition that Theopompus had been slain in the war—Ὃν δία (Theopompus), Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν εὐρύχορον.

For we surely might be authorised in saying—"It was through Epameinondas that the Spartans were conquered and humbled; or it was through Lord Nelson that the French fleet was destroyed in the last war," though both of them perished in the accomplishment.

Tyrtæus therefore does not contradict the assertion, that Theopompus was slain by Aristomenês, nor can he be cited as a witness to prove that Aristomenês did not live during the *first* Messenian war; which is the purpose for which Pausanias quotes him (iv. 6).

[1] Isokrates (Archidamus), Or. vi. p. 121–122.

territory north-east of Kalamata, but west of the highest ridge of Taygetus, has recently been exactly verified, and it seems in these early days to have belonged to Sparta. That the quarrel began at one of these border sacrifices was the statement of both parties, Lacedæmonians and Messenians. According to the latter, the Lacedæmonian king Têleklus laid a snare for the Messenians, by dressing up some youthful Spartans as virgins and giving them daggers; whereupon a contest ensued, in which the Spartans were worsted and Têleklus slain. That Têleklus was slain at the temple by the Messenians was also the account of the Spartans, but they affirmed that he was slain in attempting to defend some young Lacedæmonian maidens, who were sacrificing at the temple, against outrageous violence from the Messenian youth[1]. In

Spartan king Têleklus slain by the Messenians at the temple of Artemis Limnatis.

[1] Strabo (vi. p. 257) gives a similar account of the sacrilege and murderous conduct of the Messenian youth at the temple of Artemis Limnatis. His version substantially agrees with that of the Lacedæmonians; it seems to be borrowed from Antiochus, the contemporary of Thucydides, and is therefore earlier than the foundation of Messênê by Epameinondas, from which event the philo-Messenian statements take their rise. Antiochus, writing during the plenitude of Lacedæmonian power, would naturally look upon the Messenians as irretrievably prostrate, and the impiety here narrated would in his mind be the natural cause why the divine judgments overtook them. Ephorus gives a similar account (ap. Strabo. vi. p. 280).

Compare Herakleides Ponticus (ad calcem Cragii De Rep. Laced. p. 528) and Justin, iii. 4.

The possession of this temple of Artemis Limnatis—and of the Ager Dentheliates, the district in which it was situated—was a subject of constant dispute between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians after the foundation of the city of Messênê, even down to the time of the Roman emperor Tiberius (Tacit. Annal. iv. 43). See Stephan. Byz. v. Δελθάνιοι; Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iv. 4, 2; iv. 31, 3. Strabo, viii. p. 362.

For the situation of the temple of Artemis Limnatis, and the description of the Ager Dentheliates, see Professor Ross, Reisen im Peloponnes. i. p. 5–11. He discovered two boundary-stones with inscriptions, dating

spite of the death of this king, however, the war did not actually break out until some little time after, when Alkamenês and Theopompus were kings at Sparta, and Antiochus and Androklês, sons of Phintas, kings of Messenia; and the immediate cause of it was, a private altercation between the Messenian Polycharês (victor at the fourth Olympiad, B.C. 764) and the Spartan Euæphnus. Polycharês having been grossly injured by Euæphnus, and his claim for redress having been rejected at Sparta, took revenge by aggressions upon other Lacedæmonians; the Messenians refused to give him up, though one of the two kings, Androklês, strongly insisted upon doing so, and maintained his opinion so earnestly against the opposite sense of the majority and of his brother Antiochus, that a tumult arose, and he was slain. The Lacedæmonians, now resolving upon war, struck the first blow without any formal declaration, by surprising the border town of Ampheia, and putting its defenders to the sword. They further overran the Messenian territory, and attacked some other towns, but without success. Euphaês, who had now succeeded his father Antiochus as king of Messenia, summoned the forces of the country and carried on the war against them with energy and boldness. For the first four years of the war the Lacedæmonians made no progress, and even incurred the ridicule of the old men of their nation as faint-hearted warriors: in the fifth

First Messenian war.

from the time of the early Roman emperors, marking the confines of Lacedæmon and Messênê; both on the line of the highest ridge of Taygetus, where the waters separate east and west, and considerably to the eastward of the temple of Artemis Limnatis, so that at that time the Ager Dentheliates was considered a part of Messenia.

year they made a more vigorous invasion, under their two kings, Theopompus and Polydôrus, and were met by Euphaês with the full force of the Messenians. A desperate battle ensued, in which it does not seem that either side gained much advantage: nevertheless the Messenians found themselves so much enfeebled by it, that they were forced to take refuge on the fortified mountain of Ithômê, and to abandon the rest of the country. In their distress they sent to solicit counsel and protection from Delphi, but their messenger brought back the appalling answer that a virgin of the royal race of Æpytus must be sacrificed for their salvation: in the tragic scene which ensues, Aristodêmus puts to death his own daughter, but without satisfying the exigences of the oracle. The war still continued, and in the thirteenth year of it another hard-fought battle took place, in which the brave Euphaês was slain, but the result was again indecisive. Aristodêmus, being elected king in his place, prosecuted the war strenuously: the fifth year of his reign is signalised by a third general battle, wherein the Corinthians assist the Spartans, and the Arcadians and Sikyonians are on the side of Messenia; the victory is here decisive on the side of Aristodêmus, and the Lacedæmonians are driven back into their own territory[1]. It was now

Messenian kings, Euphaês and Aristodêmus.

[1] It is perhaps to this occasion that the story of the Epeunakti in Theopompus referred (ap. Athenæ. vi. p. 271),—Helots adopted into the sleeping-place of their masters who had been slain in the war, and who were subsequently enfranchised.

The story of the Partheniæ, obscure and unintelligible as it is, belongs to the foundation of the colony of Taras or Tarentum (Strabo, vi. p. 279).

their turn to send envoys and ask advice from the Delphian oracle; and the remaining events of the war exhibit a series, partly of stratagems to fulfil the injunctions of the priestess,—partly of prodigies in which the divine wrath is manifested against the Messenians: the king Aristodêmus, agonised with the thought that he has slain his own daughter without saving his country, puts an end to his own life[1]. In the twentieth year of the war the Messenians abandoned Ithômê, which the Lacedæmonians razed to the ground: the rest of the country was speedily conquered, and such of the inhabitants as did not flee either to Arcadia or to Eleusis, were reduced to complete submission.

Messenians concentrate themselves on Mount Ithômê—after a long siege they are completely conquered.

Such is the abridgement of what Pausanias[2] gives as the narrative of the first Messenian war. Most of his details bear the evident stamp of mere late romance; and it will easily be seen that the sequence of events presents no plausible explanation of that which is really indubitable—the result. The twenty years' war, and the final abandonment of Ithômê, is attested by Tyrtæus, and beyond all doubt, as well as the harsh treatment of the conquered. "Like asses worn down by heavy burthens[3]" (says the Spartan poet), "they were com-

Harsh treatment and Helotism of the conquered Messenians under Sparta.

[1] See Plutarch, De Superstitione, p. 168.

[2] See Pausan. iv. 6-14.

An elaborate discussion is to be seen in Manso's Sparta, on the authorities whom Pausanias has followed in his History of the Messenian Wars, 18te Beilage, tom. ii. p. 264.

"It would evidently be folly (he observes, p. 270), to suppose that in the history of the Messenian wars, as Pausanias lays them before us, we possess the *true* history of these events."

[3] Tyrtæus, Fragm. 5, 6 (Schneidewin).

C. F. Hermann conceives the treatment of the Messenians after the

pelled to make over to their masters an entire half of the produce of their fields, and to come in the garb of woe to Sparta, themselves and their wives, as mourners at the decease of the kings and principal persons." The revolt of their descendants, against a yoke so oppressive, goes by the name of the second Messenian war.

Revolt of the Messenians against Sparta—second Messenian war—Aristomenês.

Had we possessed the account of the first Messenian war as given by Myrôn and Diodorus, it would evidently have been very different from the above, because they included Aristomenês in it, and to him the leading parts would be assigned. As the narrative now stands in Pausanias, we are not introduced to that great Messenian hero—the Achilles of the epic of Rhianus[1]—until the second war, in which his gigantic proportions stand prominently forward. He is the great champion of his country in the three battles which are represented as taking place during this war: the first, with indecisive result, at Deræ; the second, a signal victory on the part of the Messenians, at the Boar's Grave; the third, an equally signal defeat, in consequence of the traitorous flight of Aristokratês, king of the Arcadian Orchomenus, who, ostensibly embracing the alliance of the Messenians, had received bribes from Sparta. Thrice did Aristomenês sacrifice to Zeus Ithomatês the sacrifice called Hekatomphonia[2], reserved for those who

first war as mild in comparison with what it became after the second (Lehrbuch der Griech. Staatsalterthümer, sect. 31), a supposition which the emphatic words of Tyrtæus render inadmissible.

[1] This is the express comparison introduced by Pausanias, iv. 5, 2.

[2] Plutarch, Sept. Sapient. Convivium, p. 159.

had slain with their own hands 100 enemies in battle. At the head of a chosen band he carried his incursions more than once into the heart of the Lacedæmonian territory, surprised Amyklæ and Pharis, and even penetrated by night into the unfortified precinct of Sparta itself, where he suspended his shield as a token of defiance in the temple of Athênê Chalkiœkus. Thrice was he taken prisoner, but on two occasions marvellously escaped before he could be conveyed to Sparta: the third occasion was more fatal, and he was cast by order of the Spartans into the Keadas, a deep rocky cavity in Mount Taygetus into which it was their habit to precipitate criminals. But even in this emergency the divine aid[1] was not withheld from him. The fifty Messenians who shared his punishment were all killed by the shock, but he alone was both supported by the gods so as to reach the bottom unhurt, and enabled to find an unexpected means of escape; for when, abandoning all hope, he had wrapped himself up in his cloak to die, he perceived a fox creeping about among the dead bodies: waiting until the animal approached him, he grasped its tail, defending himself from its bites as well as he could by means of his cloak; and being thus enabled to find the aperture by which the fox had entered, enlarged it sufficiently for crawling out himself. To the surprise both of

His chivalrous exploits and narrow escapes—end of the second war—the Messenians again conquered.

[1] Pausan. iv. 18, 4. *Ἀριστομένην δὲ ἔς τε τὰ ἄλλα θεῶν τις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐφύλασσεν.*

Plutarch (De Herodot. Malignitat. p. 856) states that Herodotus had mentioned Aristomenês as having been made prisoner by the Lacedæmonians: but Plutarch must here have been deceived by his memory, for Herodotus does not mention Aristomenês.

friends and enemies he again appeared alive and vigorous at Eira. That fortified mountain, on the banks of the river Nedon and near the Ionian Sea, had been occupied by the Messenians after the battle in which they had been betrayed by Aristokratês the Arcadian; it was there that they had concentrated their whole force, as in the former war at Ithômê, abandoning the rest of the country. Under the conduct of Aristomenês, assisted by the prophet Theoklus, they maintained this strong position for eleven years. At length they were compelled to abandon it; but as in the case of Ithômê, the final determining circumstances are represented to have been, not any superiority of bravery or organization on the part of the Lacedæmonians, but treacherous betrayal and stratagem, seconding the fatal decree of the gods. Unable to maintain Eira longer, Aristomenês, with his sons and a body of his countrymen, forced his way through the assailants and quitted the country—some of them retiring to Arcadia and Elis, and finally migrating to Rhegium. He himself passed the remainder of his days in Rhodes, where he dwelt along with his son-in-law Damagêtus, the ancestor of the noble Rhodian family called the Diagorids, celebrated for its numerous Olympic victories.

Narrative of Pausanias, borrowed from the poet Rhianus, is undeserving of credit.

Such are the main features of what Pausanias calls[1] the second Messenian war, or of what ought

[1] The narrative in Pausanias, iv. 15-24.

According to an incidental notice in Herodotus, the Samians affirmed that they had aided Lacedæmon in war against Messênê,—at what period we do not know (Herodot. iii. 56).

rather to be called the Aristomeneïs of the poet Rhianus. That after the foundation of Messênê, and the recall of the exiles by Epameinondas, favour and credence was found for many tales respecting the prowess of the ancient hero whom they invoked[1] in their libations—tales well-calculated to interest the fancy, to vivify the patriotism, and to inflame the anti-Spartan antipathies, of the new inhabitants—there can be little doubt; and the Messenian maidens of that day may well have sung in their public processional sacrifices[2], how "Aristomenês pursued the flying Lacedæmonians down to the mid-plain of Stenyklêrus, and up to the very summit of the mountain." From such stories (*traditions* they ought not to be denominated) Rhianus may doubtless have borrowed; but if proof were wanting to show how completely he looked at his materials from the point of view of the poet, and not from that of the historian, we should find it in the remarkable fact noticed by Pausanias. Rhianus represented Leotychides as having been king of Sparta during the second Messenian war: now Leotychides (as Pausanias

[1] Τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους οἶδα αὐτὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ἀριστομένην Νικομήδους καλοῦντας (Pausan. ii. 14, 5). The practice still continued in his time.

Compare also Pausan. iv. 27, 3; iv. 32, 3–4.

[2] Pausanias heard the song himself (iv. 16, 4)—Ἐπέλεγον ᾄσμα τὸ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι ᾀδόμενον:—

Ἔς τε μέσον πέδιον Στενυκλήριον ἔς τ' ὄρ ος ἄκρον
Εἶπετ' Ἀριστομένης τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

According to one story the Lacedæmonians were said to have got possession of the person of Aristomenes and killed him: they found in him a hairy heart (Steph. Byz. v. Ἀνδανία).

observes) did not reign until near a century and a half afterwards, during the Persian invasion[1].

The poet Tyrtæus, the ally of Sparta—his great efficiency and influence over the Spartan mind.

To the great champion of Messenia, during this war, we may oppose on the side of Sparta another remarkable person, less striking as a character of romance, but more interesting in many ways to the historian—I mean the poet Tyrtæus, a native of Aphidnæ in Attica, an inestimable ally of the Lacedæmonians during most part of this second struggle. According to a story—which however has the air partly of a boast of the later Attic orators—the Spartans, disheartened at the first successes of the Messenians, consulted the Delphian oracle, and were directed to ask for a leader from Athens. The Athenians complied by sending Tyrtæus, whom Pausanias and Justin represent as a lame man and a schoolmaster, despatched with a view of nominally obeying the oracle, and yet rendering no real assistance[2]. This seems to be a co-

[1] Pausan. iv. 15, 1.

Perhaps Leotychides was king during the last revolt of the Helots or Messenians in 464 B.C., which is called the third Messenian war. He seems to have been then in exile, in consequence of his venality during the Thessalian expedition—but not yet dead (Herodot. vi. 72). Of the reality of what Mr. Clinton calls the *third* Messenian war in 490 B.C., I see no adequate proof (see Fast. Hell. vol. iii. p. 257).

The poem of Rhianus was entitled Μεσσηνιακά. He also composed Θεσσαλικὰ, Ἠλιακὰ, Ἀχαϊκά. See the Fragments—they are very few—in Düntzer's Collection, p. 67-77.

He seems to have mentioned Nikoteleia, the mother of Aristomenes (Fr. ii. p. 73): compare Pausan. iv. 14, 5.

I may remark that Pausanias throughout his account of the second Messenian war names king Anaxander as leading the Lacedæmonian troops; but he has no authority for so doing, as we see by iv. 15, 1. It is a pure calculation of his own from the πατέρων πατέρες of Tyrtæus.

[2] Pausan. iv. 15, 3; Justin, iii. 5, 4. Compare Plato, Legg. ii. p. 630;

louring put upon the story by later writers, and the intervention of the Athenians in the matter in any way deserves little credit[1]: it seems more probable that the legendary connection of the Dioskuri with Aphidnæ, celebrated at or near that time by the poet Alkman, brought about through the Delphian oracle the presence of the Aphidnæan poet at Sparta. Respecting the lameness of Tyrtæus, we can say nothing: but that he was a schoolmaster (if we are constrained to employ an unsuitable term) is highly probable—for in that day, minstrels who composed and sung poems were the only persons from whom the youth received any mental training; moreover his sway over the youthful mind is particularly noted in the compliment paid to him in after-days by king Leonidas—"Tyrtæus was an adept in tickling the souls of youth[2]." We see enough to satisfy us that he was by birth a stranger, though he became a Spartan by the subsequent recompense of citizenship conferred upon him—that he was sent through the Delphian oracle —that he was an impressive and efficacious minstrel—and that he had moreover sagacity enough to employ his talents for present purposes and diverse needs; being able not merely to re-animate the languishing courage of the baffled warrior, but

Diodor. xv. 66; Lycurg. cont. Leokrat. p. 162. Philochorus and Kallisthenês also represented him as a native of Aphidnæ in Attica, which Strabo controverts upon slender grounds (viii. p. 362); Philochor. Fr. 56 (Didot).

[1] Plutarch, Theseus, c. 33; Pausan. i. 41, 5; Welcker, Alkman, Fragm. p. 20.

[2] Plutarch, Kleomen. c. 2. Ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς αἰκάλλειν.

also to soothe the discontents of the mutinous. That his strains, which long maintained undiminished popularity among the Spartans[1], contributed much to determine the ultimate issue of this war, there is no reason to doubt; nor is his name the only one to attest the susceptibility of the Spartan mind in that day towards music and poetry. The first establishment of the Karneian festival with its musical competition at Sparta, falls during the period assigned by Pausanias to the second Messenian war: the Lesbian harper Terpander, who gained the first recorded prize at this solemnity, is affirmed to have been sent for by the Spartans pursuant to a mandate from the Delphian oracle, and to have been the means of appeasing a sedition: in like manner, the Cretan Thalêtas was invited thither during a pestilence, which his art (as it is pretended) contributed to heal (about 620 B.C.); and Alkman, Xenokritus, Polymnastus, and Sakadas, all foreigners by birth, found favourable reception, and acquired popularity by their music and poetry. With the exception of Sakadas, who is a little later, all these names fall in the same century as Tyrtæus, between 660 B.C.–610 B.C. The fashion which the Spartan music continued for a long time to maintain, is ascribed chiefly to the genius of Terpander[2].

Musical susceptibilities of the Spartans.

The training in which a Spartan passed his life consisted of exercises warlike, social, and religious, blended together: while the individual was

[1] Philochorus, Frag. 56, ed. Didot; Lycurgus cont. Leokrat. p. 163.

[2] See Plutarch, De Musicâ, pp. 1134, 1142, 1146.

strengthened by gymnastics, and went through his painful lessons of fatigue, endurance and aggression, the citizens collectively were kept in the constant habit of simultaneous and regulated movement in the warlike march, in the religious dance, and in the social procession. Music and song, being constantly employed to direct the measure and keep alive the spirit[1] of these multitudinous movements, became associated with the most powerful feelings which the habitual self-suppression of a Spartan permitted to arise, and especially with those sympathies which are communicated at once to an assembled crowd; indeed the musician and the minstrel were the only persons who ever addressed themselves to the feelings of a Lacedæmonian assembly. Moreover the simple music of that early day, though destitute of artistical merit and superseded afterwards by more complicated combinations, had nevertheless a pronounced ethical character; it wrought much more powerfully on the impulses and resolutions of the hearers, though it tickled the ear less gratefully, than the scientific compositions of after-days. Moreover, each particular style of music had its own appropriate mental effect—the Phrygian mode imparted a wild and maddening stimulus; the Dorian mode created a settled and deliberate resolution, exempt alike from the desponding and from the impetuous sentiments[2]. What is called the Dorian mode, seems

Powerful ethical effect of the old Grecian music.

[1] Thucyd. v. 69; Xenoph. Rep. Laced. c. 13.

[2] See the treatise of Plutarch, De Musicâ, passim, especially c. 17. p. 1136, &c.; 33. p. 1143. Plato, Republ. iii. p. 399; Aristot. Polit. viii. 6, 5–8.

The excellent treatise De Metris Pindari, prefixed by M. Boeckh to

to be in reality the old native Greek mode as contradistinguished from the Phrygian and Lydian—these being the three primitive modes, subdivided and combined only in later times, with which the first Grecian musicians became conversant: it probably acquired its title of Dorian from the musical celebrity of Sparta and Argos, during the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian æra; but it belonged as much to the Arcadians and Achæans as to the Spartans and Argeians. And the marked ethical effects, produced both by the Dorian and the Phrygian modes in ancient times, are facts perfectly well-attested, however difficult they may be to explain upon any general theory of music.

That the impression produced by Tyrtæus at Sparta, therefore, with his martial music, and emphatic exhortations to bravery in the field, as well as union at home, should have been very considerable, is perfectly consistent with the character both of the age and of the people; especially as he is represented to have appeared pursuant to the injunction of the Delphian oracle. From the scanty fragments remaining to us of his elegies and anapæsts, however, we can satisfy ourselves only of two facts: first, that the war was long, obstinately contested, and dangerous to Sparta as well as to the Messenians; next, that other parties in Peloponnesus took part on both sides, especially on the side of the Messenians. So frequent and harass-

his edition of Pindar, is full of instruction upon this as well as upon all other points connected with the Grecian music (see lib. iii. c. 8. p. 238).

ing were the aggressions of the latter upon the Spartan territory, that a large portion of the border land was left uncultivated: scarcity ensued, and the proprietors of the deserted farms, driven to despair, pressed for a redivision of the landed property in the state. It was in appeasing these discontents that the poem of Tyrtæus called Eunomia, "Legal Order," was found signally beneficial[1]. It seems certain that a considerable portion of the Arcadians, together with the Pisatæ and the Triphylians, took part with the Messenians; there are also some statements numbering the Eleians among their allies, but this appears not probable. The state of the case rather seems to have been, that the old quarrel between the Eleians and the Pisatæ respecting the right to preside at the Olympic games, which had already burst forth during the preceding century in the reign of the Argeian Pheidôn, still continued. Unwilling dependents of Elis, the Pisatæ and Triphylians took part with the subject Messenians, while the masters at Elis and Sparta made common cause, as they had before done against Pheidôn[2]. Pantaleôn king of Pisa, revolting from Elis, acted as commander of his countrymen in co-operation with the Messenians; and he is farther noted for having, at the period of the 34th Olympiad (644 B.C.), marched a body of troops to Olympia, and thus dispossessed the Eleians on that occasion of the presidency: that particular festival,—as well as the 8th Olympiad, in which Phei-

Sufferings of the Spartans in the second Messenian war.

[1] Aristot. Polit. v. 7, 1; Pausan, iv. 18, 2.

[2] Pausan, vi. 12, 2; Strabo, viii. p. 355, where the Νέστορος ἀπόγονοι mean the Pylians of Triphylia.

dôn interfered,—and the 104th Olympiad, in which the Arcadians marched in,—were always marked on the Eleian register as Non-Olympiads, or informal celebrations. We may reasonably connect this temporary triumph of the Pisatans with the Messenian war, inasmuch as they were no match for the Eleians single-handed, and the fraternity of Sparta with Elis is in perfect harmony with the scheme of Peloponnesian politics which we have observed as prevalent even before and during the days of Pheidôn[1]. The second Messenian war will

Date of the second war, B.C. 648–631.

[1] Respecting the position of the Eleians and Pisatæ during the second Messenian war, there is confusion in the different statements: they cannot all be reconciled, and we are compelled to make a choice.

That the Eleians were allies of Sparta, and the Pisatans of Messenia, and that the contests of Sparta and Messenia were mixed up with those of Elis and Pisa about the agonothesia of the Olympic games, is conformable to one distinct statement of Strabo (viii. pp. 355, 358), and to the passage in Phavorinus v. Αὐγείας, and is moreover indirectly sustained by the view given in Pausanias respecting the relations between Elis and Pisa (vi. 22, 2), whereby it clearly appears that the agonothesia was a matter of standing dispute between the two, until the Pisatans were finally crushed by the Eleians under Pyrrhus, son of Pantaleon. Farther, this same view is really conformable to another passage in Strabo, which, as now printed, appears to contradict it, but which is recognised by Müller and others as needing correction, though the correction which they propose seems to me not the best. The passage (viii. p. 362) stands thus: Πλεονάκις δ' ἐπολέμησαν (Messenians and Lacedæmonians) διὰ τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Μεσσηνίων. Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην κατάκτησιν αὐτῶν φησὶ Τυρταῖος ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι κατὰ τοὺς τῶν πατέρων πατέρας γενέσθαι· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν ἑλόμενοι συμμάχους Ἠλείους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Πισατὰς ἀπέστησαν, Ἀρκάδων μὲν Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Ὀρχομένου βασιλέα παρεχομένων στρατηγὸν, Πισατῶν δὲ Πανταλεόντα τὸν Ὀμφαλίωνος· ἡνίκα φησιν αὐτὸς στρατηγῆσαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, &c. Here it is obvious that in the enumeration of allies, the Arcadians ought to have been included; accordingly both O. Müller and Mr. Clinton (ad annum 672 B.C.) agree in altering the passage thus: they insert the words καὶ Ἀρκαδας after the word Ἠλείους, so that *both Eleians and Pisatans* appear as allies of Messenia at once. I submit that this is improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the passage of Strabo previously noticed: the proper way of alter-

thus stand as beginning somewhere about the 33rd Olympiad, or 648 B.C., between seventy and eighty years after the close of the first, and lasting, according to Pausanias, seventeen years; according to Plutarch, more than twenty years[1].

ing the passage is (in my judgment) to substitute the word Ἀρκαδας in *place* of the word Ἠλειους, which makes the two passages of Strabo consistent with each other, and hardly does greater violence to the text.

As opposed to the view here adopted, there is undoubtedly the passage of Pausanias (iv. 15, 4) which numbers the Eleians among the allies of Messenia, and takes no notice of the Pisatæ. The affirmation of Julius Africanus (ap. Eusebium Chronic. i. p. 145. that the Pisatæ revolted from Elis in the 30th Olympiad, and celebrated the Olympic games themselves until Ol. 52, for twenty-two successive ceremonies) is in contradiction—first with Pausanias (vi. 22.2), which appears to me a clear and valuable statement, from its particular reference to the *three* non-Olympiads—secondly, with Pausanias (v. 9. 4), when the Eleians in the 50th Olympiad determine the number of Hellanodikæ. I agree with Corsini (Fasti Attici, t. iii. p. 47) in setting aside the passage of Julius Africanus: Mr. Clinton (F. H. p. 253) is displeased with Corsini for this suspicion, but he himself virtually does the same thing, for in order to reconcile Jul. Africanus with Pausanias, he introduces a supposition quite different from what is asserted by either of them; *i. e.* a joint agonothesia by Eleians and Pisatans together. This hypothesis of Mr. Clinton appears to me gratuitous and inadmissible: Africanus himself meant to state something quite different, and I imagine him to have been misled by an erroneous authority. See Mr. Clinton, F. H. ad ann. 660 B.C. to 580 B.C.

[1] Plutarch, De Serâ Num. Vind. p. 548; Pausan. iv. 15, 1; iv. 17, 3; iv. 23, 2.

The date of the second Messenian war, and the interval between the second and the first, are points respecting which also there is irreconcileable discrepancy of statement; we can only choose the most probable: see the passages collected and canvassed in O. Müller (Dorians, i. 7, 11, and in Mr. Clinton, Fast. Hellen. Appendix 2. p. 257).

According to Pausanias, the second war lasted from B.C. 685–668, and there was an interval between the first and the second war of 39 years. Justin (iii. 5) reckons an interval of eighty years; Eusebius an interval of ninety years. The main evidence is the passage of Tyrtæus, wherein that poet, speaking during the second war, says, "The fathers of our fathers conquered Messênê."

Mr. Clinton adheres very nearly to the view of Pausanias; he supposes that the real date is only six years lower (679-662). But I agree

Many of the Messenians who abandoned their country after this second conquest are said to have found shelter and sympathy among the Arcadians, who admitted them to a new home and gave them their daughters in marriage; and who moreover punished severely the treason of Aristokratês, king of Orchomenus, in abandoning the Messenians at the battle of the Trench. That perfidious leader was put to death and his race dethroned, and the crime as well as the punishment was farther commemorated by an inscription, which was to be seen near the altar of Zeus Lykæus in Arcadia. The inscription doubtless existed in the days of Kallisthenes, in the generation after the restoration of Messênê: whether it had any existence prior to that event, or what degree of truth there may be in the story of Aristokratês, we are unable to de-

Punishment of the traitor Aristokratês, king of the Arcadian Orchomenus.

with Clavier (Histoire des Premiers Temps de la Grèce, t. ii. p. 233) and O. Müller (l. c.) in thinking that an interval of thirty-nine years is too short to suit the phrase of *fathers' fathers*. Speaking in the present year (1846), it would not be held proper to say, "The fathers of our fathers carried on the war between 1793 and the peace of Amiens:" we should rather say, "The fathers of our fathers carried on the American war and the Seven Years' war." An age is *marked* by its mature and even elderly members—by those between thirty-five and fifty-five years of age.

Agreeing as I do here with O. Müller, against Mr. Clinton, I also agree with him in thinking that the best mark which we possess of the date of the second Messenian war is the statement respecting Pantaleôn: the 34th Olympiad, which Pantaleôn celebrated, probably fell within the time of the war; which would thus be brought down much later than the time assigned by Pausanias, yet not so far down as that named by Eusebius and Justin: the exact year of its commencement, however, we have no means of fixing.

Krebs, in his discussions on the Fragments of the lost Books of Diodorus, thinks that that historian placed the beginning of the second Messenian war in the 35th Olympiad (B.C. 640) (Krebs, Lectiones Diodoreæ, p. 254–260).

termine[1]: the son of Aristokratês, named Aristodêmus, is alleged in another authority to have reigned afterwards at Orchomenus[2]. That which stands strongly marked is, the sympathy of Arcadians and Messenians against Sparta—a sentiment which was in its full vigour at the time of the restoration of Messênê.

The second Messenian war was thus terminated by the complete subjugation of the Messenians: such of them as remained in the country were reduced to a servitude probably not less hard than that which Tyrtæus described them as having endured between the first war and the second. In aftertimes, the whole territory which figures on the map as Messenia,—south of the river Nedon, and westward of the summit of Taygetus,—appears as subject to Sparta, and as forming the western portion of Laconia; distributed in what proportion we know not, between Periœkic towns and Helot villages. By what steps, or after what degree of farther resistance, the Spartans conquered this country we have no information; but we are told that they made over Asinê to the expelled Dryopes from the Argolic peninsula and Mothônê to the fugitives from Nauplia[3]. Nor do we hear of any serious revolt from Sparta in this territory until 150 years afterwards[4],

Spartans acquire the country west of Taygetus.

[1] Diodor. xv. 66; Polyb. iv. 33, who quotes Kallisthenês; Paus. viii. 5, 8. Neither the Inscription, as cited by Polybius, nor the allusion in Plutarch (De Serâ Numin. Vindictâ, p. 548), appear to fit the narrative of Pausanias, for both of them imply secret and long-concealed treason, tardily brought to light by the interposition of the gods; whereas Pausanias describes the treason of Aristokratês at the battle of the Trench as palpable and flagrant.

[2] Herakleid. Pontic. ap. Diog. Laërt. i. 94.

[3] Pausan. iv. 24, 2; iv. 34, 6; iv. 35, 2.

[4] Thucyd. i. 101.

subsequent to the Persian invasion,—a revolt which Sparta, after serious efforts, succeeded in crushing, so that the territory remained in her power until her defeat at Leuktra, which led to the foundation of Mêssenê by Epameinondas. The fertility of the plains, especially of the central portion near the river Pamisus, so much extolled by observers, modern as well as ancient, rendered it an acquisition highly valuable. At some time or other, it must of course have been formally partitioned among the Spartans, but it is probable that different and successive allotments were made, according as the various portions of territory, both to the east and to the west of Taygetus, were conquered. Of all this we have no information[1].

The Messenian Dorians had no considerable fortified places—lived in small townships and villages.

Imperfectly as these two Messenian wars are known to us, we may see enough to warrant us in making two remarks. Both were tedious, protracted, and painful, showing how slowly the results of war were then gathered, and adding one additional illustration to prove how much the rapid and instantaneous conquest of Laconia and Messenia by the Dorians, which the Herakleid legend sets forth, is contradicted by historical analogy. Both were characterised by a similar defensive proceeding on the part of the Messenians—the occupation of a mountain difficult of access, and the fortification of

[1] Pausanias says, *τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Μεσσηνίαν, πλὴν τῆς Ἀσιναίων, αὐτοὶ διελάγχανον*, &c. (iv. 24, 2.)

In an apophthegm ascribed to King Polydorus, leader of the Spartans during the first Messenian war, he is asked, whether he is really taking arms against his brethren, to which he replies, "No; I am only marching to the unallotted portion of the territory." (Plutarch, Apophthegm. Lakonic. p. 231.)—*ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκλήρωτον χώραν.*

it for the special purpose and resistance—Ithômê (which is said to have had already a small town upon it) in the first war, Eira in the second. It is reasonable to infer from hence that neither their principal town Stenyklêrus, nor any other town in their country, was strongly fortified, so as to be calculated to stand a siege; that there were no walled towns among them analogous to Mycenæ and Tiryns on the eastern portion of Peloponnesus; and that perhaps what were called towns were, like Sparta itself, clusters of unfortified villages. The subsequent state of Helotism into which they were reduced is in consistency with this dispersed village residence during their period of freedom.

Relations of Pisa and Elis.

The relations of Pisa and Elis form a suitable counterpart and sequel to those of Messenia and Sparta. Unwilling subjects themselves, the Pisatans had lent their aid to the Messenians—and their king Pantaleôn, one of the leaders of this combined force, had gained so great a temporary success, as to dispossess the Eleians of the agonothesia or administration of the games for one Olympic ceremony, in the 34th Olympiad. Though again reduced to their condition of subjects, they manifested dispositions to renew their revolt at the 48th Olympiad, under Damophôn, the son of Pantaleôn, and the Eleians marched into their country to put them down, but were persuaded to retire by protestations of submission. At length, shortly afterwards, under Pyrrhus, the brother of Damophôn, a serious revolt broke out. The inhabitants of Dyspontium and the other villages in the Pisatid, assisted by those of Makistus, Skillûs and the other

towns in Triphylia, took up arms to throw off the yoke of Elis; but their strength was inadequate to the undertaking. They were completely conquered; Dyspontium was dismantled, and the inhabitants of it obliged to flee the country, from whence most of them emigrated to the colonies of Epidamnus and Apollonia in Epirus. The inhabitants of Makistus and Skillūs were also chased from their abodes, and the territory became more thoroughly subject to Elis than it had been before. These incidents seem to have occurred about the 50th Olympiad, or B.C. 580: and the dominion of Elis over her Periœkid territory was thus as well assured as that of Sparta[1]. The separate denominations both of Pisa and Triphylia became more and more merged in the sovereign name of Elis: the town of Lepreum alone, in Triphylia, seems to have maintained a separate name and a sort of half-autonomy down to the time of the Peloponnesian war, not without perpetual struggles against the Eleians[2]. But towards the period of the Peloponnesian war, the political interests of Lacedæmon had become considerably changed, and it was to her advantage to maintain the independence of the subordinate states

Struggles of the Pisatæ and Triphylians for autonomy.—The latter in after times sustained by the political interests of Sparta.

[1] Pausan. vi. 22, 2; v. 6, 3; v. 10, 2; Strabo, viii. p. 355–357. The temple in honour of Zeus at Olympia was first erected by the Eleians out of the spoils of this expedition (Pausan. v. 10, 2).

[2] Thucydid. v. 31. Even Lepreum is characterised as Eleian, however (Aristoph. Aves, 149): compare also Steph. Byz. v. Τριφυλία, ἡ Ἦλις.

Even in the sixth Olympiad an inhabitant of Dyspontium is proclaimed as victor at the stadium, under the denomination of "*an Eleian from Dyspontium*;" proclaimed by the Eleians of course—the like in the 27th Olympiad: see Stephan. Byz. v. Δυσπόντιον, which shows that the inhabitants of the Pisatid cannot have rendered themselves independent of Elis in the 26th Olympiad, as Strabo alleges (viii. p. 355).

against the superior: accordingly, we find her at that time upholding the autonomy of Lepreum. From what cause the devastation of the Triphylian towns by Elis, which Herodotus mentions as having happened in his time, arose, we do not know; the fact seems to indicate a continual yearning for their original independence, which was still commemorated, down to a much later period, by the ancient Amphiktyony at Samikum in Triphylia in honour of Poseidôn—a common religious festival frequented by all the Triphylian towns and celebrated by the inhabitants of Makistus, who sent round proclamation of a formal truce for the holy period[1]. The Lacedæmonians, after the close of the Peloponnesian war had left them undisputed heads of Greece, formally upheld the independence of the Triphylian towns against Elis, and seem to have countenanced their endeavours to attach themselves to the Arcadian aggregate, which however was never fully accomplished. Their dependence on Elis became loose and uncertain, but was never wholly shaken off[2].

[1] Herodot. iv. 149; Strabo, viii. p. 343.

[2] Diodor. xiv. 17; xv. 77; Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 2, 23, 26.

It was about this period probably that the idea of the local eponymus, Triphylus, son of Arkas, was first introduced (Polyb. iv. 77).

CHAPTER VIII.

CONQUESTS OF SPARTA TOWARDS ARCADIA AND ARGOLIS.

I HAVE described in the last two chapters, as far as our imperfect evidence permits, how Sparta came into possession both of the southern portion of Laconia along the course of the Eurotas down to its mouth, and of the Messenian territory westward. Her progress towards Arcadia and Argolis is now to be sketched, so as to conduct her to that position which she occupied during the reign of Peisistratus at Athens, or about 560–540 B.C.,—a time when she had reached the maximum of her territorial possessions, and when she was confessedly the commanding state in Hellas.

State of Arcadia.

The central region of Peloponnesus, called Arcadia, had never received any immigrants from without; its autochthonous inhabitants—a strong and hardy race of mountaineers, the most numerous Hellenic tribe in the peninsula, and the constant hive for mercenary troops[1]—were among the rudest and poorest of Greeks, retaining for the longest period their original subdivision into a number of petty hill-villages, each independent of the other; and the union of all who bore the Arcadian name (though they had some common sacrifices, such as

[1] Hermippus ap. Athenæ. i. p. 27. *Ἀνδράποδ' ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐπικούρους* (Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 1, 23)—*πλεῖστον δὲ φῦλον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἴη*, &c.

the festival of the Lykæan Zeus, of Despoina, daughter of Poseidôn and Dêmêtêr, and of Artemis Hymnia[1]) was more loose and ineffective than that of Greeks generally, either in or out of Peloponnesus. The Arcadian villagers were usually denominated by the names of regions, coincident with certain ethnical subdivisions—the Azānes, the Parrhasii, the Mænalii (adjoining Mount Mænalus), the Eutrêsii, the Ægytæ, the Skiritæ[2], &c. Some considerable towns however there were—aggregations of villages or demes which had been once autonomous: the chief of them were Tegea and Mantineia, bordering on Laconia and Argolis—Orchomenus, Pheneos, and Stymphalus, towards the north-east, bordering on Achaia and Phlius—Kleitôr and Heræa, westward, where the country is divided from Elis and Triphylia by the woody

[1] Pausan. viii. 6, 7; viii. 37, 6; viii. 38, 2. Xenias, one of the generals of Greek mercenaries in the service of Cyrus the younger, a native of the Parrhasian district in Arcadia, celebrates with great solemnity, during the march upward, the festival and games of the Lykæa (Xenoph. Anabas. i. 2, 10; compare Pindar, Olymp. ix. 142).

Many of the forests in Arcadia contained not only wild boars, but bears, in the days of Pausanias (viii. 23. 4).

[2] Pausan. viii. 26, 5; Strabo, viii. p. 388.

Some geographers distributed the Arcadians into three subdivisions, Azanes, Parrhasii, and Trapezuntii. Azan passed for the son of Arcas, and his lot in the division of the paternal inheritance was said to have contained seventeen towns (ἃς ἔλαχεν Ἀζήν). Stephan. Byz. v. Ἀζανία —Παῤῥασία. Kleitôr seems the chief place in Azania, as far as we can infer from genealogy (Pausan. viii. 4, 2, 3). Pæus or Päos, from whence the Azanian suitor of the daughter of Kleisthenes presented himself, was between Kleitôr and Psôphis (Herod. vi. 127; Paus. viii. 23, 6). A Delphian oracle, however, reckons the inhabitants of Phigaleia, in the south-western corner of Arcadia, among the Azanes (Paus. viii. 42, 3).

The burial-place of Arcas was supposed to be on Mount Mænalus (Paus. viii. 9. 2).

mountains of Pholoê and Erymanthus—and Phigaleia, on the south-western border near to Messenia. Among these the most powerful were Tegea and Mantineia[1]—conterminous towns, nearly equal in power, dividing between them the cold and high plain of Tripolitza, and divided by one of those capricious winter torrents which only escapes through katabothra: it required the amicable co-operation of both towns to keep this torrent in order, and when their frequent jealousies brought on a quarrel, the more powerful of the two inundated the territory of its neighbour as one means of annoyance. The power and dignity of Tegea, which had grown up out of nine constituent townships originally separate[2], appears to have been the oldest of all, as we may judge from its splendid heroic pretensions connected with the name of Echemus, and from the post conceded to its hoplites in joint Peloponnesian armaments, which was second in distinction only to that of the Lacedæmonians[3]. If it be correct, as Strabo asserts[4], that the incorporation of the town of Mantineia, out of its five separate Demes, was brought about by the Argeians, we may conjecture that the latter adopted this proceeding as a means of providing some check upon their powerful neighbours of Tegea. The plain common

[1] Thucyd. v. 65. Compare the description of the ground in Professor Ross (Reisen im Peloponnes. iv. 7).

[2] Strabo, viii. p. 337.

[3] Herodot. ix. 27.

[4] Strabo, l. c.. Mantineia is reckoned among the oldest cities of Arcadia (Polyb. ii. 54). Both Mantineia and Orchomenus had originally occupied very lofty hill sites, and had been rebuilt on a larger scale, lower down, nearer to the plain (Pausan. viii. 8, 3; 12, 4; 13, 2).

to Tegea and Mantineia was bounded to the west by the wintry heights of Mænalus[1], beyond which, as far as the boundaries of Laconia, Messenia, and Triphylia, there was nothing in Arcadia but small and unimportant townships or villages—no considerable towns, before the important step taken by Epameinondas in founding Megalopolis, a short time after the battle of Leuktra. The mountaineers of these regions who joined Epameinondas before the battle of Mantineia (at a time when Mantineia and most of the towns of Arcadia were opposed to him) were so inferior to the other Greeks in equipment, that they still carried as their chief weapon, in place of the spear, nothing better than the ancient club[2].

Tegea and Mantineia the most powerful Arcadian towns, before the building of Megalopolis.

Both Tegea and Mantineia held several of these smaller Arcadian townships near them in a sort of dependence, and were anxious to extend this empire over others: during the Peloponnesian war, we find the Mantineians establishing and garrisoning

[1] Μαιναλίη δυσχείμερος (Delphian Oracle, ap. Paus. viii. 9, 2).

[2] Xenophon, in describing the ardour with which Epameinondas inspired his soldiers before this final battle, says (vii. 5, 20), προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη, κελεύοντος ἐκείνου· ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπλῖται, ῥόπαλα ἔχοντες, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες· πάντες δὲ ἠκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας.

It is hardly conceivable that these Arcadian clubmen should have possessed a shield and a full panoply. The language of Xenophon in calling them hoplites, and the term ἐπεγράφοντο, (properly referring to the inscription on the shield) appear to be conceived in a spirit of contemptuous sneering, proceeding from Xenophon's miso-Theban tendencies: "the Arcadian hoplites with their clubs put themselves forward to be as good as the Thebans." That these tendencies of Xenophon show themselves in expressions very unbecoming to the dignity of history (though curious as evidences of the time), may be seen by vii. 5, 12, where he says of the Thebans—ἐντεῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλέονες, &c.

a fortress at Kypsela among the Parrhasii, near the site in which Megalopolis was afterwards built[1]. But at this period, Sparta, as the political chief of Hellas, had a strong interest in keeping all the Grecian towns, small and great, as much isolated from each other as possible, and in checking all schemes for the formation of local confederacies: she stood forward as the protectress of the autonomy of these smaller Arcadians and drove back the Mantineians within their own limits[2]. At a somewhat later period, during the acmé of her power, a few years before the battle of Leuktra, she even proceeded to the extreme length of breaking up the unity of Mantineia itself, causing the walls to be razed, and the inhabitants to be again parcelled into their five original Demes—a violent arrangement which the turn of political events very soon reversed[3]. It was not until after the battle of Leuktra and the depression of Sparta that any measures were taken for the formation of an Arcadian political confederacy[4]; and even then the jealousies of the separate cities rendered it incomplete and short-lived. The great permanent change, the establishment of Megalopolis, was accomplished by the ascendency of Epameinondas. Forty petty Arcadian townships, among those situated to the west of Mount Mænalus, were aggregated into the new city; the jealousies of Tegea, Mantineia, and Kleitôr, were for a

[1] Thucyd. v. 33, 47, 81.

[2] Thucyd. l. c. Compare the instructive speech of Kleigenês, the envoy from Akanthus, addressed to the Lacedæmonians, B.C. 382 (Xen. Hellen. v. 2, 15–16).

[3] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 2, 1–6; Diodor. xv. 19.

[4] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 5, 10–11; vii. 1, 23–25.

while suspended; and œkists came from all of them, as well as from the districts of the Mænalii and Parrhasii, in order to impart to the new establishment a genuine Pan-Arcadian character[1]. It was thus that there arose for the first time a powerful city on the borders of Laconia and Messenia, rescuing the Arcadian townships from their dependence on Sparta, and imparting to them political interests of their own, which rendered them both a check upon their former chief and a support to the re-established Messenians.

It has been necessary thus to bring the attention of the reader for one moment to events long posterior in the order of time (Megalopolis was founded in 370 B.C.), in order that he may understand, by contrast, the general course of those incidents of the earlier time, where direct accounts are wanting. The northern boundary of the Spartan territory was formed by some of the many small Arcadian townships or districts, several of which were successively conquered by the Spartans and incorporated with their dominion, though at what precise time we are unable to say. We are told that Charilaus, the reputed nephew and ward of Lycurgus, took Ægys, and that he also invaded the territory of Tegea, but with sin-

Encroachments of Sparta upon the southern boundary of Arcadia.

[1] Pausan. viii. 27, 5. No œkist is mentioned from Orchomenus, though three of the petty townships *contributing* (*συντελοῦντα*) to Orchomenus were embodied in the new city. The feud between the neighbouring cities of Orchomenus and Mantineia was bitter (Xen. Hellen. vi. 5, 11–22). Orchomenus and Hêræa both opposed the political confederation of Arcadia.

The oration of Demosthenes, *ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολίτων*, strongly attests the importance of this city, especially c. 10—*ἐὰν μὲν ἀναιρεθῶσι καὶ διοικισθῶσιν, ἰσχυροῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις εὐθύς ἐστιν εἶναι*, &c.

gular ill-success, for he was defeated and taken prisoner[1]: we also hear that the Spartans took Phigaleia by surprise in the 30th Olympiad, but were driven out again by the neighbouring Arcadian Oresthasians[2]. During the second Messenian war the Arcadians are represented as cordially seconding the Messenians: and it may seem perhaps singular, that while neither Mantineia nor Tegea are mentioned in this war, the more distant town of Orchomenus, with its king Aristokratês, takes the lead; but the facts of the contest come before us in so poetical a colouring, that we cannot venture to draw any positive inference as to the times to which they are referred.

Œnus[3] and Karystus seem to have belonged to the Spartans in the days of Alkman: moreover the district called Skirîtis, bordering on the territory of Tegea—as well as Belemina and Maleatis, to the westward, and Karyæ to the eastward and south-eastward, of Skirîtis—forming all together the entire northern frontier of Sparta and all occupied by Arcadian inhabitants—had been conquered, and made part of the Spartan territory[4] before 600 B.C. And

[1] Pausan. iii. 2, 6; iii. 7, 3; viii. 48, 3.

[2] Pausan. viii. 39, 2.

[3] Alkman, Fr. 15, Welcker; Strabo, x. p. 446.

[4] That the Skiritæ were Arcadians is well-known (Thuc. v. 47; Steph. Byz. v. Σκίρος); the possession of Belemina was disputed with Sparta, in the days of her comparative humiliation, by the Arcadians: see Plutarch, Kleomenês, 4; Pausan. viii. 35, 4.

Respecting Karyæ (the border town of Sparta, where the διαβατήρια were sacrificed, Thuc. v. 55) see *Photius* Καρυάτεια ἑορτὴ Ἀρτέμιδος· τὰς δὲ Καρύας Ἀρκάδων οὔσας ἀπετέμοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

The readiness with which Karyæ and the Maleates revolted against Sparta after the battle of Leuktra, even before the invasion of Laconia by the Thebans, exhibits them apparently as conquered foreign depen-

Herodotus tells us, that at this period the Spartan kings Leon and Hegesiklês contemplated nothing less than the conquest of entire Arcadia, and sent to ask from the Delphian oracle a blessing on their enterprise[1]. The priestess dismissed their wishes as extravagant, in reference to the whole of Arcadia, but encouraged them, though with the usual equivocations of language, to try their fortune against Tegea. Flushed with their course of previous success, not less than by the favourable construction which they put upon the words of the oracle, the Lacedæmonians marched against Tegea with such entire confidence of success, as to carry with them chains for the purpose of binding their expected prisoners. But the result was disappointment and defeat: they were repulsed with loss, and the prisoners whom they left behind, bound in the very chains which their own army had brought, were constrained to servile labour on the plain of Tegea—the words of the oracle being thus literally fulfilled, though in a sense different from that in which the Lacedæmonians had first understood them[2].

Unsuccessful attempts of the Spartans against Tegea.

For one whole generation, we are told, they were constantly unsuccessful in their campaigns against

dencies of Sparta, without any kindred of race (Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 5, 24–26; vii. 1, 28). Leuktron in the Maleatis seems to have formed a part of the territory of Megalopolis in the days of Kleomenês III. (Plutarch, Kleomenês, 6); in the Peloponnesian war it was the frontier town of Sparta towards Mount Lykæum (Thuc. v. 53).

[1] Herod. i. 66. *καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι, ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δέλφοισι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ.*

[2] Herod. i. 67; Pausan. iii. 3, 5; viii. 45, 2.

Herodotus saw the identical chains suspended in the temple of Athênê Alea at Tegea.

the Tegeans, and this strenuous resistance probably prevented them from extending their conquests farther among the petty states of Arcadia.

They are directed by the oracle to bring to Sparta the bones of the hero Orestês.

At length in the reign of Anaxandridês and Aristô, the successors of Leon and Hegesiklês (about 560 B.C.), the Delphian oracle, in reply to a question from the Spartans—which of the gods they ought to propitiate in order to become victorious—enjoined them to find and carry to Sparta the bones of Orestês son of Agamemnon. After a vain search, since they did not know where the body of Orestês was to be found, they applied to the oracle for more specific directions, and were told that the son of Agamemnon was buried at Tegea itself, in a place "where two blasts were blowing under powerful constraint,—where there was stroke and counterstroke, and destruction upon destruction." These mysterious words were elucidated by a lucky accident. During a truce with Tegea, Lichas, one of the chiefs of the 300 Spartan chosen youth who acted as the moveable police of the country under the ephors, visited the place, and entered the forge of a blacksmith, who mentioned to him, in the course of conversation, that in sinking a well in his outer court he had recently discovered a coffin containing a body seven cûbits long; astounded at the sight, he had left it there undisturbed. It struck Lichas that the gigantic relic of aforetime could be nothing else but the corpse of Orestês, and he felt assured of this when he reflected how accurately the indications of the oracle were verified; for there were the "two blasts blowing by constraint," in the two bellows of the blacksmith: there was

the "stroke and counter-stroke" in his hammer and anvil, as well as the "destruction upon destruction" in the murderous weapons which he was forging. Lichas said nothing, but returned to Sparta with his discovery, which he communicated to the authorities, who, by a concerted scheme, banished him under a pretended criminal accusation. He then again returned to Tegea, under the guise of an exile, prevailed upon the blacksmith to let to him the premises, and when he found himself in possession, dug up and carried off to Sparta the bones of the venerated hero[1].

Their operations against Tegea become more successful; nevertheless Tegea maintains her independence.

From and after this fortunate acquisition, the character of the contest was changed; the Spartans found themselves constantly victorious over the Tegeans. But it does not seem that these victories led to any positive result, though they might perhaps serve to enforce the practical conviction of Spartan superiority; for the territory of Tegea remained unimpaired, and its autonomy noway restrained. During the Persian invasion Tegea appears as the willing ally of Lacedæmon, and as the second military power in the Peloponnesus[2]: and we may fairly presume that it was chiefly the strenuous resistance of the Tegeans which prevented the Lacedæmonians from extending their empire over the larger portion of the Arcadian communities. These latter always maintained their independence, though acknowledging Sparta as the presiding power in Peloponnesus, and obeying her orders implicitly as to the disposal of their military force. And the influence which Sparta thus possessed over all Arca-

[1] Herod. i. 69–70. [2] Herod. ix. 26.

dia, was one main item in her power, never seriously shaken until the battle of Leuktra; which took away her previous means of ensuring success and plunder to her minor followers[1].

Boundaries of Sparta towards Argos—conquest of Thyreātis by Sparta.

Having thus related the extension of the power of Sparta on her northern or Arcadian frontier, it remains to mention her acquisitions on the eastern and north-eastern side, towards Argos. Originally (as has been before stated) not merely the province of Kynuria and the Thyreātis, but also the whole coast down to the promontory of Malea, had either been part of the territory of Argos or belonged to the Argeian confederacy. We learn from Herodotus[2], that before the time when the embassy from Crœsus king of Lydia came to solicit aid in Greece (about 547 B.C.), the whole of this territory had fallen into the power of Sparta; but how long before, or at what precise epoch, we have no information. A considerable victory is said to have been gained by the Argeians over the Spartans in the 27th Olympiad or 669 B.C., at Hysiæ, on the road between Argos and Tegea[3]: at that time it does not seem probable that Kynuria could have been in the possession of the Spartans, and we must refer the acquisition to some period in the following century; though Pausanias places it much earlier, during the reign of Theopompus[4]—and Eusebius connects it with the first establishment of the festival called Gymnopædia at Sparta in 678 B.C.

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 2, 19. Ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ' ὑμῶν ἴωσι, τά τε αὐτῶν σώζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἁρπάζουσι, &c.

This was said to the Lacedæmonians about ten years before the battle of Leuktra.

[2] Herod. i. 82. [3] Pausan. ii. 25, 1. [4] Pausan. iii. 7, 5.

About the year 547 B.C., the Argeians made an effort to reconquer Thyrea from Sparta, which led to a combat long memorable in the annals of Grecian heroism. It was agreed between the two powers that the possession of this territory should be determined by a combat of 300 select champions on each side; and the armies of both retired, in order to leave the field clear. So undaunted, and so equal, was the valour of these two chosen companies, that the battle terminated by leaving only three of them alive—Alkênôr and Chromius among the Argeians, Othryadês among the Spartans. The two Argeian warriors hastened home to report their victory, but Othryadês remained on the field, carried off the arms of the enemy's dead into the Spartan camp, and kept his position until he was joined by his countrymen the next morning. Both Argos and Sparta claimed the victory for their respective champions, and the dispute after all was decided by a general conflict, in which the Spartans were the conquerors, though not without much slaughter on both sides. The brave Othryadês, ashamed to return home as the single survivor of the 300, fell upon his own sword on the field of battle[1].

Battle of the 300 select champions, between Sparta and Argos, to decide the possession of the Thyreatis—valour of Othryades.

This defeat decided the possession of Thyrea, which did not again pass, until a very late period of Grecian history, under the power of Argos. The preliminary duel of 300, with its uncertain issue, though well-established as to the general fact, was represented by the Argeians in a manner totally different from the above story, which seems to have been current

Thyreatis comes into possession of Sparta—efforts of the Argeians to recover it.

[1] Herod. i. 82; Strabo, viii. p. 376.

among the Lacedæmonians[1]: but the most remarkable circumstance is, that more than a century afterwards—when the two powers were negotiating for a renewal of the then expiring truce—the Argeians, still hankering after this their ancient territory, desired the Lacedæmonians to submit the question to arbitration; which being refused, they next stipulated for the privilege of trying the point in dispute by a duel similar to the former, at any time except during the prevalence of war or of epidemic disease. The historian tells us that the Lacedæmonians acquiesced in this proposition, though they thought it absurd[2], in consequence of their anxiety to keep their relations with Argos at that time smooth and pacific. But there is no reason to imagine that the real duel, in which Othryadês contended, was considered as absurd at the time

[1] The Argeians showed at Argos a statue of Perilaus, son of Alkêuôr, killing Othryadês (Pausan. ii. 20, 6; ii. 38, 5: compare x. 9, 6, and the references in Larcher ad Herodot. i. 82. The narrative of Chrysermus, *ἐν τρίτῳ Πελοποννησιακῶν* (as given in Plutarch, Parallel. Hellenic. p. 306), is different in many respects.

Pausanias found the Thyreatis in possession of the Argeians (ii. 38, 5). They told him that they had recovered it by adjudication; when or by whom we do not know: it seems to have passed back to Argos before the close of the reign of Kleomenês III. at Sparta (220 B.C.), Polyb. iv. 36.

Strabo even reckons Prasiæ as Argeian, to the south of Kynuria (viii. p. 368), though in his other passage (p. 374), seemingly cited from Ephorus, it is treated as Lacedæmonian. Compare Manso, Sparta, vol. ii. Beilage i. p. 48.

Eusebius, placing this duel at a much earlier period (Ol. 27, 3, 678 B.C.), ascribes the first foundation of the Gymnopædia at Sparta to the desire of commemorating the event. Pausanias (iii. 7, 3) places it still farther back, in the reign of Theopompus.

[2] Thucyd. v. 41. *Τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει μωρία εἶναι ταῦτα, ἔπειτα (ἐπεθύμουν γὰρ πάντως τὸ Ἄργος φίλιον ἔχειν) ξυνεχώρησαν ἐφ' οἷς ἠξίουν, καὶ ξυνεγράψαντο.*

when it took place or during the age immediately succeeding: it fell in with a sort of chivalrous pugnacity which is noticed among the attributes of the early Greeks[1], and also with various legendary exploits, such as the single combat of Echemus and Hyllus, of Melanthus and Xanthus, of Menelaus and Paris, &c. Moreover, the heroism of Othryadês and his countrymen was a popular theme for poets not only at the Spartan gymnopædia[2], but also elsewhere, and appears to have been frequently celebrated. The absurdity attached to this proposition, then, during the Peloponnesian war—in the minds even of the Spartans, the most old-fashioned and unchanging people in Greece—is to be ascribed to a change in the Grecian political mind, at and after the Persian war. The habit of political calculation had made decided progress among them, and the leading states especially had become more familiarised with something like a statesmanlike view of their resources, their dangers, and their obligations. How lamentably deficient this sort of sagacity was during the Persian invasion, will appear when we come to describe that imminent crisis of Grecian independence: but the events of those days were well-calculated to sharpen it for the future, and the Greeks of the Peloponnesian war had become far more refined political schemers than their forefathers. And thus it happened that the proposition to settle a territorial dispute by a duel of chosen champions, admissible and even beco-

Alteration in Grecian opinion, as to the practice of deciding disputes by select champions.

[1] Herodot, vii. 9. Compare the challenge which Herodotus alleges to have been proclaimed to the Spartans by Mardonius, through a herald, just before the battle of Platæa (ix. 48).

[2] Athenæ, xv. p. 678.

ming a century before, came afterwards to be derided as childish.

Kynurians in Argolis —said to be of Ionic race, but dorised.

The inhabitants of Kynuria are stated by Herodotus to have been Ionians, but completely dorised through their long subjection to Argos, by whom they were governed as Periœki. Pausanias gives a different account of their race, which he traces to the eponymous hero Kynūrus son of Perseus: but he does not connect them with the Kynurians whom he mentions in another place as a portion of the inhabitants of Arcadia[1]. It is evident that even in the time of Herodotus, the traces of their primitive descent were nearly effaced. He says they were "Orneates and Periœki" to Argos; and it appears that the inhabitants of Orneæ also, whom Argos had reduced to the same dependent condition, traced their eponymous hero to an Ionic stock—Orneus was the son of the Attic Erechtheus[2]. Strabo seems to have conceived the Kynurians as occupying originally, not only the frontier district of Argolis and Laconia, wherein Thyrea is situated, but also the north-western portion of Argolis, under the ridge called Lyrkeium, which separates the latter from the Arcadian territory of Stymphalus[3]:

[1] Herod. viii. 73; Pausan. iii. 2, 2; viii. 27, 3.

[2] Pausan. ii. 25, 5. Mannert (Geographie der Griechen und Römer, Griechenland, book ii. ch. xix. p. 618) connects the Kynurians of Arcadia and Argolis, though Herodotus tells us that the latter were Ionians: he gives to this name much greater importance and extension than the evidence bears out.

[3] Strabo, viii. p. 370—ὁ Ἴναχος ἔχων τὰς πηγὰς ἐκ Λυρκείου τοῦ κατὰ Κυνουρίαν ὄρους τῆς Ἀρκαδίας. Coray and Grosskurd gain nothing here by the conjectural reading of Ἀργείας in place of Ἀρκαδίας, for the ridge of Lyrkeium ran between the two, and might therefore be connected with either without impropriety.

this ridge was near the town of Orneæ, which lay on the border of Argolis near the confines of Phlius, and Strabo thus helps to confirm the statement of Herodotus, that the Orneates were a portion of Kynurians, held by Argos along with the other Kynurians in the condition of dependent allies and Periœki, and very probably also of Ionian origin.

The conquest of Thyrea (a district valuable to the Lacedæmonians, as we may presume from the large booty which the Argeians got from it during the Peloponnesian war[1]) was the last territorial acquisition made by Sparta. She was now possessed of a continuous dominion, comprising the whole southern portion of the Peloponnesus, from the southern bank of the river Nedon on the western coast, to the northern boundary of Thyreatis on the eastern coast. The area of her territory, including as it did both Laconia and Messenia, was equal to two-fifths of the entire peninsula, all governed from the single city, and for the exclusive purpose and benefit of the citizens of Sparta. Within all this wide area there was not a single community pretending to independent agency: the townships of the Periœki, and the villages of the Helots, were each individually unimportant; nor do we hear of any one of them presuming to treat with a foreign state: both consider themselves as nothing else but the subjects of the Spartan ephors and their subordinate officers. They are indeed discontented subjects, hating as well as fearing their masters, and not to be trusted if a favourable opportunity for secure revolt presents itself.

Full acquisition of the southern portion of Peloponnesus, from sea to sea, by the Spartans, before 540 B.C.

[1] Thucyd. vi. 95.

But no individual township or district is strong enough to stand up for itself, and combinations among them are prevented by the habitual watchfulness and unscrupulous precautions of the ephors, especially by that jealous secret police called the Krypteia, to which allusion has already been made.

Great comparative power of Sparta at that early time.

Not only therefore was the Spartan territory larger and its population more numerous than that of any other state in Hellas, but its government was also more completely centralised and more strictly obeyed. Its source of weakness was the discontent of its Periœki and Helots, the latter of whom were not (like the slaves of other states) imported barbarians from different countries, and speaking a broken Greek, but genuine Hellens—of one dialect and lineage, sympathising with each other, and as much entitled to the protection of Zeus Hellanius as their masters—from whom indeed they stood distinguished by no other line except the perfect training, individual and collective, which was peculiar to the Spartans. During the period on which we are at present dwelling, it does not seem that this discontent comes sensibly into operation; but we shall observe its manifestations very unequivocally after the Persian and during the Peloponnesian war.

To such auxiliary causes of Spartan predominance we must add another—the excellent military position of Sparta, and the unassailable character of Laconia generally. On three sides that territory is washed by the sea[1], with a coast remarkably

[1] Xenophon, Hellen. iv. 8, 7: *φοβούμενος τὴν ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας.*

dangerous and destitute of harbours, and from this quarter Sparta had nothing to apprehend until the Persian invasion and its consequences—one of the most remarkable of which was, the astonishing development of the Athenian naval force. The city of Sparta, far removed from the sea, was admirably defended by an almost impassable northern frontier, composed of those districts which we have observed above to have been conquered from Arcadia—Karyātis, Skirītis, Maleātis, and Belemināt is. The difficulty as well as danger of marching into Laconia by these mountain passes, noticed by Euripides, was keenly felt by every enemy of the Lacedæmonians, and has been powerfully stated by a first-rate modern observer, Colonel Leake[1]. No site could be better chosen for hold-

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 5, 10; Eurip. ap. Strabo. viii. p. 366; Leake, Travels in Morea, vol. iii. c. xxii. p. 25.

"It is to the strength of the frontiers, and the comparatively large extent of country enclosed within them, that we must trace the primary cause of the Lacedæmonian power. These enabled the people, when strengthened by a rigid military discipline, and put in motion by an ambitious spirit, first to triumph over their weaker neighbours of Messenia, by this additional strength to overawe the disunited republics of Arcadia, and at length for centuries to hold an acknowledged military superiority over every other state in Greece.

"It is remarkable that all the principal passes into Laconia lead to one point: this point is Sparta; a fact which shows at once how well the position of that city was chosen for the defence of the province, and how well it was adapted, especially as long as it continued to be unwalled, to maintain a perpetual vigilance and readiness for defence, which are the surest means of offensive success.

"The natural openings into the plain of Sparta are only two; one by the upper Eurotas, as the course of that river above Sparta may be termed; the other by its only large branch Œnus, now the Kelefina, which, as I have already stated, joins the Eurotas opposite to the north-eastern extremity of Sparta. All the natural approaches to Sparta from the northward lead to one or the other of these two valleys. On the side of Messenia the northerly prolongation of Mount Taygetum,

ing the key of all the penetrable passes than that of Sparta. This well-protected frontier was a substitute more than sufficient for fortifications to Sparta itself, which always maintained, down to the times of the despot Nabis, its primitive aspect of a group of adjacent hill-villages rather than a regular city.

Careful personal training of the Spartans—at a time when other states had no training at all.

When, along with such territorial advantages, we contemplate the personal training peculiar to the Spartan citizens, as yet undiminished in their numbers,—combined with the effect of that training upon Grecian sentiment, in inspiring awe and admiration,—we shall not be surprised to find, that during the half century which elapsed between the year 600 B.C., and the final conquest of Thyreātis from Argos, Sparta had acquired and begun to exercise a recognised ascendency over all the Grecian states. Her military force was at that time superior to that of any of the rest, in a degree much greater than it afterwards came to be; for other states had not yet attained their maximum, and Athens in particular was far short of the height which she afterwards reached. In respect to discipline as well as number, the Spartan military force

which joins Mount Lyceum at the pass of Andania, now the pass of Makryplái, furnishes a continued barrier of the loftiest kind, admitting only of routes easily defensible; and which—whether from the Cromitis of Arcadia to the south-westward of the modern Londári, from the Stenycleric plain, from the plain of the Pamisus, or from Pheræ, now Kalamáta,—all descend into the valley of the upper Eurotas, and conduct to Sparta by Pellana. There was indeed a branch of the last-mentioned route which descended into the Spartan plain at the modern Mistra, and which must have been a very frequent communication between Sparta and the lower part of Messenia; but, like the other direct passes over Taygetum, it was much more difficult and defensible than those which I have called the natural entrances of the province."

had even at this early period reached a point which it did not subsequently surpass, while in Athens, Thebes, Argos, Arcadia, and even Elis (as will be hereafter shown), the military training in later days received greater attention, and improved considerably. The Spartans (observes Aristotle)[1] brought to perfection their gymnastic training and their military discipline, at a time when other Greeks neglected both the one and the other: their early superiority was that of the trained men over the untrained, and ceased in after-days when other states came to subject their citizens to systematic exercises of analogous character or tendency. This fact—the early period at which Sparta attained her maximum of discipline, power, and territory—is important to bear in mind when we are explaining the general acquiescence which her ascendency met with in Greece, and which her subsequent acts would certainly not have enabled her to earn. That acquiescence first began, and became a habit of the Grecian mind, at a time when Sparta had no rival to come near her—when she had completely shot ahead of Argos—and when the vigour of the Lycurgean discipline had been manifested in a long series of conquests, made during the stationary period of other states, and ending only (to use the somewhat exaggerated phrase of Herodotus) when she had subdued the greater part of Peloponnesus[2].

[1] Aristot. Polit. viii. 3, 4.

Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Λάκωνας ἴσμεν, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὶ πρυσήδρευον ταῖς φιλοπονίαις, ὑπερέχοντας τῶν ἄλλων· νῦν δὲ, καὶ τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἀγῶσι, λειπομένους ἑτέρων. οὐ γὰρ τῷ τοὺς νέους γυμνάζειν τὸν τρόπον τούτον διέφερον, ἀλλὰ τῷ μόνον μὴ πρὸς ἀσκοῦντας ἀσκεῖν .....Ἀνταγωνιστὰς γὰρ τῆς παιδείας νῦν ἔχουσι· πρότερον δὲ οὐκ εἶχον.

[2] Herodot. i. 68. *ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.*

Military institutions of Sparta—Peculiar and minute military subdivisions, distinct from the civil—Enômoties, &c.

Our accounts of the memorable military organisation of Sparta are scanty, and insufficient to place the details of it clearly before us. The arms of the Spartans, except perhaps the helmet, were not different from those of other Greek hoplites. But one grand peculiarity is observable from the beginning, as an item in the Lycurgean institutions —they established military divisions quite distinct from the civil divisions, whereas in the other states of Greece, until a period much later than that which we have now reached, the two were confounded, and the hoplites or horsemen of the same tribe or ward were marshalled together on the field of battle. Every Lacedæmonian was bound to military service from the age of twenty to sixty, and the ephors, when they sent forth an expedition, called to arms all the men within some given limit of age. Herodotus tells us that Lycurgus established the military subdivisions peculiar to Sparta,—the Enômoties, the Triākads, and the Syssitia[1]: the Triākads are not mentioned elsewhere, and it is difficult to make out what they were, but the Enômoty was the special characteristic of the system, and the pivot upon which all its arrangements turned. It was a small company of men, the number of whom is given differently at 25, 32, or 36 men—drilled and practised together in military evolutions, and bound

[1] Herodot. i. 67: compare Larcher's note.

Concerning the obscure and difficult subject of the military arrangements of Sparta, see Cragius, Repub. Laced. iv. 4; Manso, Sparta, ii. Beilage 18. p. 224; O. Müller, Hist. Dorians, iii. 12; Dr. Arnold's note on Thucydides, v. 68; and Dr. Thirlwall, History of Greece, vol. i. Appendix 3, p. 520.

The Lacedæmonians seem to have worn in place of a helmet a sort of stuffed headpiece, somewhat less protective, called πῖλος (Pollux, i. 10, 149; Thucyd. iv. 35).

to each other by a common oath[1]. Each Enômoty had a separate captain or enomotarch, the strongest and ablest soldier of the company, who always occupied the front rank, and led the Enômoty when it marched in single file, giving the order of march as well as setting the example. If the Enômoty was drawn up in three, or four, or six files, the enomotarch usually occupied the front post on the left, and care was taken that both the front rank men and the rear rank men, of each file, should be soldiers of particular merit[2]. It was upon these small

[1] Pollux, i. 10, 129. *Ἰδίως μέντοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐνωμοτία, καὶ μόρα*: compare Suidas and Hesych. v. *Ἐνωμοτία*; Xenoph. Rep. Lacon. c. 11; Thucydid. v. 67–68; Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 4, 12.

Suidas states the enômoty at 25 men: in the Lacedæmonian army which fought at the first battle of Mantineia (418 B.C.), it seems to have consisted of about 32 men (Thuc. *l. c.*): at the battle of Leuktra of 36 men (Xen. Hellen. *l. c.*). But the language of Xenophon and Thucydides does not imply that the number of each enômoty was equal.

[2] O. Müller states that the enomotarch, after a *παραγωγὴ* or deployment into phalanx, stood on the *right* hand, which is contrary to Xenoph. Rep. Lac. 11, 9.—*Ὅτε δὲ ὁ ἄρχων εὐώνυμος γίγνεται, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἡγοῦνται ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν*—the *ἄρχων* was the first enomotarch of the lochus, the *πρωτοστάτης* (as appears from 11, 5.), when the enômoty marched in single file. To put the *ἡγεμὼν* on the right flank, was done *occasionally* for special reason—*ἢν δέ ποτε ἕνεκά τινος δοκῇ ξυμφέρειν, τὸν ἡγεμόνα δέξιον κέρας ἔχειν*, &c. I understand Xenophon's description of the *παραγωγὴ* or deployment differently from Müller—it rather seems that the enômoties which stood first made a side-movement to the left, so that the first enomotarch still maintained his place on the left, at the same time that the opportunity was created for the enômoties in the rear to come up and form equal front (*τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ παρεγγυᾶται εἰς μέτωπον παρ' ἀσπίδα καθίστασθαι*—the words *παρ' ἀσπίδα* have reference, as I imagine, to the proceeding of the first enomotarch, who set the example of side-movement to the left-hand, as it is shown by the words which follow—*καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὗτος ἐστ' ἂν ἡ φάλαγξ ἐναντία κατασταθῇ*. The phalanx was constituted when all the *lochi* formed an equal and continuous front, whether the sixteen enômoties (of which each lochus was composed) might be each in one file, in three files, or in six files.

companies that the constant and severe Lacedæmonian drilling was brought to act; they were taught to march in concert, to change rapidly from line to file, to wheel right or left in such manner as that the enomotarch and the other protostatæ or front rank man should always be the persons immediately opposed to the enemy[1]. Their step was regulated by the fife, which played in martial measures peculiar to Sparta, and was employed in actual battle as well as in military practice; and so perfectly were they habituated to the movements of the Enômoty, that if their order was deranged by any adverse accident, scattered soldiers could spontaneously form themselves into the same order, and each man knew perfectly the duties belonging to the place into which chance had thrown him[2]. Above the Enômoty were several larger divisions—the Pentekostys, the Lochus, and the Mora[3], of which latter

Careful drilling of the Enômoties.

[1] See Xenoph. Anab. iv. 8, 10, upon the advantage of attacking the enemy with ὄρθιοι λόχοι, in which case the strongest and best soldiers all came first into conflict. It is to be recollected, however, that the practice of the Cyreian troops cannot be safely quoted as authority for the practice at Sparta. Xenophon and his colleagues established Lochi, Pentekosties and Enômoties in the Cyreian army: the Lochus consisted of 100 men, but the numbers of the other two divisions are not stated (Anab. iii. 4, 21; iv. 3, 26: compare Arrian, Tactic. cap. 6).

[2] The words of Thucydides indicate the peculiar marshalling of the Lacedæmonians, as distinguished both from their enemies and from their allies at the battle of Mantineia—καὶ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καθίσταντο ἐς κόσμον τὸν ἑαυτῶν, Ἀγιδος τοῦ βασιλέως ἕκαστα ἐξηγουμένου κατὰ νόμον: again, c. 68.

About the music of the flute or fife, Thucyd. v. 69; Xen. Rep. Lac. 13, 9; Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 22.

[3] Meursius, Dr. Arnold and Racchetti (Della Milizia dei Grechi Antichi, Milan, 1807, p. 166) all think that Lochus and Mora were different names for the same division; but if this is to be reconciled with the statement of Xenophon in Repub. Lac. c. 11, we must suppose an actual change of nomenclature after the Peloponnesian war,

there seem to have been *six* in all; respecting the number of each division, and the proportion of the larger to the smaller, we find statements altogether different, yet each resting upon good authority,—so that we are driven to suppose that there was no peremptory standard, and that the Enômoty comprised 25, 32, or 36 men; the Pentekostys two or four Enômoties; the Lochus two or four Pentekosties, and the Mora, 400, 500, 600, or 900 men—at different times, or according to the limits of age which the ephors might prescribe for the men whom they called into the field[1]. What remains

which appears to be Dr. Arnold's opinion—yet it is not easy to account for.

There is one point in Dr. Thirlwall's Appendix which is of some importance, and in which I cannot but dissent from his opinion. He says, after stating the nomenclature and classification of the Spartan military force as given by Xenophon, "Xenophon speaks only of Spartans, as appears by the epithet *πολιτικῶν*," p. 521: the words of Xenophon are, *Ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἕνα*, &c. (Rep. Lac. 11.)

It appears to me that Xenophon is here speaking of the aggregate Lacedæmonian heavy-armed force, including both Spartans and Perioeki—not of Spartans alone. The word *πολιτικῶν* does not mean Spartans, as distinguished from Perioeki; but Lacedæmonians, as distinguished from allies. Thus when Agesilaus returns home from the blockade of Phlius, Xenophon tells us that *ταῦτα ποιήσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε* (Hellen. v. 3, 25).

O. Müller also thinks that the whole number of 5740 men, who fought at the first battle of Mantineia in the eleventh year of the Peloponnesian war, were furnished by the city of Sparta itself (Hist. of Dorians, iii. 12, 2): and to prove this he refers to the very passage just cited from the Hellenica of Xenophon, which, as far as it proves anything, proves the contrary of his position. He gives no other evidence to support it, and I think it in the highest degree improbable. I have already remarked that he understands the expression *πολιτικὴ χώρα* (in Polybius, vi. 45) to mean the district of Sparta itself as contradistinguished from Laconia—a construction which seems to me not warranted by the passage in Polybius.

[1] Aristotle, *Λακώνων Πολιτεία*, Fragm. 5-6, ed. Neumann: Photius

fixed in the system is, first, the small number, though varying within certain limits, of the elementary company called Enômoty, trained to act together, and composed of men nearly of the same age[1], in which every man knew his place; secondly, the scale of divisions and the hierarchy of officers, each rising above the other,—the Enômotarch, the Pentekontêr, the Lochage, and the Polemarch, or commander of the Mora,—each having the charge of their respective divisions. Orders were transmitted from the king, as commander-in-chief, through the Polemarchs to the Lochages,—from the Lochages to the Pentekonters, and then from the latter to the Enômotarchs, each of whom caused them to be executed by his Enômoty. As all these men had been previously trained to the duties of their respective stations, the Spartan infantry possessed the arrangements and aptitudes of a standing army. Originally they seem to have had

v. Λόχος. Harpokration, Μόρων. Etymologic. Mag. Μόρα. The statement of Aristotle is transmitted so imperfectly that we cannot make out clearly what it was. Xenophon says that there were six moræ in all, comprehending all the citizens of military age (Rep. Lac. 11, 3). But Ephorus stated the mora at 500 men, Kallisthenes at 700, and Polybius at 900 (Plutarch, Pelopid. 17; Diodor. xv. 32). If all the citizens competent to bear arms were comprised in six moræ, the numbers of each mora must of course have varied. At the battle of Mantineia there were seven Lacedæmonian lochi, each lochus containing four pentekosties, and each pentekosty containing four enômoties: Thucydides seems (as I before remarked) to make each enômoty thirty-two men. But Xenophon tells us that each mora had four lochi, each lochus two pentekosties, and each pentekosty two enômoties (Rep. Lac. 11, 4). The names of these divisions remained the same, but the numbers varied.

[1] This is implied in the fact, that the men under thirty, or under thirty-five years of age, were often detached in a battle to pursue the light troops of the enemy (Xen. Hellen. iv. 5, 15–16).

no cavalry at all[1], and when cavalry was at length introduced into their system, it was of a very inferior character, no provision having been made for it in the Lycurgean training. But the military force of the other cities of Greece, even down to the close of the Peloponnesian war, enjoyed little or no special training, having neither any small company like the enômoty, consisting of particular men drilled to act together—nor fixed and disciplined officers—nor triple scale of subordination and subdivision. Gymnastics and the use of arms made a part of education everywhere, and it is to be presumed that no Grecian hoplite was entirely without some practice of marching in line and military evolutions, inasmuch as the obligation to serve was universal and often enforced. But such practice was casual and unequal, nor had any individual of Argos or Athens a fixed military place and duty. The citizen took arms among his tribe, under a Taxiarch chosen from it for the occasion, and was placed in a rank or line wherein neither his place nor his immediate neighbours were predetermined. The tribe appears to have been the only military classification known to Athens[2], and the taxiarch the only tribe officer for infantry, as the phylarch was for cavalry, under the general-in-chief. Moreover,

In other Grecian cities there were no peculiar military divisions distinct from the civil.

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 4, 12.

[2] Herodot. vi. 111; Thucyd. vi. 98; Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 2, 19.

The same marshalling of hoplites, according to the civil tribes to which they belonged, is seen in the inhabitants of Messênê in Sicily as well as of Syrakuse (Thucyd. iii. 90; vi. 100).

At Argos there was a body of 1000 hoplites, who during the Peloponnesian war received training in military manœuvres at the cost of the city (Thucyd. v. 67), but there is reason to imagine them introduced subsequent to the Persian war, when political affairs became more

orders from the general were proclaimed to the line collectively by a herald of loud voice, not communicated to the taxiarch so as to make him responsible for the proper execution of them by his division. With an arrangement thus perfunctory and unsystematised, we shall be surprised to find how well the military duties were often performed: but every Greek who contrasted it with the symmetrical structure of the Lacedæmonian armed force, and the laborious preparation of every Spartan for his appropriate duty, felt an internal sentiment of inferiority which made him willingly accept the headship of "these professional artists in the business of war[1]," as they are often denominated.

Recognised superiority of Sparta—a part of early Grecian sentiment—coincident with the growing tendency to increased communion.

It was through the concurrence of these various circumstances that the willing acknowledgment of Sparta as the leading state of Hellas became a part of Grecian habitual sentiment, during the interval between about 600 B.C. and 547 B.C. During this period too, chiefly, Greece and her colonies were ripening into a sort of recognised and active part-

complicated. The Epariti in Arcadia began at a much later time, after the battle of Leuktra (Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 4, 33).

About the Athenian Taxiarchs, one to each tribe, see Æschines de Fals. Leg. c. 53. p. 300 R.; Lysias, pro Mantitheo, Or. xvi. p. 147; Demosth. adv. Bœotum pro nomine, p. 999 R.; Philippic. i. p. 47.

See the advice given by Xenophon (in his Treatise De Officio Magistri Equitum) for the remodelling of the Athenian cavalry, and for the introduction of small divisions, each with its special commander. The division into tribes is all that he finds recognised (Off. M. E. C. ii. 2—iv. 9); he strongly recommends giving orders—*διὰ παραγγέλσεως*, and not *ἀπὸ κήρυκος*.

[1] Plutarch, Pelopid. c. 23. *Πάντων ἄκροι τεχνῖται καὶ σοφισταὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ὄντες οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται*, &c. (Xenoph. Rep. Lac. c. 14) *ἡγησαῖο ἄν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ μόνους τῷ ὄντι τεχνίτας τῶν πολεμικῶν.....Ὥστε τῶν δεομένων γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπορεῖται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπρόσκεπτόν ἐστιν.*

nership; the common religious assemblies, which bound the parts together, not only acquired greater formality and more extended development, but also became more numerous and frequent—and the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games were exalted into a national importance, approaching to that of the Olympic. The recognised superiority of Sparta thus formed part and parcel of the first historical aggregation of the Grecian states. It was about the year 547 B.C., that Crœsus of Lydia, pressed by Cyrus and the Persians, solicited aid from Greece, and addressed himself to the Spartans as confessed presidents of the whole Hellenic body[1]. And the tendencies then at work, towards a certain degree of increased intercourse and co-operation among the dispersed members of the Hellenic name, were doubtless assisted by the existence of a state recognised by all as the first—a state whose superiority was the more readily acquiesced in, because it was earned by a painful and laborious discipline, which all admired, but none chose to copy[2].

[1] *Ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προέσταναι τῆς* Ἑλλάδος (Herodot. i. 69): compare i. 152; v. 49; vi. 84, about Spartan hegemony.

[2] Xenoph. Repub. Lac. 10, 8. *ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμία πόλις ἐθέλει.*

The magnificent funeral discourse, pronounced by Perikles in the early part of the Peloponnesian war over the deceased Athenian warriors, includes a remarkable contrast between the unconstrained patriotism and bravery of the Athenians, and the austere, repulsive and ostentatious drilling to which the Spartans were subject from their earliest youth; at the same time it attests the powerful effect which that drilling produced upon the mind of Greece (Thucyd. ii. 37–39). *πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκεύαις τὸ πλέον καὶ ἀπάταις, ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν* (the Spartans) *ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται,* &c.

The impression of the light troops when they first began to attack

Whether it be true (as O. Müller and other learned men conceive) that the Homeric mode of fighting was the general practice in Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece anterior to the invasion of the Dorians, and that the latter first introduced the habit of fighting with close ranks and protended spears, is a point which cannot be determined. Throughout all our historical knowledge of Greece, the hoplites in close rank and file, charging with spears always in hand, is the prevailing practice, though there are cases of exception, in which the spear is hurled, when troops seem afraid of coming to close quarters[1]. Nor is it by any means certain, that the Homeric manner of fighting ever really prevailed in Peloponnesus, which is a country eminently inconvenient for the use of war-chariots: it is not improbable that the descriptions of the bard were founded chiefly upon what he and his auditors witnessed on the coast of Asia Minor, where chariots were more employed, and where the country was much more favourable to them[2]. We have no historical knowledge of any military practice in Peloponnesus anterior to the hoplites with close ranks and protended spears, and this practice belongs as much to Athens, Bœotia and Eubœa, as to Argos and Sparta.

Homeric mode of fighting—probably belonged to Asia, not to Greece.

One Peloponnesian state there was, and one alone, which disdained to acknowledge the superiority or headship of Lacedæmon. Argos never

the Lacedæmonian hoplites in the island of Sphakteria is strongly expressed by Thucydides (iv. 34)—*τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους*, &c.

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 4, 52: compare iii. 5, 20.

[2] Xenoph. Heller. iii. 4, 19.

forgot that she had once been the prime power in the peninsula, and her feeling towards Sparta was that of a jealous, but impotent, competitor. By what steps the decline of her power had taken place, we are unable to make out, nor can we trace the succession of her kings subsequent to Pheidôn. It has been already stated that about 669 B.C., the Argeians gained a victory over the Spartans at Hysiæ, and that they expelled from the port of Nauplia its pre-existing inhabitants, who found shelter, by the favour of the Lacedæmonians, at the port of Mothônê in Messenia[1]: Damokratidas was then king of Argos. Pausanias tells us that Meltas the son of Lakidês was the last descendant of Temenus who succeeded to this dignity; he being condemned and deposed by the people. Plutarch however states that the family of the Herakleids died out, and that another king, named Ægôn, was chosen by the people at the indication of the Delphian oracle[2]. Of this story, Pausanias appears to have known nothing; his language implies that the kingly dignity ceased with Meltas, in which he is undoubtedly mistaken, since the title existed (though probably with very limited

Argos—her struggles to recover the headship of Greece.

[1] Pausan. iv. 24, 2; iv. 35, 2.

[2] Pausan. ii. 19, 2; Plutarch (Cur Pythia nunc non reddat oracula, &c. c. 5. p. 396; De Fortunâ Alexandri, c. 8. p. 340). Lakydês, king of Argos, is also named by Plutarch as luxurious and effeminate (De capiendâ ab hostibus utilitate, c. 6. p. 89).

O. Müller (Hist. Dorians, iii. 6, 10) identifies Lakidês, son of Meltas, named by Pausanias, with Leôkêdês son of Pheidôn, named by Herodotus as one of the suitors for the daughter of Kleisthenês the Sikyonian (vi. 127); and he thus infers that Meltas must have been deposed and succeeded by Ægon, about 560 B.C. This conjecture seems to me not much to be trusted.

functions) at the time of the Persian war. Moreover there is some ground for presuming that the king of Argos was even at that time a Herakleid, since the Spartans offer to him a third part of the command of the Hellenic force, conjointly with their own two kings[1]. The conquest of Thyreātis by the Spartans deprived the Argives of a valuable portion of their Periœkis, or dependent territory; but Orneæ and the remaining portion of Kynuria[2] still continued to belong to them: the plain round their city was very productive; and, except Sparta, there was no other power in Peloponnesus superior to them. Mycenæ and Tiryns, nevertheless, seem both to have been independent states at the time of the Persian war, since both sent contingents to the battle of Platæa, at a time when Argos held aloof and rather favoured the Persians. At what time Kleônæ became the ally or dependent of Argos, we cannot distinctly make out; during the Peloponnesian war it is numbered in that character along with Orneæ[3]: but it seems not to have lost its autonomy about the year 470 B.C., at which period Pindar represents the Kleonæans as presiding and distri-

Her conquest of Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Kleônæ.—Nemean games.

[1] Herodot. vii. 149.

[2] Herodot. viii. 73.

Strabo distinguishes two places called Orneæ; one a village in the Argeian territory, the other a town between Corinth and Sikyon: but I doubt whether there ever were two places so called: the town or village dependent on Argos seems the only place (Strabo, viii. p. 376).

[3] Thucyd. v. 67–vi. 95.

The Kleônæans are also said to have aided the Argeians in the destruction of Mycenæ, conjointly with the Tegeatans: from hence, however, we cannot infer anything as to their dependence at that time (Strabo, viii. p. 377).

buting prizes at the Nemean games[1]. The grove of Nemea was less than two miles from their town, and they were the original presidents of this great festival—a function of which they were subsequently robbed by the Argeians, in the same manner as the Pisatans had been treated by the Eleians with reference to the Olympic Agôn. The extinction of the autonomy of Kleônæ, and the acquisition of the presidency of the Nemean festival by Argos, were doubtless simultaneous, but we are unable to mark the exact time; for the statement of Eusebius, that the Argeians celebrated the Nemean festival as early as the 53rd Olympiad, or 568 B.C., is contradicted by the more valuable evidence of Pindar[2].

Of Corinth and Sikyon it will be more convenient to speak when we survey what is called the Age of the Tyrants or Despots; and of the inhabitants of Achaia (who occupied the southern coast of the Corinthian Gulf, westward of Sikyon, as far as Cape Araxus, the north-western point of Peloponnesus), a few words exhaust our whole knowledge, down to the time at which we are arrived. These Achæans are given to us as representing the

Achaia—twelve autonomous towns, perhaps more—little known.

[1] Pindar, Nem. x. 42. Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τετράκις (compare Nem. iv. 17). Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος, &c.

[2] See Corsini Dissertation. Agonisticæ, iii. 2.

The tenth Nemean Ode of Pindar is on this point peculiarly good evidence, inasmuch as it is composed for, and supposed to be sung by Theiæus, a native of Argos. Had there been any jealousy then subsisting between Argos and Kleônæ on the subject of the presidency of this festival, Pindar would never on such an occasion have mentioned expressly the Kleônæans as presidents.

The statements of the Scholia on Pindar, that the Corinthians at one time celebrated the Nemean games, or that they were of old celebrated at Sikyôn, seem unfounded (Schol. Pind. Arg. Nem., and Nem. x. 49).

ante-Dorian inhabitants of Laconia, whom the legend affirms to have retired under Tisamenus to the northern parts of Peloponnesus, from whence they expelled the pre-existing Ionians and occupied the country. The race of their kings is said to have lasted from Tisamenus down to Ogygus[1]—how long we do not know; after the death of the latter, the Achæan towns formed each a separate republic, but with periodical festivals and sacrifice at the temple of Zeus Homarius, affording opportunity of settling differences and arranging their common concerns. Of these towns, twelve are known from Herodotus and Strabo—Pellênê, Ægira, Ægæ, Bura, Helikê, Ægium, Rhypes, Patræ, Pharæ, Olenus, Dymê, Tritæa[2]. But there must originally have been some other autonomous towns besides these twelve; for in the 23rd Olympiad, Ikarus of Hyperêsia was proclaimed as victor, and there seems good reason to believe that Hyperêsia, an old town of the Homeric Catalogue, was in Achaia[3]. It is affirmed that before the Achæan occupation of the country, the Ionians had dwelt in independent villages, several of which were subsequently aggregated into towns; thus Patræ was formed by a coalescence of seven villages, Dymê from eight (one of which was named Teuthea), and Ægium also from seven or eight. But all these

[1] Polyb. ii. 41.

[2] Herodot. i. 145; Strabo, viii. p. 385.

[3] Pausan. iv. 15, 1; Strabo, viii. p. 383; Homer, Iliad, ii. 573. Pausanias seems to have forgotten this statement when he tells us that the name of Hyperêsia was exchanged for that of Ægeira, during the time of the Ionian occupation of the country (vii. 26, 1; Steph. Byz. copies him, v. Αἴγειρα). It is doubtful whether the two names designate the same place, nor does Strabo conceive that they did.

towns were small, and some of them underwent a farther junction one with the other; thus Ægæ was joined with Ægeira, and Olenus with Dymê[1]. All the authors seem disposed to recognise twelve cities, and no more, in Achaia; for Polybius, still adhering to that number, substitutes Leontium and Keryneia in place of Ægæ and Rhypes; Pausanias gives Keryneia in place of Patræ[2]. We hear of no facts respecting these Achæan towns until a short time before the Peloponnesian war, and even then their part was inconsiderable.

The greater portion of the territory comprised under the name of Achaia was mountain, forming the northern descent of those high ranges, passable only through very difficult gorges, which separate the country from Arcadia to the south, and which throw out various spurs approaching closely to the Gulf of Corinth. A strip of flat land, with white clayey soil, often very fertile, was however left between these mountains and the sea, which formed *the plain* of each of the Achæan towns, situated for the most part upon steep outlying eminences overhanging it. From the mountains between Achaia and Arcadia, numerous streams flow into the Corinthian Gulf, but few of them are perennial, and the whole length of coast is represented as harbourless[3].

[1] Strabo, viii. p. 337, 342, 386.

[2] Polyb. ii. 41.

[3] See Leake's Travels in Morea, c. xxvii. and xxxi.

END OF VOL. II.

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